



BUILDING MOMENTUM FOR A WORLD FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

NUCLEAR DISCUSSION FORUM, 2011



This publication commemorates the twentieth anniversary of the closure of the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site by the President of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev on August 29, 1991. The date also coincides with the first atomic test in Kazakhstan on the same day 62 years ago. Upon independence, Kazakhstan voluntarily renounced the world's fourth largest nuclear arsenal and now actively advocates for global nuclear nonproliferation, highlighted by its initiation of resolution 64/35 during the 64th session of the United Nations General Assembly which declared August 29 the International Day Against Nuclear Tests. The Preamble of the resolution emphasizes that "every effort should be made to end nuclear tests in order to avert devastating and harmful effects on the lives and health of people" and that "the end of nuclear tests is one of the key means of achieving the goal of a nuclear weapon-free world."

The cover image depicts a portion of the Palace of Peace and Reconciliation in Astana, Kazakhstan. The palace was specially constructed to host the Congress of Leaders of World and Traditional Religions, and serves as symbol of peace and understanding. The palace also houses a 1,500-seat opera house, educational facilities, and a national center for Kazakhstan's various ethnic and geographical groups.

The EastWest Institute does not generally take positions on policy issues. The views expressed in the publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the organization, its Board of Directors, or its staff. While a number of delegations attended various meetings hosted by the Mission of Kazakhstan and EWI, this report represents a sole record by its authors of the discussions and not necessarily the views of those delegations present.

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The EastWest Institute
11 East 26th Street, 20th Floor
New York, NY 10010 U.S.A.
1-212-824-4100
communications@ewi.info

www.ewi.info

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NUCLEAR DISCUSSION FORUM 2011



FOREWORD

In 2011, the EastWest Institute (EWI) and the Permanent Mission of Kazakhstan launched the Nuclear Discussion Forum, a series of off-the-record meetings that brought together United Nations Member States committed to building trust, identifying milestones, and working to mobilize international political will for concrete, practical nuclear nonproliferation, and disarmament measures.

The Forum grew out of EWI's and the Permanent Mission of Kazakhstan's shared conviction that political obstacles are hindering progress toward a world without nuclear weapons. At past events organized by EWI and the Mission, it was recognized that to inspire the global community to take the necessary steps, states and international organizations must build the necessary political momentum. The Nuclear Discussion Forum, a laboratory for innovative thinking, gave members the crucial chance to speak frankly and bridge East—West and North—South divides on the most pressing roadblocks.

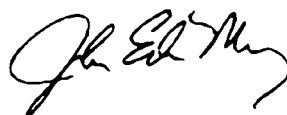
We are grateful for the generous support of the government of Kazakhstan, as well as EWI's core funders, who made this initiative possible. We also wish to thank the Missions and parties for their active participation in the process and for their creative thinking, especially the Permanent Missions of Austria, Costa Rica, Egypt, Indonesia, New Zealand, and Uruguay, who formed the Core Working Group of the Forum and guided its progress. We also wish to thank High Representative Sergio Duarte and the staff of the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs for their guidance throughout the process. With their willingness to re-frame issues and meet in this informal setting, the group made new practical breakthroughs in nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. We hope that this process will encourage concrete action toward global zero.

As we see it, the value added by this report follows from a number of factors: It is timely and addresses the issues that the Forum, which represented key constituents, said were most important. Rather than an idealistic wish list, this report matches strong idealism with the pragmatic recognition that our world is full of constraints that have to be acknowledged and ultimately overcome.

We hope that this report will contribute to a sustained process that engages all relevant sectors of the global community. For governments to make the right decisions, we all need to generate and sustain the necessary political will. For our part, we are committed to promoting this report's conclusions and advocating and engaging with strategic policymakers and stakeholders worldwide.



BYRGANYM AITIMOVA
AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND
PLENIPOTENTIARY AND PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVE, PERMANENT MISSION OF
KAZAKHSTAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS



JOHN EDWIN MROZ
FOUNDER, PRESIDENT AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE
OFFICER, EASTWEST INSTITUTE

The Nuclear Discussion Forum: Building Momentum for a World Free of Nuclear Weapons

Background

After nearly a decade of making little progress toward eliminating nuclear weapons, the international community recently gained momentum and made unprecedented advances toward long-term disarmament and nonproliferation goals. In April 2009, President Obama delivered his famous Prague speech on a world without nuclear weapons. In September 2009, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) adopted resolution 1887 (2009), which resolves “to seek a safer world for all and to create the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons, in accordance with the goals of the Treaty on Nuclear Non-Proliferation (NPT), in a way that promotes international stability, and based on the principle of undiminished security for all. It also “calls upon all States that are not Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) to accede to the Treaty as non-nuclear-weapon States so as to achieve its universality at an early date.” The May 2010 Review Conference of the NPT was an important success, having adopted a final document in which it agreed on 64 actions (plus the Middle East resolution) in order to implement the obligations contained in the three “pillars” of the NPT

(disarmament, non-proliferation, and peaceful uses of nuclear energy). Also in 2010, the Global Summit on Nuclear Security was convened. In addition, the entry into force of the New START Treaty between the United States and the Russian Federation in February 2011 paved the way for new reductions in deployed nuclear strategic arsenals and further negotiations encompassing non-strategic and non-deployed nuclear weapons.

But despite these recent advances and improved political relationships among key players, high levels of mistrust remain not only among the nuclear powers but also between nuclear weapon states (NWS) and non-nuclear weapon states (NNWS). The world still has to address immensely large, complex, and difficult questions related to nuclear weapons, including urgent regional and global security concerns. Some states continue to breach their nonproliferation obligations and international institutions have been increasingly ineffective in forcing the pace on the elimination of nuclear weapons and assuring the spread of nuclear technology and material for peaceful purposes. The pace of nuclear disarmament has been disappointingly slow and its scope all too narrow. In addition, the degree of compliance of

some state parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which is not universal, have given rise to serious concerns and suspicions among non-nuclear weapon states regarding nuclear weapon states' commitment to the NPT's disarmament pillar. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) has yet to enter into force fifteen years after it was opened for signature. Consensus still eludes the Conference on Disarmament (CD) on the negotiation of a treaty to prohibit the production of fissile material for weapons purposes. Most recently, the catastrophe at the Fukushima Daichi nuclear plant in Japan raised major safety concerns regarding the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Perhaps most crucially, further progress in eliminating nuclear weapons has been stalled by a confidence deficit in bilateral and multilateral relations. States and international institutions must strengthen political will in order to enable solutions and finalize the next steps in disarmament, nonproliferation, and nuclear security.

Meeting the Challenge

Between January 2011 and September 2011, the EastWest Institute (EWI) and the Mission of Kazakhstan to the United Nations in New York held a series of meetings that brought together representatives from 34 U.N. Member States. The aim: to establish a foundation of trust among these crucial states and identify the next milestones on the path to global zero.

In an effort to make the Nuclear Discussion Forum an organic, Member State-led process, participants were asked to select five high-priority topics for discussion and form a core working group. This core working group met before each forum meeting to review the prepared "policy reference points," raise specific issues to be discussed and suggest a speaker and discussant. Six Member States volunteered to serve in the group alongside EWI and the Permanent Mission of Kazakhstan: Austria, Costa Rica, Egypt, Indonesia, New Zealand, and Uruguay.

This short report is intended to capture a sense of the debate as it proceeded in the Forum. While there is clearly new momentum of the sort felt needed three years ago, the discussions revealed little evidence that nu-

clear weapon states will soon turn away from nuclear weapons. Agreed-upon reductions by the United States and Russia are very heartening, but, as some participants pointed out, it will take 40-50 (rather than 10-20) years on this protracted timetable to completely eliminate nuclear weapons.

A Singular Discussion Forum

Today, many forums and platforms are trying to build consensus about the path to global zero. The Nuclear Discussion Forum is not a time-bound platform or event but an ongoing and dynamic process. This process aims to produce new ideas that the international community can consider implementing as steps towards nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation.

In 2011, the Forum was comprised of a singular blend of key states, nuclear weapon and non-nuclear weapon states, signatories and non-signatories of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and international actors. These participants had common interests but disparate viewpoints, which allowed for a much needed honest discussion and for creative, innovative thinking. This high-quality discussion represented a learning experience not only for Permanent Representatives, but also for the First Committee experts, who unanimously found the Forum's meetings stimulating and productive.

The Forum's Objectives

The Nuclear Discussion Forum provided an opportunity for key states, with vested interests but disparate viewpoints, to come together in a single dialogue, with a view to reconcile differences, and build mutual trust and understanding. The Forum's stated objectives were as follows:

1. Bring together disparate groups and viewpoints in a sustained dialogue with the common objective of bridging the divides in the international agenda on nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament, and security.
2. Find common language and opportunities for cooperative action on some of the most contentious issues stalling further progress on disarmament, nonproliferation, and securing nuclear materials.

The Forum met five times between January and September 2011. Each discussion forum included diplomats, policymakers, academics, and a featured speaker with a specialized area of knowledge.

3. Identify actionable recommendations to build upon the momentum of recent successes in the international agenda.

The potential of the Forum to produce actionable recommendations was not as great as the organizers had hoped during 2011, but we believe that if the Forum can continue as essentially a standing Track II process, it will have this outcome.

Attending States and Organizations

Representatives of the U.N. diplomatic and policymaking community, including those from nuclear weapon states, non-nuclear weapon states, and parties, as well as non-parties, of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) attended forum meetings. These included:

Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Egypt, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Russia, South Africa, Republic of Korea, Switzerland, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States, and Uruguay.

The Nuclear Discussion Forum also benefited from the participation and involvement of the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, the International Atomic Energy Agency and the United Nations Department of Public Information.

While a number of state delegations attended various meetings hosted by the EastWest Institute and the Permanent Mission of Kazakhstan to the UN, this report represents its authors' observations of the discussion and not necessarily those of the delegations present. In addition, not all members listed above were present at all meetings, nor were interventions made by all members on the themes identified by the group as vital for discussion. Therefore, this report is neither a consensus document nor one that was voted upon.

The Forum's Format

The Forum met five times between January and September 2011. Each discussion forum included diplomats, policymakers, academics, and a featured speaker with a specialized area of knowledge, along with a lead discussant. An open discussion followed the speaker and lead discussants' initial remarks. The meetings of the Nuclear Discussion Forum were held at the offices of the EastWest Institute and at the Permanent Mission of Kazakhstan to the United Nations.

Each of the discussions were co-chaired and moderated by a Permanent Representative of one of the core working group's Member States, which included Austria, Costa Rica, Egypt, Indonesia, New Zealand, and Uruguay.

The Forum's Highlights and Key Findings

This report reflects the discussions at a number of private meetings of the Nuclear Discussion Forum held from January to September 2011. The following topics were discussed:

1. Concluding a legally binding document to provide negative security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon states.
2. Nuclear weapons and international law, or emerging international humanitarian law paradigm in nuclear disarmament.
3. Building transparency and promoting confidence-building measures in disarmament discussions.
4. Overcoming political obstacles to realizing a nuclear weapons-free zone in the Middle East.
5. Reducing the role of nuclear weapons in national security doctrines.

On September 1, 2011, the Nuclear Discussion Forum concluded its 2011 meeting series with a high-level workshop held at the United Nations in commemoration of the International Day Against Nuclear Tests. The workshop brought together experts and officials who outlined a roadmap for the inter-

national nonproliferation and disarmament efforts leading up to the 2015 NPT review conference. The event came at the end of the 2011 NDF series, but was distinct from those off-the-record meetings in both style and participation. The September 1 event included on the record statements for several leading figures and specialists and did not have the same informal character as the more private NDF sessions. Highlights from the speakers' remarks from that workshop are also featured in this report.

I. Concluding a Legally Binding Instrument to Provide Negative Security Assurances to Non-Nuclear-Weapon States

The Issues

Currently, no universal treaty exists to guarantee negative security assurances for NNWS. While some NWS, like China and France, have made unilateral declarations aimed at giving negative security assurances to states party to the NPT, others argue that such a legally binding document would weak-

en their deterrence capabilities and security umbrellas, and potentially affect their ability to react to unforeseen security situations. Moreover, the Protocols to Treaties establishing Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones make treaty-based negative security assurances available to such zones.

The group discussed developments in the international security environment, as well as bilateral and multilateral political relationships that might have changed the contextual debate surrounding negative security assurances. The group also discussed the impact that legally binding negative security assurances might have on a state's ability to maintain its national defense interests, given the number, complexity, and evolving nature of non-nuclear security threats (i.e. cyber threats and sophisticated conventional weapon systems).

Highlights and Key Findings

Participants considered what types of states would be covered by such a legally binding document with regard to nuclear weapons possession and relationship to the NPT. Participants also discussed the current importance of negative security assurances by NWS (as exemplified by the UNSC Resolution 984) and the possibility of introducing these assurances into national security doctrines. After a review of the progress related to such assurances, which has been achieved within the frameworks of the NPT and the Conference on Disarmament, measures that would facilitate the creation and adoption of a more universal legally binding treaty were discussed.

During the discussion, some participants pointed out that the bargain implicit in the NPT regime is not clear. From the time NNWS join the NPT, they are obliged not to develop nuclear weapons, whereas the NWS' obligation to disarm does not have a definitive timeframe. Familiar debating points resurfaced. On the one hand, there is a view that that the NPT's legally binding obligation for NWS to enter into good faith negotiations on disarmament has yet to be fulfilled. On the other hand, it is a fundamental mistake for NNWS to push NWS toward complete disarmament as proof of their commitment to the NPT. Some argued that complete nuclear disarmament is a long-term goal that cannot be achieved quickly.

However, negative security assurances can be an immediate commitment towards that long-term vision. By issuing negative security assurances now, NWS will reduce the degree to which they rely on nuclear weapons. It was also argued that the possession of nuclear weapons has no correlation to standing or prestige in the international system, as demonstrated by China's commitment to universal and unconditional security assurances.

Some participants observed that current discussions on nuclear weapons often ignore the fact that some states decide to seek nuclear weapons in part to deter conventional threats. Therefore, the fear of conventional attacks should be included in the debate about negative security assurances. Furthermore, some participants emphasized that the United Nations Security Council should once again seriously pursue the issue of such assurances, with the impetus provided by NNWS. The United States and China's commitment to providing such assurances suggests the viability of such discussions. Finally, other measures to facilitate progress in the area of negative security assurances were suggested: these included the accelerated ratification of nuclear-weapon-free zones (NWFZ) treaties by all relevant states and the reevaluation of nuclear weapon targeting and equipment in order to make them more compatible with negative security assurances — and to render those assurances more credible.

II. Emerging International Humanitarian Law Paradigm and Nuclear Weapons

The Issues

In the 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the Conference expressed "its deep concern at the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons, and reaffirm[ed] the need for all states at all times to comply with applicable international law, including international humanitarian law." The Review Conference statement further advanced the 1996 advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) which concluded that "the threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law

applicable in armed conflict, and in particular the principles and rules of humanitarian law." The issue of the use (or threat of use) of nuclear weapons and international law is not new, but debates on nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation have not consistently taken place within the context of the International Humanitarian Law (IHL) framework. In recent years, however, several governments and international organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), have worked to refocus attention on IHL as a potentially rich way to frame disarmament and nonproliferation work.

Highlights and Key Findings

To address nuclear weapons within the IHL framework, the group discussed what lessons could be derived from the successful campaigns for the Chemical and Biological Weapons Conventions, as well as the AP Mine Ban Convention and the Cluster Munitions Convention. Participants also considered the political obstacles that might bar addressing nuclear weapons within the IHL framework, such as the centrality of such weapons to the strategic doctrines of NWS. Finally, the meeting explored how to further progress toward disarmament within the IHL framework – what steps can accelerate it, what realistically can be achieved and how success should be measured.

The NPT remains the cornerstone of the global nonproliferation regime and the essential foundation for the pursuit of disarmament. Some participants concluded that IHL provides a great addition to this foundation. It is important to look at nuclear weapons through the prism of IHL, since the law forces us to distinguish between combatants and noncombatants. Besides a few exceptional and unlikely scenarios, nuclear weapons do not observe this distinction. Weapons that cause unnecessary suffering and unacceptable harm have no place in today's international security environment. For some participants, the incompatibility of nuclear weapons with IHL logically requires their prohibition and elimination through a global agreement – or convention – as has been the case with biological and chemical weapons, landmines, and cluster munitions.

“As a member of the core group, Egypt participated actively in the activities of the Nuclear Discussion Forum, which it sees as a commendable initiative facilitated through the partnership of the Permanent Mission of Kazakhstan and the East-West Institute, and expects the NDF to continue to contribute valuably to raising international public awareness on the merit of the goal of total and comprehensive nuclear disarmament.”

His Excellency Maged Abdelaziz

AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY
AND PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE, PERMANENT MISSION
OF EGYPT TO THE UNITED NATIONS

For other participants, the prism of IHL did not encompass the nature of nuclear deterrence, in which nuclear weapons are not considered as battlefield weapons.

For some participants, although IHL is a tool for confronting the use and possession of nuclear weapons, it is not sufficient. We must also begin to actively question the usefulness of nuclear weapons. In the current debate on nuclear weapons and nuclear deterrence, many have suggested these weapons are no longer functional tools and should be eliminated from military postures. For instance, precision-guided munitions and strategic bombing are slowly eroding the usefulness and the need for nuclear weapons. Efforts to outlaw nuclear weapons under IHL would benefit from heavier emphasis on their declining utility. As the cluster-munitions experience has shown, when military officers regard a weapon or weapons system as archaic or less useful than before, political leaders should recognize that early and exploit such views in support of a ban. For example, an increasing number of senior military officers in the United States regard nuclear weapons as less useful than before since the country has a clear advantage when it comes to conventional weapons arsenals. The same view is however not shared in Russia.

“The Nuclear Discussion Forum has provided a major and sustained opportunity for conducting a healthy exercise in the context of international relations: exchanging points of views on issues of great concern that generate multiple positions. For a peaceful country as Costa Rica, deeply committed to disarmament and a world free of nuclear weapons, the Forum has opened an arena for discussion, not with the aim of convincing fellow countries or forging common proposals, but, rather, of deepening a constructive dialogue that will certainly contribute to our aspirations.”

His Excellency Eduardo Ulibarri

AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY
AND PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE, PERMANENT MISSION
OF COSTA RICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

III. Strengthening the Multilateral Institutions Responsible for Managing and Verifying Disarmament and Non-proliferation Efforts

The Issues

Non-proliferation, including the commitment not to acquire nuclear weapons, and disarmament, the commitment to phase out and eliminate nuclear weapons, both depend on the highest levels of confidence and trust amongst states. Confidence and trust are maintained through verification that weapons stashes have been destroyed. Effective verification is essential to achieving a denuclearized world.

The maxim “trust but verify” is of fundamental importance to nuclear arms control, as well as to efforts to counter the spread of and ultimately eliminate nuclear weapons.¹

¹ John Carlson, “New Verification Challenges”, June 4, 2009. International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament, http://www.icnnd.org/Documents/Carlson_Verification_090604.pdf.

To date, nuclear verification efforts have mostly focused on non-proliferation in the NNWS in the form of IAEA safeguards. The NPT negotiators recognized that an effective non-proliferation regime is a necessary condition to achieving nuclear disarmament, since disarmament will not proceed without confidence that new nuclear threats will not emerge. Moreover, an effective non-proliferation regime will be essential in the post-disarmament world for the purpose of countering new nuclear weapons programs, whether by former nuclear-armed states or others.

Highlights and Key Findings

Participants discussed how to strengthen current multilateral institutions in order to enable them to face complex challenges such as detecting undeclared nuclear activities, countering the potential spread of proliferation-sensitive technologies, and facing the implications of new fuel cycle technologies. Moreover, participants considered how to progress beyond current non-proliferation arrangements. The role of NGOs in disarmament verification was likewise considered.

It was stressed that disarmament and non-proliferation treaties are of little value if they do not have effective verification regimes to carry out these treaties’ provisions. Nuclear verification is crucial, as it can provide assurance that nuclear programs are peaceful in NNWS and build confidence in the international community. Therefore, it is vital to strengthen IAEA structures. The IAEA needs legal authority, state-of-the-art technology, sufficient human and financial resources, full cooperation with member states (including unfettered access to locations and sites within states) and timely access to sources of information. Unfortunately, at the moment, the agency faces a number of limitations, beginning with resource scarcity. The IAEA’s authority to monitor and conduct inspections is limited to facilities that have been declared by a given country’s government, and the agency lacks the capacity to detect undeclared nuclear activities. Finally, in spite of the great expansion of the non-proliferation regime, the NPT itself remains incapable of achieving universality.

But the main obstacle to strengthening the IAEA and other multilateral verification institutions is lack of political will from vital states in support of nuclear disarmament and non-

proliferation. Some participants asked who should address this lack of political will, and considered possible steps for overcoming this obstacle. To reverse the situation, it was argued, more effort will be needed from nuclear weapon states like the United States and Russia. Moreover, civil society – the public, experts, and NGO groups – can play a vital role by pressuring governments on the issue of disarmament and lending their expertise to verification efforts.

IV. Overcoming Political Obstacles to a Middle East Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone

The Issues

A nuclear weapon-free zone (NWFZ) is a regional approach to strengthening nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament norms that also helps consolidate international peace and security efforts.² Although the idea of an NWFZ in the Middle East has existed for over 35 years and all states in the region have expressed support for a multilateral regional nonproliferation framework, there has been almost no progress on the issue.³

In 1974, The Egyptian and Iranian governments proposed a NWFZ in the Middle East to the UN General Assembly (UNGA), and the proposal was adopted as resolution 3263 of December 9, 1974. It has been passed annually without a vote by the UNGA and a number of UNSC Resolutions passed since 1980 have included endorsements for the proposal.

Israel initially abstained from votes on the resolution but produced its own draft in 1980, asking for the zone to be established through direct negotiations between the countries in the region rather than by universal fiat.⁴ After negotiations with Egypt, the Israeli draft was withdrawn, and, for the first time, all the countries in the region voted unanimously in favor of a slightly revised Egyptian draft. While accepting in principle the need for a NWFZ in

the Middle East, Israel said that that objective should be achieved through a multilateral convention freely negotiated by the states concerned. Several other Middle Eastern states stated that such consultations would be impossible until Israel met their conditions in respect to the overall regional situation, a result of the armed conflict between Israel and Arab states.⁵

In the early 1990s, motivated by mounting evidence of the existence of chemical and biological weapons in the region and Israel's apparent interpretation of its own nuclear capability as a deterrent against these weapons, Egypt's former president, Hosni Mubarak, proposed to enlarge the concept of an NWFZ into a "zone free of weapons of mass destruction."

UNSC Resolution 687, which terminated the Persian Gulf War in 1991, adopted the idea of both an NWFZ and a Weapons of Mass Destruction-Free Zone (WMDFZ) in the region, and the 1995 NPT Extension Conference advocated for a "zone free of nuclear and all other weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems" in its "Resolution on the Middle East." In the preamble of UNSC Resolution 687, the UNSC renewed the call for an NWFZ and WMDFZ and, in the 14th operational paragraph, stated that Iraq's disarmament represented one step toward such a zone that would also be free of "missiles for their delivery."⁶

The Security Council has thus followed the General Assembly in supporting the zone project, even adopting a resolution under Chapter VII, which opens the door for mandating enforcement action.

Most recently, the final document of the 2010 NPT Review Conference called for a conference in 2012 "to be attended by all States of the Middle East, on the establishment of a Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction, on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at by the States of the region, and with the full support and engagement of the nuclear-

2 Goldschmidt, Pierre, "Let's Start with a Nuclear-Test-Free Zone in the Middle East": Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Proliferation Analysis, April 29, 2011.

3 <http://www.un.org/en/conf/npt/2010/pdf/daisyalliance.pdf>.

4 Baumgart, Claudia, and Muller, Harald; "A Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone in the Middle East: A Pie in the Sky?"; http://www.twq.com/05winter/docs/05winter_muller.pdf.

5 Department of Disarmament Affairs, United Nations, "Effective and Verifiable Measures Which Would Facilitate the Establishment of a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in the Middle East: Report of the Secretary-General, Study Series no. 22, 1991.

6 UN Security Council Resolution 687, April 3, 1991.

weapon States.”⁷ It also emphasized, for the first time, the requirement of “maintaining parallel progress, in substance and timing, in the process leading to achieving total and complete elimination of all weapons of mass destruction in the region, nuclear, chemical, and biological.”

Highlights and Key Findings

Participants discussed the major obstacles currently barring the creation of a Middle East Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone (MENWFZ) and how those political realities must change. Participants also identified concrete steps that the conveners, in cooperation with the region’s states, should take to ensure a successful MEWMDZF Conference in 2012. Moreover, they considered the role that traditional and non-traditional external actors can play in establishing a MENWFZ.

In the discussion, the prospects of a MENWFZ emerged as fraught with difficulty. Confidence between states of the Middle East is at an all-time low, so these states would need to take intensive confidence-building measures in order to build momentum towards a MENWFZ. It was also argued there could be no progress on a MENWFZ without the support of Israel, the only Middle Eastern state with nuclear weapons. If Israel cannot be convinced to join the NPT as a NNWS, and without resolving the Iranian nuclear issue a MENWFZ cannot be established. Furthermore, it was asked how we can overcome the perception that WMDs are a vital deterrent from a foreign attack, given that Iraq and Libya were attacked after relinquishing their WMD programs.

Despite these difficulties, participants emphasized that promoting a MENWFZ is vital, because the geopolitical future of the Middle East will likely define the future of the NPT and the nuclear order as a whole. Nearly forty years after a MENWFZ was first proposed to the General Assembly, the 2010 NPT Review Conference finally provided a point of agreement for making this idea a reality. The final document included a work plan for implementing the 1995 resolution and establishing of a MENWFZ. Initially a particular project put

forward by a small number of states, a MENWFZ has become a global objective. Given its global significance, states with international influence and power should do more to support a MENWFZ. During the discussion, some participants argued that if the P5 advocated more vigorously for a MENWFZ, more progress would occur, others stressed that the establishment of a MENWFZ depends on the willingness of the countries of the region themselves, and required these countries to live in peace with each other.

To hold the 2012 Conference on Establishing a Middle East WMD-Free Zone as planned, parties must implement the process adopted by the 2010 NPT Review Conference. The U.N. Secretary General and the co-sponsors of the 1995 resolution (i.e. the three depositary States of the NPT), in consultation of the States of the region, are to first designate a facilitator, and then designate a host government. Although these two steps are procedural, they nevertheless represent an important confidence-building measure. Only after these initial steps are taken can the more diplomatically intensive part of the process begin. In conjunction with the U.N. Secretary General and the three repository states, the facilitator is mandated to undertake consultations with the region’s states on the necessary preparations for the 2012 conference. Political will is of the utmost importance, as political leadership will be crucial in for guiding this process. Part of the conference’s objective is to enhance and strengthen the NPT. The 2012 conference is part of a process leading to full implementation of the 1995 Resolution on the Middle East, ideally with the participation of all states of the region.

V. Reducing the Role of Nuclear Weapons in Security Doctrines

Issues

Nuclear weapons played a pivotal role in international security during the latter half of the 20th century and continue to play a central role in strategic doctrines today. Principally, nuclear weapons have been seen as serving to deter potential adversaries from attacking an NWS or allies under its “defense umbrella” or against its vital interests. During the Cold War, nuclear weapons were seen to have a

⁷ 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Final Document, NPT/CONF.2010/50 (Vol. I)*, p. 30. http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=NPT/CONF.2010/50%20%28VOL.I%29.

stabilizing effect on superpower relations by making any conflict unacceptably costly, a doctrine known as Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). However, changes in the geopolitical environment, the inexorable advance of military technology and the growing support for arms control and disarmament suggest a rethinking of nuclear weapons' position in national strategic doctrines.

Russian and American nuclear arsenals have been reduced, while others continue to grow (China, India, Pakistan, North Korea). Russian and American nuclear postures have changed significantly since the cold war ended, but they continue to see each other as existential threats because of the large numbers of nuclear weapons each still has. Still, some states have struck nuclear weapons from their military strategies: Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Ukraine gave up nuclear weapons after the collapse of the Soviet Union. States can take practical steps to reduce the strategic importance of nuclear weapons, such as decreasing operational readiness, de-targeting, expanding negative security assurances, and adopting no-first-use policies.

Highlights and Key Findings

Participants discussed the major obstacles to further reducing the role of nuclear weapons in security doctrines and identified how NWS can begin to diminish their role. Some participants considered factors that could help decrease reliance on nuclear weapons, such as advances in conventional weapons technology and progress on peace in high-tension regions like the Middle East, North-east Asia, and South Asia. They also asked whether maintaining deterrence in nuclear postures works against non-proliferation concerns. Finally, they discussed the role that NGOs might play in the transformation of security doctrines.

Some participants also suggested that the best way to diminish the role of nuclear weapons in security doctrines is to impose various constraints on their use, such as: furthering the recognition of negative security assurances between countries; condemning the option of first use in defense of vital interests or against overwhelming conventional attack; and abandoning the doctrine of certain massive retaliation against nuclear attack.

“The Nuclear Discussion Forum has contributed to the cultivation of an informal disarmament community among officials with relevant responsibilities both in the Permanent Missions and in the Secretariat’s Office for Disarmament Affairs. And it has provided a welcome opportunity for all participants to receive briefings from outside experts on specific subjects on the international disarmament and nonproliferation agenda.”

Sergio Duarte

UNITED NATIONS HIGH REPRESENTATIVE FOR DISARMAMENT AFFAIRS

This would leave, at most, the possibility of an extremely selective nuclear response to a nuclear attack, aimed only at stopping further nuclear attacks. De-alerting nuclear weapons – imposing reversible physical changes to a nuclear weapon system to increase the time between a warning, a decision to use and an actual launch – can be thought of as an operational step to reduce the role of nuclear weapons. That is because de-alerting nuclear weapons would require warheads be separated from delivery means to prevent hair-trigger launches. Such a step would also devalue these weapons, reduce the perceived importance of deterrence in nuclear doctrine and respond to the practical risks that stem from the fact that they are primed for prompt use.

Some participants argued that we are still in the draw-down phase of the Cold War and observed that the concept of deterrence has been used to delay disarmament. If deterrence is the reason states still have nuclear weapons, then governments need to be clearer on who is being deterred and what they are being deterred from doing.

Some participants suggested that, to assure commitment from NWS, the NPT review conference and the nuclear posture reviews be synchronized. Currently, there is no mechanism for enforcing nuclear weapon reductions, so NWS are left to determine nuclear reductions. The international community needs to be concrete and address NWS di-

rectly on an ongoing basis regarding reductions. For their part, NWS should develop a reporting format to outline reductions to nuclear stockpiles. Others stressed the importance of concrete and irreversible disarmament actions, recalling the 2010 Final document (which calls upon states to dismantle their facilities dedicated to the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons).

From Here to 2015: Prioritizing the NPT Action Plan. Highlights from the High-Level Workshop to Mark the International Day against Nuclear Tests

Held at the United Nations on September 1, 2011, this high-level workshop provided a platform for examining the degree of implementation of the 2010 NPT Review Conference Action Plan in the three NPT “pillars,” and prioritizing concrete actions to advance areas where insufficient progress has been reported.

Participants also discussed: where the international nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament agenda is today and the United Nations’ role within it, and identified key players and stakeholders, commitments, obstacles and how they can be overcome, actual policies being pursued, and what still needs to be done to achieve greater global security.

Below are the highlights, prepared by EWI, from the statements made by the speakers at this high-level workshop. The speakers were: Byrganym Aitimova, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and Permanent representative of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the United Nations; Marcie Ries, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Nuclear and Strategic Policy at the U.S. Department of State; Sergio Duarte, United Nations High Representative for Disarmament Affairs; Annika Thunborg, Spokesperson for the Preparatory Commission of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO); Libran Cabactulan, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary and Permanent representative of the Philippines to the United Nations; and Jonathan Granoff, President of the Global Security Institute. The discussion was moderated by Gregory Austin, Vice President for

Programs and Rapid Response at the East-West Institute.

For the complete statements please visit EWI’s report on the event at <http://www.ewi.info/un-workshop-nuclear-disarmament>.

The event came at the end of the 2011 NDF series, but was distinct from those off-the-record meetings in both style and participation. The September 1 event included on the record statements for several leading figures and specialists and did not have the same informal character as the more private NDF sessions.

2010 NPT Review Conference

It was stressed that the 2010 NPT Review Conference succeeded because the vast majority of the Treaty Parties understood that the Review Conference was an opportunity to strengthen the NPT and the global nonproliferation regime at a time of great challenge to both. The adopted action plan reflects the understanding that efforts to strengthen the NPT must be balanced among its three pillars – nonproliferation, disarmament, and peaceful uses of nuclear energy. “Mutual responsibility,” necessary for the action plan’s implementation, is critical to the continued viability of the NPT regime. The real test of the NPT Review Conference’s success will be how seriously all parties take the agreement they reached and how well they implement the commitments they made at the conference. Indeed, fulfilling of each of the action plan’s 64 measures would certainly bring us closer to a world free of both nuclear tests and nuclear weapons.

It was noted that, in the recent United States Nuclear Posture Review, there was a “commitment to a nuclear weapons-free world” and there even a commitment “to initiate a comprehensive national research and development program to support continued progress toward a world free of nuclear weapons,” including, but not limited to, “expanded work on verification technologies.”

One of the participants noted that, however, nearly every state with nuclear weapons seems to be upgrading, expanding, or modernizing their nuclear arsenals. For example, the United States, as part of the negotiations for obtaining the START treaty, made a new commitment to allocate over 200 billion dol-

lars to modernize the arsenal and delivery systems.

The participant stressed that the language of the final statement of the NPT Review Conference is consistent with initiating a comprehensive research and development program at an international level. What is needed now is a clear, unambiguous, unequivocal, irreversible, and well-funded effort by like-minded states, or all states if possible, that develops a framework for achieving and maintaining a nuclear weapons-free world.

Nonproliferation

The 2010 NPT Review Conference Action Plan underscores the importance of resolving all cases of non-compliance with safeguards obligations. Member States, and the IAEA Secretariat are actively considering ways to strengthen the IAEA safeguards system, and Member States remain committed to ensuring that the agency has the resources and political support it needs to make effective use of its existing authorities.

One of the speakers indicated that a comprehensive U.S. review of potential options for strengthening safeguards produced several recommendations, including: improving the IAEA's ability to investigate potential and actual undeclared nuclear activities; ensuring that the IAEA has reliable funding to meet its evolving safeguards mandates; and expanding adherence by all relevant states to NPT-safeguards agreements and the Additional Protocol.

Disarmament

One of the speakers stated that steps should be taken to declare the use of nuclear weapons to be a crime against humanity and a violation of IHL. For the speaker, the principles of transparency, verification and accountability require establishing a United Nations-based accounting system on the size, delivery, and cost of nuclear arsenals. The call for a universal convention or framework of instruments for the global abolition of nuclear weapons is growing, but is, at the same time, strongly debated by some.

Nuclear disarmament and maintaining international peace and security are mutually reinforcing. It is also the highest priority among States seeking to achieve "general and com-

plete disarmament under effective international control," which has been the "ultimate goal" of the world community since the General Assembly's first Special Session on Disarmament in 1978 – a goal reaffirmed at the 2000 and 2010 NPT Review Conferences. The 2010 NPT Review conference resolved to seek a safer world for all by eliminating nuclear weapons, in accordance with the treaty's objectives.

One speaker stressed that states do not reach decisions lightly about giving up nuclear weapons, nor about undertaking commitments not to acquire them. The speaker pointed out that states do not view such decisions as empty symbolic gestures. They make such decisions because of the security benefits that they would gain – as stated by President Obama two years ago in Prague, when he said the United States was committed "to seek the peace and security of a world without nuclear weapons."

Other participants stressed this goal's additional benefits: there are environmental benefits from not having to produce, test or – most catastrophically – use these weapons. And there are significant political benefits as well: building confidence and mutual trust in the conduct of international relations, fostering a climate conducive to the peaceful settlement of disputes and avoiding threats and use of force. Together, these benefits help to explain why efforts have long been underway at the United Nations to achieve global nuclear disarmament.

While the debate over nuclear weapons centers on how to eliminate them, one participant claimed that discussants are continually forced to return to the argument whether we should get rid of nuclear weapons. That argument should have been laid to rest in the year 2000, said the participant, when the unequivocal move to elimination was made at the NPT Review Conference. The participant warned that bureaucracies, think tanks and politicians will repeatedly the argument of whether we should get rid of nuclear weapons unless stakeholders lay out the framework or proceed to negotiate the preparatory process for a nuclear weapons convention. Other participants recalled the 64 actions adopted at the 2010 RevCon; the signers' priority was to implement those actions rather than trying to invent other new actions.

One participant indicated that there appear to be three paths before us: One is ad hoc incremental steps with numerous preconditions before actually commencing the real work of negotiating disarmament. Two is beginning the creation of a comprehensive framework that both incorporates incremental steps and insures the clarity of purpose of disarmament, thus forming a basis to critique diversions from the disarmament process and a context to integrate many programs and approaches. Third is a fast-track toward a convention with prompt commencement of preparatory work, leading to negotiations as early as possible.

Some advocated strongly for framing nuclear disarmament as a matter of international humanitarian law. IHL is the body of law that governs the use of force in war. It prohibits the use of weapons that are unable to discriminate between civilians and combatants, and necessitates that all weapons be proportionate to specific military objectives. They must not cause unnecessary or aggravated suffering even to combatants, affect states that are not parties to the conflict, or cause severe, widespread, or long-term damage to the environment. The participant noted that the International Court of Justice, in its landmark advisory opinion on the legality of nuclear weapons, highlighted the fact that the vast majority of nuclear weapon deployments and missions violate those principles of IHL. And that highlights the need to create a framework of instruments to eliminate nuclear weapons, begin the preparatory process for a convention, and begin the negotiations now.

New START Treaty Implementation and Further Steps

One participant reminded the audience that the New START Treaty entered into force on February 5, 2011. The participant stated that implementation of the treaty is going well, and called it a bright spot in the U.S.-Russian relationship. This treaty responsibly limits the number of strategic nuclear weapons and launchers that the United States and Russia may deploy. When the treaty is fully implemented, according to the participant, it will result in the lowest number of strategic nuclear warheads deployed by the United States and the Russian Federation since the 1950s, the first full decade of the nuclear age. The participant added that the United States

is committed to continuing a step-by-step process, as outlined by President Obama in Prague in 2009, to reduce the overall number of nuclear weapons, including the pursuit of a future agreement with Russia for broad reductions in all categories of nuclear weapons – strategic, non-strategic, deployed, and non-deployed.

Secretary of State Clinton and Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov brought the U.S.–Russian Plutonium Management and Disposition Agreement and its 2006 and 2010 Protocols into force. The amended agreement commits each country to dispose of — under strict non-proliferation conditions — no less than 34 metric tons of excess weapon-grade plutonium, which represents enough material for about 17,000 nuclear weapons in total. Disposition of the plutonium is scheduled to begin in 2018 following construction of the necessary facilities.

The participant said that while the United States and Russia have more steps to pursue bilaterally, it was also time to continue, with greater intensity, a multilateral dialogue among the five Permanent Members of the U.N. Security Council (P5). In late June at a conference in Paris, the P5 discussed transparency, verification, and confidence-building measures. The conference, the first P5 meeting after the 2010 NPT Review Conference and a follow-on to the first such meeting held in London in 2009, was another constructive step in the process of nuclear-weapons states' engagement on NPT issues and demonstrated the P5's commitment to the implementation of the comprehensive and balanced action plan adopted at the 2010 NPT Review Conference.

All the P5 states recognized the fundamental importance of transparency in building mutual understanding and confidence, said the participant. They exchanged information on nuclear doctrine and capabilities and discussed possible voluntary transparency and confidence-building measures. To this end, they approved the creation of a working group on “Nuclear Definitions and Terminology.” They will also hold technical consultations on verification issues later this year in London. In order to ensure that these conferences evolve into a regular process of P5 dialogue, they agreed to hold a third conference in the context of the 2012 NPT Preparatory Committee to continue the discussions.

Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty

To curb non-proliferation, the entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) is a sine qua non, said one participant, as is the dismantling of nuclear test sites and their environmental cleanup.

The participant stressed that a ban on nuclear tests is a step toward achieving something much bigger: de-legitimizing nuclear weapons. State Parties to the NPT, after long advocating for a comprehensive test ban, achieved the goal in the 1990s. Nevertheless, the treaty is still not in force. The world is rising in opposition to nuclear tests both because of the physical effects and strategic instabilities caused by such tests, but also because each such test represents a step away from disarmament. The participant stressed that each test or even test preparation reaffirms of the legitimacy of owning, the legality of use, and the military utility of such weapons. He said that all of this is incompatible with nuclear disarmament efforts.

One participant noted that the CTBT, as well as its predecessor, the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963, have long been regarded as “partial measures” toward achieving nuclear disarmament. While the CTBT’s preamble clearly associates the treaty with the goal of global nuclear disarmament, nobody expected that the entry into force of the CTBT alone would achieve a world free of nuclear weapons. For this representative, the vast support this treaty has earned throughout the world is instead a reflection of the wider recognition among all people that weapons of indiscriminate mass destruction have no legitimate place in the world.

It was recalled that the CTBT in force constitutes the natural next step on the non-proliferation and disarmament agenda – a step long overdue. As the 2010 final document emphasizes, the CTBT’s entry into force is a core element of the international nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation regime. The CTBT constrains the qualitative improvement of nuclear weapons and ends the development of new, advanced nuclear weapons. So, it curbs the further development of nuclear weapons both for those that already have them, and for those who may wish to develop them.

The debate on ridding the world of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and ensuring non-proliferation must continue with purpose among all stakeholders. My delegation was pleased to participate in the very constructive Nuclear Discussion Forum, the report of which aptly underscores the urgency of mobilizing political will to undertake the States’ stated commitments on achieving the vision of global nuclear zero. My commendation to the Mission of Kazakhstan and EastWest Institute for undertaking this highly important effort.

His Excellency Hasan Kleib

AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY
AND PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE, PERMANENT MISSION
OF INDONESIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The participant added that each one of the nine outstanding states is responsible for moving the entry into force-process forward. Any one of them can take steps forward that would make a difference and lead the way.

The participant noted an article by Dr. Christine Wing of New York University in Spectrum called “Why Wait?” in which she argues that it is implied that the remaining countries don’t take the first step because their security interests will be threatened if other countries don’t ratify. But, Wing asks, is forgoing the option to conduct tests really a loss? The outstanding countries largely agree that there is no need for further testing.

Some outstanding countries use ratification as a bargaining chip in international transactions, the participant said, adding that some governments may deem it too costly to confront divisive domestic opposition to ratifying the CTBT. The participant observed that keeping the nuclear test option open is a status symbol of power and identity.

Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones

One of the participants recalled that, at the 2010 NPT Review Conference, Secretary Clinton announced that the U.S. Administration

“Austria has actively participated in the Nuclear Discussion Forum as a member of its Core Working Group. This commendable partnership between the EastWest Institute and the Permanent Mission of Kazakhstan has underscored the urgent need for new progress in the field of nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation, and I hope that the Forum will continue its important functions next year”.

His Excellency Thomas Mayr-Harting

AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY
AND PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE, PERMANENT MISSION
OF AUSTRIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS

would submit the protocols to the Africa and the South Pacific nuclear weapon-free zones to the U.S. Senate for advice and consent to ratification. This was done on May 2, 2011. The United States, together with the NWS, is also consulting with the parties to nuclear weapon-free zone treaties in Central and Southeast Asia, in an effort to reach agreement that would allow the United States to sign the protocols to those treaties.

Participants devoted a great deal of time to the proposal for a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East. For months, the co-sponsors of the 1995 resolution on the Middle East and the United Nations have been meeting regularly to determine how best to fulfill their responsibilities as laid out in the 2010 action plan to ensure a successful conference. It was stressed that, however, the success of the conference and similar efforts cannot be imposed from the outside. Rather, regional states must help build an atmosphere conducive to constructive dialogue on all relevant issues.

Another participant indicated that a critical measure would be to universalize positive and negative security assurances, extending the legally binding obligations not only for the nuclear weapon-free zones but also nations and individuals not owning nuclear weapons.

Some participants stressed that the 2012 Middle East Conference must be held as planned, despite changed wrought by the Arab Spring. One participant said that it is unfortunate that a facilitator and a venue have yet to be selected, although a suitable country has offered to host and bear much of the expense. It is essential that this conference is held next year and all states in the region must participate and participate in a constructive manner, said the participant, adding that while the conference may not result in an agreement on a WMD-free zone outright, it could be the first step to one.

Strategic Defense Doctrines

Nuclear weapons still have a role in certain countries' defense doctrines. One participant said that these states should reduce their reliance on nuclear arms because the concept of deterrence no longer applies to the present global security situation. The 2010 NPT Review Conference called on the NWS to “further diminish the role and significance of nuclear weapons in all military and security concepts, doctrines and policies.” The participant pointed out that after avoiding a nuclear holocaust, the world still has over 20,000 nuclear warheads, which makes no sense. Furthermore, the NWS still have a pre-eminent declared purpose for such weapons in its defense policies or doctrines.

Some defense thinkers continue to believe that nuclear weapons are needed to deter a nuclear attack from a nuclear power, or a threat against vital interests. Other views hold such notion to be untrue in the 21st century, since countries are not likely to launch a first strike. In fact some have a no first use policy, which negates the need for deterrent capability. Also, said one participant, a non-state actor would be the most likely to wage a nuclear attack, in which case deterrence would not work, as it rests on the idea that a country will be able to retaliate and launch nuclear weapons against the attacking state.

Non-state actors have no “return address,” as the participant put it. Furthermore, the idea that any state assisting non-state actors in a nuclear attack can also be threatened with a counter strike would not be credible since fanatical non-state actors, undeterred, would carry out their plans regardless.

According to these views, the only way to ensure the non-use of nuclear weapons is through their complete elimination.

Some participants indicated that another obstacle is the reliance by some U.S. allies on the U.S. nuclear umbrella. Some believe that there is more premium for such protection now in NATO, with new members coming from Eastern Europe. In Asia, with the developments in DPRK and a surging China, U.S. Asian allies may not want to leave the umbrella's "shelter." There may be a doctrinal change if the defense establishments in countries begin to rely more on conventional means for defense and deterring attack, said one participant, adding that the Eisenhower Administration relied so heavily on nuclear weapons because it was more cost effective to have a nuclear deterrent, as opposed to building-up conventional forces in Europe to match the Soviet Union's overwhelming conventional armory. Now the situation seems reversed, with Russia likely to use nuclear weapons to prevent or deter an overwhelming conventional attack.

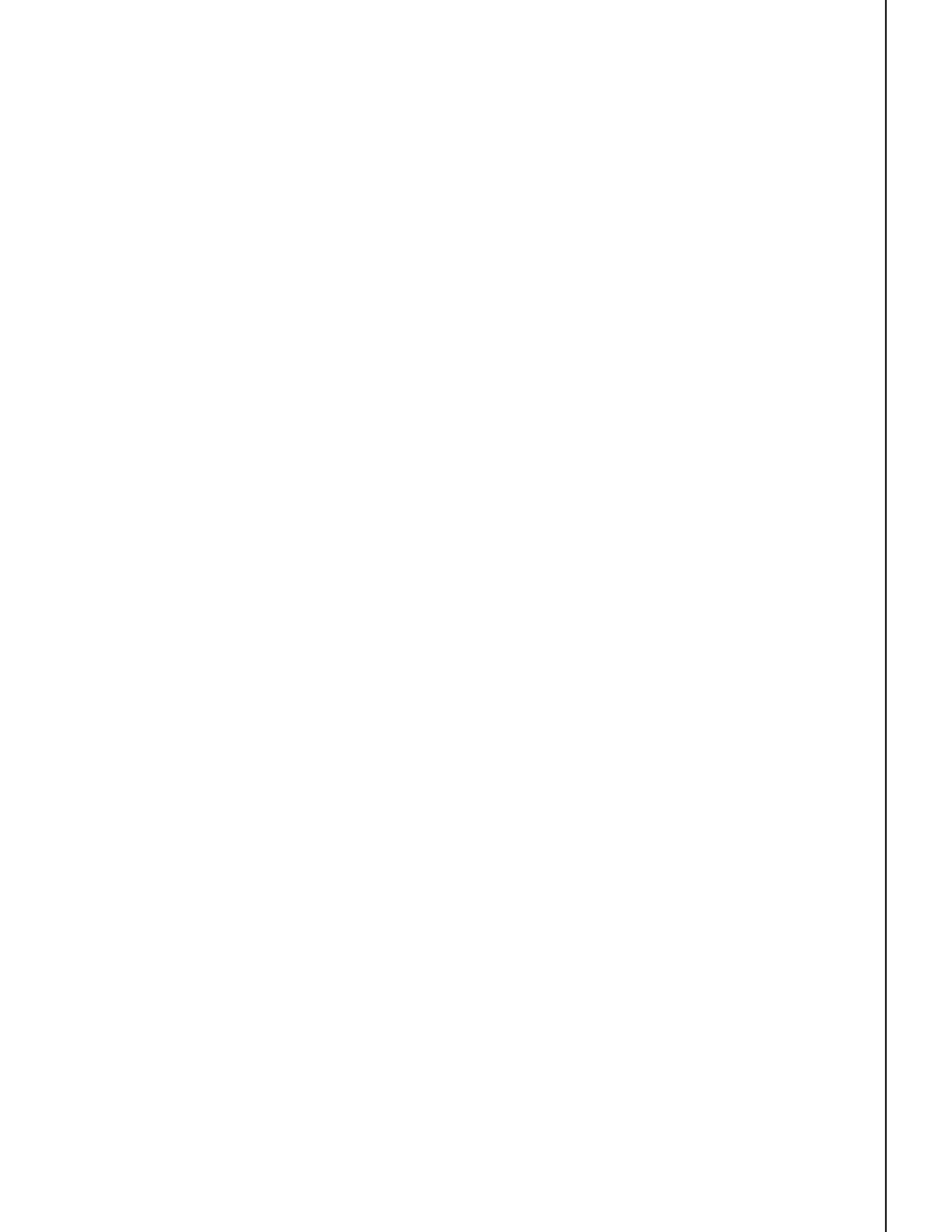
According to the former 2010 NPT Chair, a doctrinal change will only come when a country feels secure enough that it no longer relies on the ultimate weapon for defense. For this change to occur, there must be:

1. Continued improvement in the relations of the United States and Russia, by implementing New START and finding a compromise deal on missile defense. This could then encourage NATO allies to no longer rely on the U.S. nuclear umbrella;
2. Improvement in the relations between Russia and her neighbors now part of NATO;
3. Progress in resolving the DPRK issue that should include the reactivation of the Six Party Talks;
4. Reduction of tensions between India and Pakistan;
5. Real progress towards durable peace in the Middle East region. The so-called Arab Spring though may change the situation enough to allow for some progress.

APPENDIX A

Meeting Speakers and Discussants

Topic	Speaker	Lead Discussant	Date
Concluding a legally binding document to provide negative security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon states	Dr. Morton Halperin		March 30, 2011
Nuclear weapons and the emerging international humanitarian law paradigm	Mr. Ward Wilson	Mr. Stephen Rademaker	April 29, 2011
Strengthening the multilateral institutions responsible for managing and verifying disarmament and non-proliferation efforts.	Ms. Corey Hinderstein	Mr. Geoffrey Shaw	June 2, 2011
Overcoming political obstacles to realizing a nuclear weapons-free zone in the Middle East.	Dr. Gawdat Bahgat	Dr. Avner Cohen	June 30, 2011
Reducing the role of nuclear weapons in national security doctrines.	Ms. Amy Woolf	Mr. Hans Kristensen	July 28, 2011



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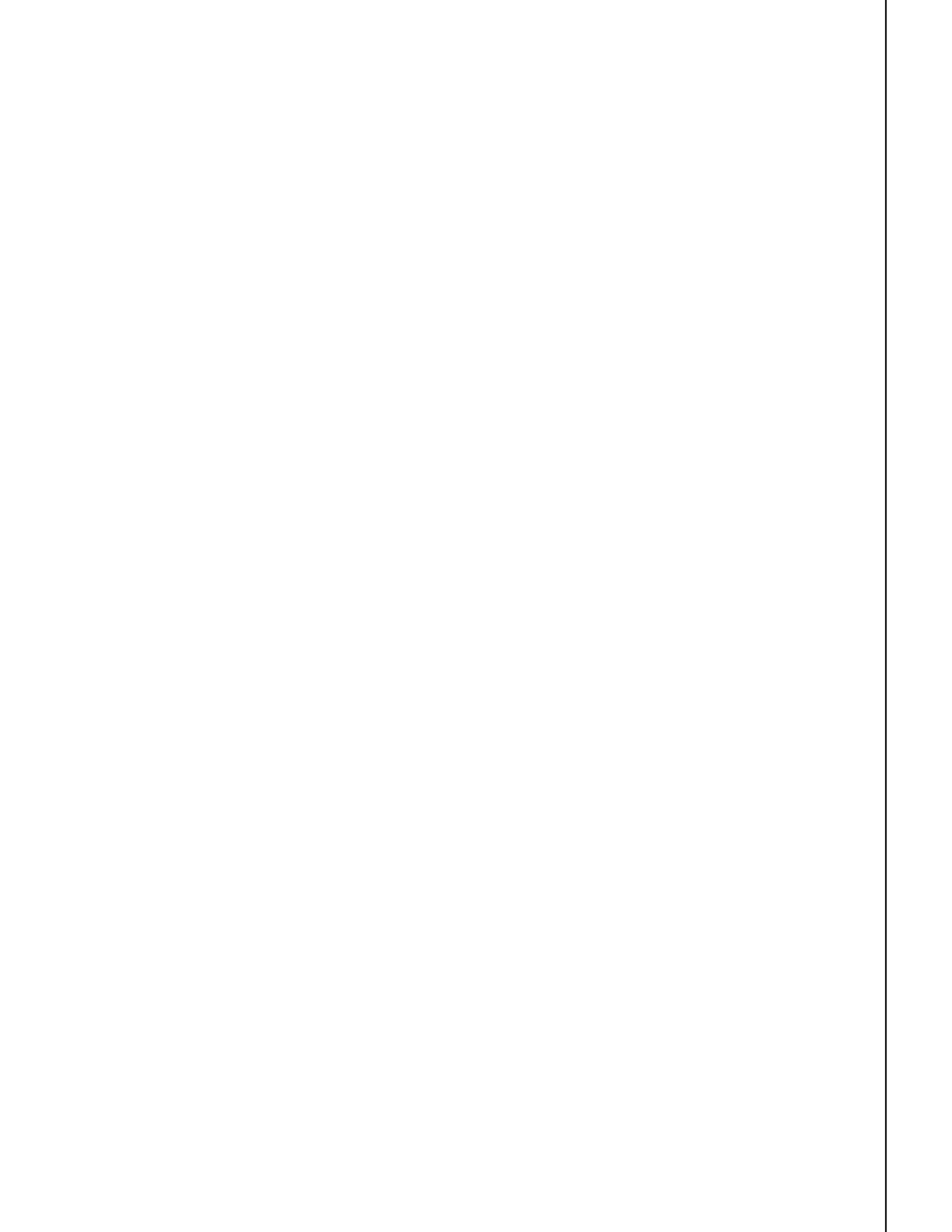
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32-2-743-4610

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Bolshaya Dmitrovka Street
7/5, Building 1, 6th Floor
Moscow, 125009
Russia, +7-495-2347797

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