

# THOMAS JONTER

## *Curriculum Vitae*

Stockholm University, Department of Economic History  
and International Relations

Stockholm University  
106 91 Stockholm, Sweden

Telephone: (Office) 46-8-163008, cell phone: +46-70 -7600941

Email:thomas.jonter@ekohist.su.se

Professor of International Relations, Department of Economic History and International Relations, Stockholm University, 2011-

Head of Department, Department of Economic History and International Relations, Stockholm University, 2006-2010, 2016-

Director, Stockholm University Graduate School of International Studies, Stockholm University, 2013-2016, member of the steering committee, 2014-.

Associate Professor of International Relations, Department of Economic History, Stockholm University, 2002-2010

Lecturer in History at Uppsala University, 1995-2002.

## **Education**

- Ph.D, Uppsala University (History), February 1995.
- Postgraduate Diploma, (Organisational Leadership), Oxford University, April 2010.
- B.A., Uppsala University, May 1987.
- Studies in International Relations, School of International Services, American University, Washington, DC., 1992.

## Current Research Activities

- *Nuclear International Proliferation History Project*, (HPIHP) Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars. Stockholm Graduate School of International Studies is a partner. NPIHP is a global network of individuals and institutions engaged in the study of international nuclear history through archival documents, oral history interviews and other empirical sources, Among the participating universities are: Stanford University, George Washington University, King's College London, Stockholm University, Monterrey Institute, University of Vienna, Monash University, South Africa, and Sciences Po. Research grants from Carnegie Corporation New York, 2016- 2018.
- *Key Issues in the Control and Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons*. Cooperation between Swedish Pugwash (Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences) and Russian Pugwash (Russian Academy of Sciences, 2017-. Grants from Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Magnus Bergwalls stiftelse,
- *Initiating Academic Programs in Nuclear Non-Proliferation in Russia and Ukraine* (a cooperation between The Swedish Radiation and Safety Authority, International Atomic Energy Association, IAEA, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS), Monterey, King's College London and Monterey, and Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, (SIPRI). Grants from The Swedish Radiation and Safety Authority, 2004 - .
- *Nordic Centre for Security Technologies and Societal Values*, 2014-2019, Member of the research project team. Project partners: Stockholm Graduate School of International Studies, SU, Oslo Peace Research Institute (Coordinator), Lund University, University of Copenhagen, University of Tampere, University of Stavanger, Grants from the Nordic Council of Ministers (NordForsk).

## Earlier Research Activities

- *Stockholm Graduate School of International Studies*, Stockholm University. I initiated the program together with Professor Jonas Tallber, Department of Political Science, SU. SIS is a comprehensive faculty and multidisciplinary program for Ph.D. students, starting in the fall semester of 2013 with financial support from the "Boards of Humanities, Law, and Social Sciences". The program covers six areas at Stockholm University: Department of Economic History and International Relations, Department of Human Geography (Global Urbanism), Department of Political Science, (International and European Policies), Department of Media Studies (Division of Journalism, Media and Communication, Department of History, and the Faculty of Law (Public Law). Grants from the Boards of Humanities, Law, and Social Sciences, Stockholm University.
- 
- *A Stable Transition to a New Nuclear Order*. The Reppy Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies, Cornell University, has received a grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation for a study of the conditions needed for a stable transition to a new

nuclear order, one characterized by much lower numbers of nuclear weapons than currently held by the nuclear weapon states. The project is led by Judith Reppy (Cornell University) and Catherine Kelleher (CISSM, University of Maryland) and it follows an earlier joint project that produced their edited book *Getting to Zero* (Stanford University Press, 2011), 2015-2017

- *Global nuclear vulnerability*. Research project on the Cuban Missiles Crisis interpreted through primary sources, Research project headed by Benoît Pelopidas, Sciences Po, Paris. My contribution: Sweden and the Cuban Missiles Crisis, 2015-2016.
- *Security Assurances and Nonproliferation* financed by the *Centre for Contemporary Conflict, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, USA* and *Defense Threat Reduction Agency, 2009 – 2010*.
- *Sweden and the Bomb. The Swedish Plans to Acquire Nuclear Weapons, 1945-1968*”, with research grants from the Swedish Research Council, 2008- 2011. Vetenskapsrådet.
- *Nuclear weapons research in Sweden, 1945-1972* . Grants from the Swedish Nuclear Power Inspectorate.
- *Energy and Security in the Baltic Sea Region: A Trans- Baltic Network. A cooperation between Stockholm University and School of International Relations, St. Petersburg University* with the aim to promote research and education on energy security in the Baltic Sea Region. Project leader. Grants from the *Swedish Institute, 2008-2009*.
- *Making Historical Surveys of Nuclear Non-proliferation in the Baltic Sea Region*. The project was carried out as a IAEA task with the aim to create transparency in the States nuclear related past and submit the results of the conducted historical surveys to the Additional Protocol declaration to the Non-Proliferation Treaty of Nuclear Weapons. In the project, the following states participated in the project: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland and Sweden, 2002-2003. Grants from the Swedish Nuclear Power Inspectorate.
- *Better Quality and Higher Rate of Success*, Research project in cooperation between Department of History, Uppsala University, Department of Economic History, Stockholm University and University College Dalarna. 1999-2001. Grants from the Swedish Higher Education Authority (Högskoleverket).

## **Board memberships and professional experience**

- Member of Swedish International Law and Disarmament Commission, 2016-
- Member of Advisory Board of ”Nuclear Knowledges” program, Sciences Po headed by Professor Benoit Pelopidas. 2016-

- Chair of *Swedish Pugwash*, 2015-
- Advisor to the Swedish delegation to 2015 Review Conference to the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, United Nations, New York, 27 April – 22 May, 2015.
- Board member, *Forum for Asian Studies*, Stockholm University, 2014-
- Board member, *Swedish Physicians Against Nuclear Weapons*, Member of the scientific council, 2013- 2016.
- Board member, *Institute for Turkish Studies*, Stockholm University, Board member, 2012- 2016.
- Co-Editor of *Economic History Studies*, Stockholm University Press, 2012 -
- Chair of the *ESARDA* (European Safeguards and Research Development Association) working group for Training and Knowledge Management, 2009 – 2012.
- Vice chair of the *ESARDA* (European Safeguards and Research Development Association) working group for Training and Knowledge Management. 2006 -2009
- Board member, the *Faculty of Social Sciences*, Stockholm University, 2009-2011
- Chair of the board for the *Department of Economic History and International relations*, Stockholm University, 2006-2010, 2016-.
- Expert for *the Swedish Intelligence Commission*, Department of Justice, Sweden (Säkerhetstjänstkommissionen), between September 1 2000 until February 28, 2001. The purpose of my assignment within the official commission was to analyse the Swedish-American military-technological cooperation 1945-1972. The result was published as an individual part of the main Swedish Government Official Reports, SOU 2002:95; *Det amerikanska spåret. En undersökning av IB:s bildande och eventuella kopplingar till USA*.
- Project Leader and initiator of the exhibition *Spionen (The Spy)*. The history of Swedish Espionage. The Nordic Museum, Stockholm, 1998- 1999.
- Project Leader for The *Baltic University Programme* (a cooperation between 14 states and 130 universities): Project Leader and Coordinator for the International conference “50 Years after the Second World War, International politics in the Baltic Sea Region 1945-1995”, Gdansk, Poland, 21-24 September, 1995.
- Project Leader for the *Baltic Sea International Security Policy Seminar*, 1995 Chair of the PhD candidates Association, Department of History, Uppsala University, 1991-93

## Fellowships

- *Visiting Scholar* at the Judith Reppy Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies, Cornell University, March 23 – June 15, 2015.
- *Anna Lindh Fellow* at Center for Cooperation and Conflict, Freeman Spogli Institute of International Studies, Stanford University, July 1-31, 2011.
- *Visiting Scholar Nuclear Power Expansion and its Security Risks in East and South Asia. A Regionally based Comparison with European Union* at Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), January 1-December 31, 2010.
- *Visiting Scholar*, Institute for International Politics and Regional Studies, Freie Universität, Berlin, Germany, 08/1997-12/1997.
- *Alice and Knut Wallenberg scholar*, research and studies at National Archives and American University (School of International Service), Washington, DC, USA, August 1, 1992 February 28, 1993

## Books

- *The Key to Nuclear Restraint. The Swedish Plans to Acquire Nuclear Weapons*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016);
- *Energy and Security in the Baltic Sea Region* (Ed. Thomas Jonter and Ilja Viktorov, (Stockholm Studies in Economic History 58, 2011);
- *Rikets ögon och öron: spioner, spaning och säkerhetstjänst i Sverige* (Stockholm, Nordiska museet, 1999);
- *50 Years after Second World War*, (Ed. Burelski, Jonter, Noreen, Runblom), Gdansk University Press, 1997;
- *Socialiseringen som kom av sig. Sverige, oljan och USAs planer på en ny ekonomisk världsordning 1945-1949*, (Stockholm, Carlssons förlag, Doctoral Dissertation, 1994).

## Selected articles in English:

- "Sweden and the Cuban Missiles Crisis", In *Global nuclear vulnerability* (Ed. Benoit Pelopidas) (forthcoming: Johns Hopkins University Press)
- "Nuclear Power Expansion and its Safety and Security Risks in East and South Asia: Regionally Based Comparison with European Union". In *Development and Regional*

*Cooperation in Central Asia and South Asia: Euro-Asian Perspectives* (Eds) Henrik Berglund, Mondira Dutta and Per Hilding (New Delhi, Pentagon Press 2016).

- 
- Thomas Jonter and Emma Rosengren, “From nuclear weapons acquisition to nuclear disarmament – the Swedish case”. In *Nuclear Exits. Countries foregoing Nuclear weapons*, (eds. Ilkka Taipale and Vappo Taipale). (London, Routledge, 2015).
- Thomas Jonter and Emma Rosengren, “From nuclear weapons acquisition to nuclear disarmament – the Swedish case”. In *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, Vol. 30, supplement 1, 2014;
- “Creating a Common EU Policy on Nuclear Non-Proliferation Education. A case Study of Sweden. EU Non-Proliferation Consortium, SIPRI. Non-proliferation Paper No. 29, June 2013  
(<http://www.nonproliferation.eu/documents/nonproliferationpapers/thomasjonter51bb2b4df1c4f.pdf>) ;
- “The United States and the Swedish Plans to Build a Bomb, 1945-1968”, in *Security Assurances and Nuclear Nonproliferation* (Ed. Jeffrey Knopf), Stanford University Press, 2012;
- “How to bring North Korea Back into the NPT, with a little help from Sweden, in *Toward a Solution for North Korean Nuclear Issue*, Korea Institute for Defense Analyses, Seoul, and Institute for Security and Development Policy, Stockholm, 2010;
- ”The Swedish Plans to Acquire Nuclear Weapons, 1965-1968: An Analysis of technical Preparations”, *Science & Global Security The Technical Basis for Arms Control, Disarmament, and Nonproliferation Initiatives*, vol. 18, no.2, 2010;
- Fjaestad, Maja och Jonter, Thomas, ”Between Welfare and Warfare: The Rise and Fall of the ‘Swedish Line’ in Nuclear Engineering”, in Per Lundin/Niklas Stenlås/Johan Gribbe (ed.), *Science for Welfare and Warfare*, Science History Publications, Sagamore Beach, MA, USA 2010;
- “Nuclear Power without Nuclear Weapons”, in *Terrorism and Global Insecurity: A Multidisciplinary Perspective* (editor Klint Alexander), Linton Atlantic Books, Ltd, 2009;
- “Nuclear Non-Proliferation – a Brief Historical Background”, in *Nuclear safeguards and Non-Proliferation* (Ed. Greet Janssens-Maenhout), European Communities, 2009;
- Lars van Dassen and Thomas Jonter, “Making Historical Surveys of States Nuclear Ambitions: Experiences from the Baltic Sea Region” *The Nonproliferation Review*, March 2005, vol. 12, No. 1;

- “Socialization Derailed. Sweden and the Rule of Oil in the East-West Conflict” In (Ed. Burelski, Jonter, Noreen, Runblom) *50 Years after Second World War*, (Gdansk University Press, 1997).

### **Textbooks and teaching material**

- ”Internationell politisk historia: världen efter 1945”, in *Internationella relationer* (Lund, Studentlitteratur, 2014);
- Jonter, Thomas och Per Hilding, ”Writing a Scientific Essay in International Relations” (Unpublished report, Department of Economic History, Stockholm University, 2010);
- Ane Håkansson and Thomas Jonter, *An Introduction to Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Safeguards*, SKI Report 2007:44;
- *Making a Historical Survey of a State´s Nuclear Ambitions*. IAEA task ID: SWE C 01333. Impact of Historical Developments of a State´s National Nuclear NonProliferation Policy on Additional Protocoll Implementation. SKI Report 2003:18;

### **Scientific reports in English**

- *Swedish Disarmament Policy during the Cold War* (Ed. Thomas Jonter and Emma Rosengren). Conference Report, 26 November 2012, Stockholm, Sweden, Woodrow Wilson Center of International Scholars:  
[http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/Conference\\_Report\\_Swedish\\_Disarmament\\_Policy.pdf](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/Conference_Report_Swedish_Disarmament_Policy.pdf)
- *Swedish Nuclear Non-Proliferation Assistance Programme in Russia and Latvia*. SIDA Evaluation 04/15, Department for Europe, 2004;
- *Nuclear Weapon Research in Sweden. The Co-operation Between Civilian and Military Research, 1947-1972*, SKI Report 02:18;
- *Sweden and the Bomb. Swedish Plans to acquire Nuclear Weapons, 1945-1972*. SKI Report 01:33.

### **Organized conferences and workshops (selected):**

- *The Baltic Sea Region and the Global Nuclear Order*, Stockholms University, Cooperation between Swedish and Russian Pugwash, 5-6 February 2018,

- *Key issues in the Control and Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons*, Cooperation between Swedish and Russian Pugwash, 21-22 April 2017, Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, Stockholm.
  - *Nuclear Nonproliferation and Nuclear Security Seminar*, 5 October 2017, The Diplomatic Training Center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia, Tbilisi, Georgia.
- Tbilisi International Nuclear Non-proliferation Research Workshop: The Black Sea and the Global Nuclear Order*, Courtyard Marriott Tbilisi, 19-20 June 2017.
- *Nuclear reversal and nuclear latency – exploring new insights*, December 15<sup>th</sup>, 2016, Stockholm University.
  - *Nuclear Non-proliferation and Nuclear Security: Global Challenges and Opportunities*, Summer school for university professors, graduate students and policy makers, Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University, Georgia, 4-8 September 2016.
  - *Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Security in South East Asia*. Forum for Asian Studies, SU, in cooperation with Swedish Pugwash, SIPRI, Japanese Embassy in Sweden, CTBT, Vienna, Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, April 2011.
  - *50 Years after Second World War*, Danzig, Poland, 1995, Baltic University Programme.

### **Papers presented at conferences**

- "Nuclear Reversal: Sweden", paper presented at the workshop *Nuclear reversal and nuclear latency – exploring new insights*, 15 December, 2016, Stockholm University.
- "Nuclear Latency. The Swedish Case, paper presented at the workshop on "Nuclear Latency and Hedging: History, Concepts, and Implications for Nonproliferation", 11 May 2017, Woodrow Wilson Center of International Scholars,
- "The Political Economy of Swedish Nuclear Power Dependency", Paper presented at the conference *Det tolfte ekonomisk historiska mötet*, 12-14 October, 2017, Stockholm University.
- *International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Convention: A New Agenda for International Studies, February 15-18, 2015, New Orleans: Between proliferation, security seeking and neutrality: Swedish perspectives on the crisis of 1962*";
- *International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Convention: Spaces and Places. Geopolitics in an Era of Globalization*, Toronto, March 26-29, 2014: "Explaining Nuclear Forbearance. Civil Society and Sweden's Decision to Abandon the Nuclear Weapons Plans, 1955-1968";



- *Development, Security and Regional Cooperation in Central and South Asia: EuroAsian Perspectives*, March 13-14, 2015, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi: "Nuclear Power Expansion and its Security Risks in East and South Asia. A Regionally based Comparison with European Union";
- *Nuclear Exit. Counties Foregoing nuclear Weapons*, Helsinki, October 18-19, 2013. Physicians for Social Responsibility Finland, International Peace Bureau, Endorsed by International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War: Thomas Jonter and Emma Rosengren, "From nuclear weapons acquisition to nuclear disarmament – the Swedish case";
- *International Non-Proliferation Regime and North Korea's WMD*, 10 september 2010, -Stockholm, *Institute for Security & Development Policy*: "How to Bring Back North Korea to the NPT-regime? Sweden and North Korea's Nuclear Weapons Programme";
- *International Studies Association (ISA) Annual Convention: Theory vs. Policy? Connecting Scholars and Practitioners*, New Orleans, USA, 17-20 februari 2010: "The United States and Swedish Plans to Build the Bomb, 1945-1968";
- *Pacific Northwest International Conference on Global Nuclear Security—the Decade Ahead*, konferensen arrangerades av *Institute of Nuclear Materials Management* and the *American Nuclear Society*, 11-16 april 2010, Portland, USA: "Lessons Taught and Lessons Learned in the Swedish Program to Improve Education in Nuclear NonProliferation in Former Soviet Union";
- *Uncovering the Sources of Nuclear Behavior: Historical Dimensions of Nuclear Proliferation*, *Center for Security Studies*, Zürich, 18-20 juni 2010: "Why Sweden did not Build the Bomb, 1945-1968";
- *Security Assurances and Nonproliferation*, Colorado Springs, CO, USA, 13-14 augusti 2009, *Center for Contemporary Conflict*, *Naval Postgraduate School*, Monterey, USA och *Defense Threat Reduction Agency*: "The United States and Swedish Plans to Build the Bomb, 1945-1968";
- *The Nobel Symposium on "Peace, Stability, and Nuclear Order,"* Oscarsborg, Drøbak, Norge, June 25-27 2009: "Why Sweden did not Build the Bomb, 1945-1968";
- *The 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Oxford Round Table: Global Security, Civilization at Risk: Seeds of Strife*, Pembroke's College, Oxford University, 16-20 mars 2008: "Nuclear Power without Nuclear Weapons";
- *Svenska ekonomisk-historiska mötet*, Stockholms universitet, Stockholm, October 12-14, 2007: "The Rise of the Nuclear System of Innovation in Sweden": "The Rise of Nuclear System of Innovation in Sweden, 1945-1970".

- *Projekt 1905: svensk-norske relasjoner i 200 år, Grenserelasjoner 1800-2005: Livet langs Kjølen*, Karlstad 25-26 september 2003: ”Gränslandet mellan nazism och nationellt oberoende. Lokalsamhällena i norra Dalarna och Värmland 1933-1950”;
- *Nordic Society, Seminar on Non-Proliferation Issues*, Saltsjöbaden, October 4-5, 2000: ”Att historiskt kartlägga en stats icke-spridning av kärnvapen”;
- *Seminar on Nuclear and Radioactive Materials Illicit Trafficking Combating in Ukraine: Problems and Solutions*, Kiev, May 22-23, 2002: “The History of the Swedish Nuclear Weapons Policy”;
- *Esarda 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting, Symposium on Safeguards and Nuclear Material Management*, City Conference Centre Stockholm, Norra Latin, Stockholm May 13-15, 2003: “How to Make Historical Surveys of Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons”;
- *Symposion on International Safeguards: Verification and Nuclear Material Security*, IAEA, Wien, October 29 –November 2, 2001: ”To Make a National Based Historical Survey of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The Experience of Using Sweden as an Example”;
- *Regional Workshop on the Development of National Legislation to Fulfill States’ Obligations under the Additional Protocol*, Talinn, January 9-11, 2002: “The History of the Swedish Non-Proliferation Commitments”;
- *The Nordic Countries in the Shadow of the Cold War*, Danish Institute of International Affairs, Copenhagen, March 5-7, 1998: ”USA:s politik gentemot det svenska atomvapenprogrammet, 1945 1968”.
- *Sverige under det kalla kriget*, The Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 1999, : ”Planerna på svenska kärnvapen, 1945-1972. En presentation av en planerad undersökning”;
- *Sverige inför en ny världsordning 1945-1950. Formativa år för svensk utrikespolitik?* Utrikespolitisk institutet, Utrikespolitiska institutet, April 1995: ”En tänkbar tolkningsram svensk-amerikanska studier under det kalla kriget”;
- *Krigen og dens følger for arbeiderbevegelsen. IX. Nordiske konferense for arbeiderbevegelsens historikere*, Oslo, August 14-17, 1995: ”Skrotad socialisering”;
- *50 Years after Second World War*, Danzig, Poland, 1995, Baltic University Programme: “Socialization Derailed. Sweden and the Rule of Oil in the East-West Conflict”.