UNIVERSITY OF MACAU

INSTITUTE OF EUROPEAN STUDIES OF MACAU

THE ITER FUSION ENERGY PROJECT:

A CASE STUDY OF MULTILATERALISM

Silvie Lee Lai Jacinto

Student no. M-A3-6013-5

Thesis presented to the Faculty of Business Administration
in partial fulfilment for granting the Master of European Studies Degree

(In International Relations – multilateral cooperation)
2006

Table of Contents

Introduction

1. The topic 1
2. Relevance of the study 2
3. Research questions 4
4. Organization of the work 4

PART ONE – LITERATURE REVIEW, FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

Chapter 1 – Multilateralism and its role in world polity 8
1.1 – The meanings of multilateralism 8
1.2 – The constructivist approach of John Ruggie 17

Chapter 2 - Research Design and Data Collection 33
2.1 - The case study approach 33
2.2 - Data collection 35

PART TWO – RESEARCH AND FINDINGS

Chapter 3 – ITER inception period 41
3.1 - The multilateral elements 41
3.2 – The expected benefits 45
3.3 - The security link and the nuclear non-proliferation regime 48
3.4 – The preference for a multilateral framework 53

Chapter 4 – The rearrangements in the partnership team 58
4.1 - The first implementation steps 58
4.2 - Accommodating changes 63
4.3 - The persisting expectations 70

Chapter 5 – Choosing the ITER site location 79
5.1 - The difficult process of negotiation 79
5.2 - Explaining the causes of the deadlock 85
5.3 - Consenting adaptations to multilateral principles 89

Chapter 6 – Review of findings, conclusions and prospects 95

Acronyms and Abbreviations List 103

Reference List 104

Appendix A. Terms of Reference Concerning CDA for an ITER

Appendix B. ITER EDA Agreement and Protocol 1

Appendix C. Protocol 2 of ITER EDA Agreement

Appendix D. Amendment Extending Cooperation in EDA

Appendix E. Joint Declaration by the Representatives of the Parties to the ITER Negotiations and EU-Japan Joint Paper Annex

Tables and Figures

Table 1 - Chronology of ITER main events 39

Table 2 - World Energy Consumption 1990-2020 72

Figure 1 – The bipolar world of the 1940s and 1950s 55

Figure 2 – The incipient multipolar world of the 1970s and 1980s 56

Figure 3 – Two party, one issue bargaining 90