

# The Nuclear Order Build or Break

2009 CARNEGIE INTERNATIONAL NONPROLIFERATION CONFERENCE PROGRAM



CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT

FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

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2009 CARNEGIE INTERNATIONAL  
NONPROLIFERATION CONFERENCE

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# The Nuclear Order Build or Break

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April 6–7, 2009

Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center  
Washington, D.C.

## **SPECIAL THANKS**

This conference and the nonproliferation work of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace are made possible through the generous support of our funders.

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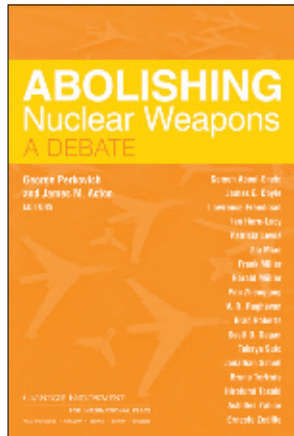
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# NUCLEAR SECURITY PUBLICATIONS

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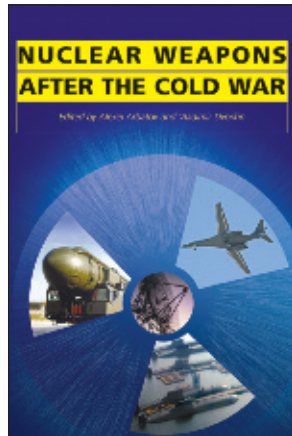
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## ABOLISHING NUCLEAR WEAPONS

George Perkovich  
& James M. Acton, Eds.

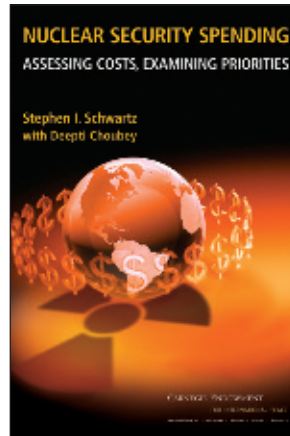
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## NUCLEAR WEAPONS AFTER THE COLD WAR

Alexei Arbatov  
& Vladimir Dvorkin

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## NUCLEAR SECURITY SPENDING

Stephen I. Schwartz  
with Deepti Choubey

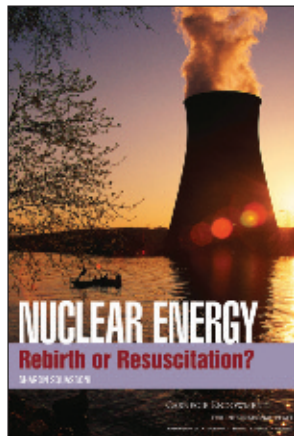
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## CONCRETE STEPS TO IMPROVE THE NONPROLIFERATION REGIME

Pierre Goldschmidt

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Sharon Squassoni

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Deepti Choubey

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George Perkovich
- **NUCLEAR RENAISSANCE: IS IT COMING? SHOULD IT?**  
Sharon Squassoni
- **THINKING STRATEGICALLY ABOUT RUSSIA**  
Dmitri Trenin
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## OTHER PUBLICATIONS

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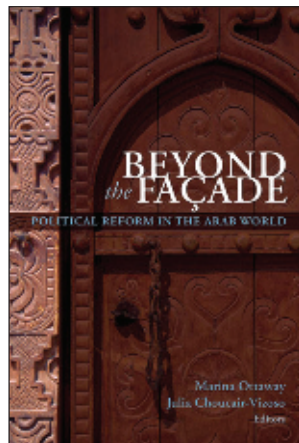
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### **PREVENTING CONFLICT OVER KURDISTAN**

Henri J. Barkey

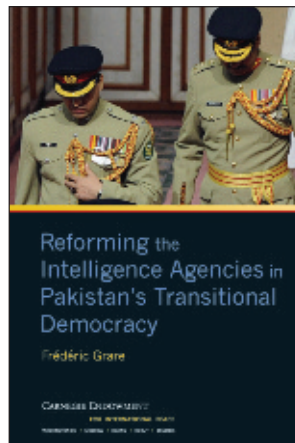
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### **BEYOND THE FAÇADE: POLITICAL REFORM IN THE ARAB WORLD**

Marina Ottaway  
& Julia Chouhry-Vizoso, Eds.

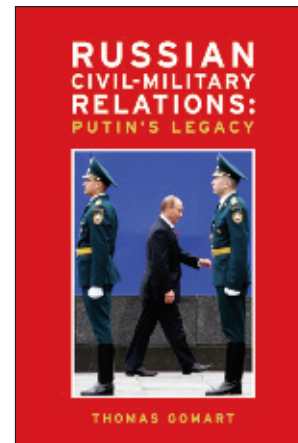
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Frédéric Grare

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Thomas Gomart

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CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT

FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

April 6, 2009

Dear Colleague,

Welcome, or for many, welcome back to the Carnegie International Nonproliferation Conference: The Nuclear Order—Build or Break. The nuclear nonproliferation regime is approaching crucial moments of decision that will determine its future. Will nuclear armed states take further steps to demonstrate their commitment to nuclear disarmament? What impact will reinvigorated U.S. leadership have? Will other states and nuclear industry join in common cause to make the vision of a world free of nuclear weapons a reality?

This conference is one of the best opportunities for policy and technical experts and government officials to grapple with urgent threats and to advance the debates that will shape the nonproliferation regime.

One of the strengths of the Carnegie Endowment is our emphasis on providing a global perspective on these issues. This conference attracts an international audience and expertise that is unparalleled outside of official forums. It is our hope that the best minds in this field will use this opportunity to produce new approaches to strengthening the nonproliferation regime.

We are grateful that you have joined this discussion and look forward to your participation.

Sincerely,



Jessica T. Mathews

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 6, 2009

It is a pleasure to send my greetings to the 2009 Carnegie International Nonproliferation Conference.

As I said in Prague, the future of nuclear weapons in the 21st century is fundamental to the peace and security of the world. The spread of nuclear weapons -- and the prospect of nuclear terrorism -- has increased the danger to our people and to the global nonproliferation regime. We have a security and moral responsibility to act. That is why this is a top priority for my Administration and why your work at this conference is so important to our collective effort.

The United States is ready to lead an effort to secure our people and strengthen the global nonproliferation regime. I have stated clearly our commitment to a world without nuclear weapons. Now we are prepared to take several steps to pursue it.

The United States and Russia have agreed to work together to negotiate a follow-on agreement to the START nuclear reduction treaty by the end of this year.

We will pursue ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty as soon as possible while maintaining a safe, secure, and reliable nuclear capability to deter our adversaries and reassure our allies.

We will seek a new treaty that verifiably ends the production of fissile materials intended for use in state nuclear weapons.

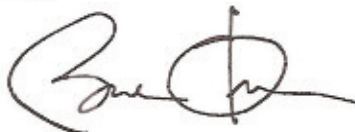
We must also reinvigorate global efforts to prevent proliferation by enhancing the international inspection system, strengthening export controls, and putting in place real and immediate consequences for countries caught breaking the rules or trying to leave the Treaty without cause.

We need a new paradigm for civil nuclear cooperation that allows all countries to enjoy the benefits of nuclear power while avoiding the spread of nuclear weapons and technologies. To that end, we support the international fuel bank and other constructive international initiatives.

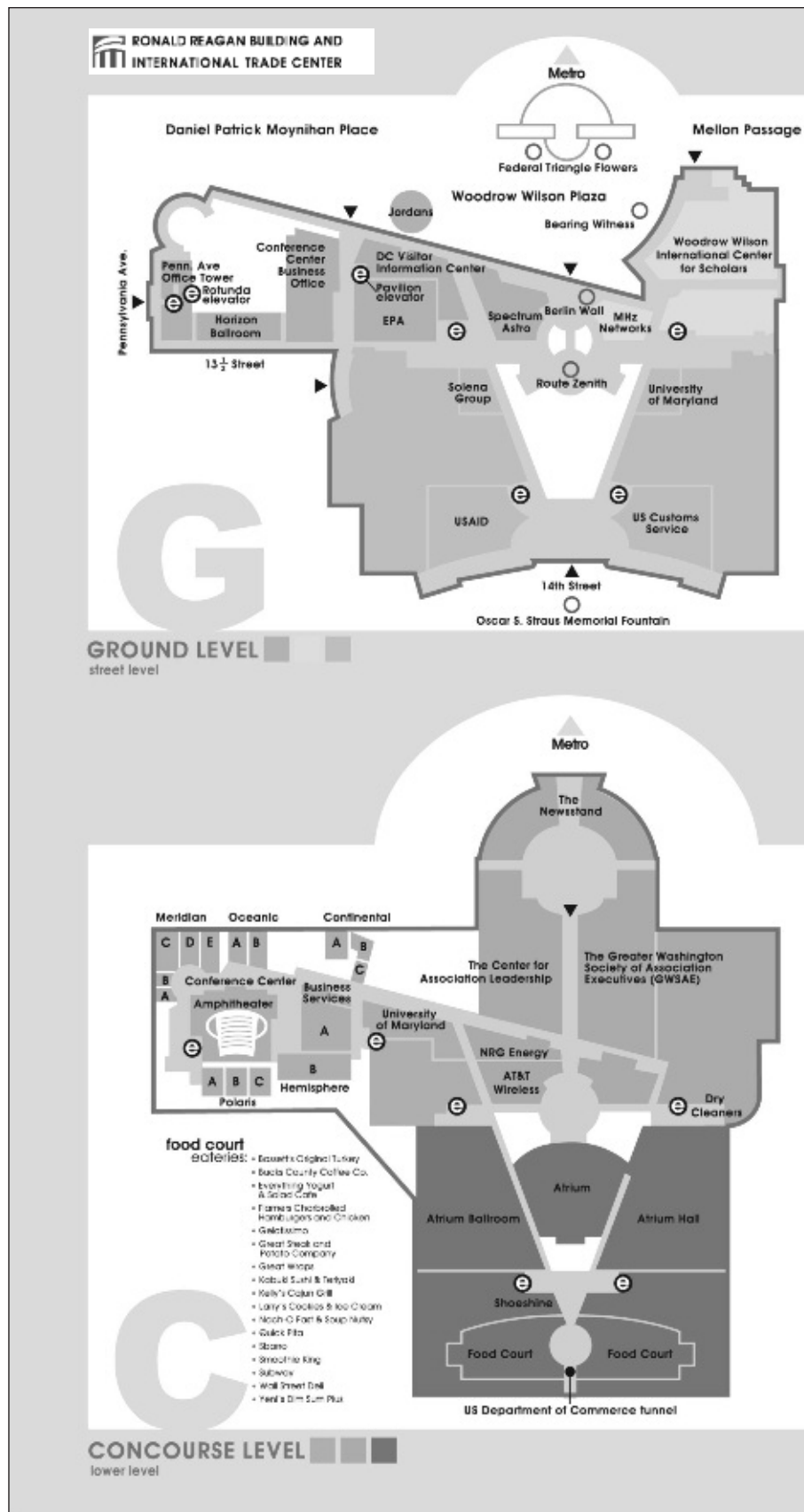
We must address the most immediate and extreme threat to our security by ensuring that terrorists never acquire a weapon. To that end, we will pursue a new effort to secure all vulnerable materials around the world within 4 years.

In short, we will use all of America's political, diplomatic, intellectual, and moral capacity to seek a new chapter in our nonproliferation efforts. This work will not be easy. It will take the cooperation of nations, and the support of groups like those who are gathered at this Conference. There is no higher calling than leaving the world a safer and more peaceful place for our children. That is the work that we have begun.

I look forward to hearing the results of your important deliberations, and I thank you for your continued efforts to promote global peace and security.







# General Information

## REGISTRATION HOURS

All participants must be registered to attend the Carnegie International Nonproliferation Conference. Attendees may pickup badge and conference materials at the conference registration desk located in the Amphitheater Foyer. Presenters and attendees must wear badges during the conference. Registration hours are Monday, 8:00 am to 5:30 pm and Tuesday, 7:30 am to 2:30 pm.

## MEETING ROOM LOCATIONS

The Carnegie International Nonproliferation Conference will hold all conference events at the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center (ITC).

Plenary Sessions	Amphitheater	Concourse Level
Luncheons and Welcome Reception	Atrium Ballroom	Concourse Level
Concurrent Panels	Amphitheater	Concourse Level
	Polaris	Concourse Level
	Horizon	Ground Floor
Closing Reception	Polaris	Concourse Level
Proliferation Café	Meridian C	Concourse Level

## PRESS DESK

The Carnegie Endowment's communications staff will be available to assist the press with interviews, logistics, and press packages. The Press Desk is located in the Amphitheater Foyer, near registration.

## PROLIFERATION CAFÉ—MERIDIAN C

The Proliferation Café is a quiet place for attendees to meet and relax between sessions. Internet access is available.

## BUSINESS CENTER

The ITC operates a full-service business center located on the Concourse Level. The business center is open from 7:30 am–5:30 pm Monday through Friday. The business center fax number is (202) 312-1390 and the phone number is (202) 312-1316.

## INTERNET SERVICE

Internet Kiosk and WiFi services are available on the Concourse Level near the food court and Amphitheater. The ITC Business Center also provides internet access for a fee.

## PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION

The ITC is accessible by subway trains and buses. Please exit the METRO Blue/Orange Line at the Federal Triangle stop or the Red Line at the Metro Center stop. For more information concerning routing and schedules, call (202) 637-7000.

## PARKING

Public parking is available in the ITC underground lot. Public access is available via 13½ Street off Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. and via 14th Street from 5:00 am until 2:00 am. Guests and attendees should allow themselves extra time as all guests and vehicles are screened upon entry. Parking rates range from \$8.00 for 1 hour to \$21 for over 10 hours to close. The maximum overhead clearance in the garage is 7 feet.

# Conference Agenda

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**Carnegie International Nonproliferation Conference**  
**Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center**  
**Washington, D.C.**

**MONDAY, APRIL 6, 2009**

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8:00 am <i>Amphitheater Foyer</i>	<b>Registration and Continental Breakfast</b>
9:00 am–9:10 am <i>Amphitheater</i>	<b>Welcome and Opening Remarks</b> Jessica T. Mathews, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
9:10 am–10:30 am <i>Amphitheater</i>	<b>The Nuclear Order—Build or Break</b> Chair: George Perkovich, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Ambassador Linton Brooks Morton Halperin, Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States Brad Roberts, Institute for Defense Analyses Achilles Zaluar, Embassy of Brazil
10:30 am–11:00 am	<b>Break</b>
11:00 am–12:20 pm <i>Amphitheater</i>	<b>International Expectations of the Obama Administration</b> Chair: Naila Bolus, Ploughshares Fund Ambassador Peter Gottwald, Federal Foreign Office, Germany Rebecca Johnson, The Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy Vladimir Orlov, Center for Policy Studies in Russia (PIR) Dingli Shen, Fudan University
12:30 pm–2:00 pm <i>Atrium Ballroom</i>	<b>Luncheon Keynote</b> Deputy Secretary of State James B. Steinberg, U.S. Department of State

## Monday Afternoon Concurrent Panels

2:00 pm–3:30 pm <i>Amphitheater</i>	<b>Nuclear Crisis Points: Iran, North Korea, Syria, and Pakistan</b> Chair: Carla Robbins, <i>The New York Times</i> Ariel Levite, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Shuja Nawaz, The Atlantic Council of the United States Leonard Spector, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies
2:00 pm–3:30 pm <i>Polaris</i>	<b>U.S.–China Strategic Stability</b> Chair: Brad Roberts, Institute for Defense Analyses Shulong Chu, Tsinghua University Admiral Richard Mies Robert Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis

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2:00 pm–3:30 pm <i>Horizon</i>	<b>Innovating the Regime</b> Chair: Peter Hayes, Nautilus Institute Pierre Goldschmidt, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Monika Heupel, Freie Universität Berlin Ramesh Thakur, Balsillie School of International Affairs
3:30 pm–4:00 pm	<b>Break</b>
4:00 pm–5:20 pm <i>Amphitheater</i>	<b>PART 1: Toward a Nuclear Power Renaissance? Fact or Fiction</b> Chair: Tom Isaacs, Stanford University / Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory Robert Rosner, Argonne National Laboratory John Rowe, Exelon Corporation Sharon Squassoni, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
4:00 pm–5:20 pm <i>Polaris</i>	<b>Are the Requirements for Extended Deterrence Changing?</b> Chair: Scott Sagan, Stanford University Lukasz Kulesa, Polish Institute of International Affairs George Perkovich, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Ambassador Yukio Satoh, Japan Institute of International Affairs
4:00 pm–5:20 pm <i>Horizon</i>	<b>Verification: Common Ground and Emerging Controversies</b> Chair: Patricia Lewis, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies James Acton, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Ambassador Linton Brooks James Doyle, Los Alamos National Laboratory Commentator: Angela Woodward, Verification Research, Training and Information Centre
5:30 pm–6:15 pm <i>Amphitheater</i>	<b>Keynote: Nuclear Industry's Role in Nonproliferation</b> Anne Lauvergeon, CEO, AREVA
6:30 pm–8:00 pm <i>Atrium Ballroom</i>	<b>Welcome Reception</b>

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TUESDAY, APRIL 7, 2009

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7:30 am                      **Registration and Continental Breakfast**  
*Amphitheater Foyer*

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Tuesday Morning Concurrent Breakfast Briefings

7:30 am–8:45 am            **It is 5 Minutes to Midnight**  
*Polaris*                      Sponsored by the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*  
Chair: Kennette Benedict, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*  
Lawrence Korb, Center for American Progress  
Allison Macfarlane, George Mason University

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7:30 am–8:45 am            **Enhancing Global Security Through International Collaboration**  
*Horizon*                      Sponsored by The National Academies  
Chair: David Franz, Midwest Research Institute  
Anne Harrington, U.S. National Academy of Sciences  
Ron Lehman II, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory

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Tuesday Morning Concurrent Panels

9:00 am–10:30 am          **PART 2: Challenges to Global Nuclear Power:**  
*Amphitheater*              **Technological, Political, and Economic**  
Chair: Ariel Levite, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Jacques Bouchard, Commissariat à l'Énergie Atomique  
Charles McCombie, Arius Association  
Ernest Moniz, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

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9:00 am–10:30 am          **The Future of the CTBT**  
*Polaris*                      Chair: Daryl Kimball, Arms Control Association  
Sidney Drell, Stanford University  
Ambassador James Goodby, Hoover Institution  
Ambassador Tibor Tóth, Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organization  
Preparatory Commission

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9:00 am–10:30 am          **After the Khan Network: What Works, What Doesn't**  
*Horizon*                      **and Where Do We Go?**  
Chair: Joby Warrick, *The Washington Post*  
David Albright, Institute for Science and International Security  
Rolf Mowatt-Larssen, Harvard University  
Ralf Wirtz, Oerlikon Leybold Vacuum

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10:30 am–11:00 am        **Break**

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11:00 am–12:20 pm <i>Amphitheater</i>	<b>Enforcing a World Without Nuclear Weapons</b> Chair: Steven Miller, Harvard University Alexei Arbatov, Carnegie Moscow Center Martin Briens, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France Ambassador Richard Butler AC, New York University / Penn State University
11:00 am–12:20 pm <i>Polaris</i>	<b>Nuclear–Weapon-Free-Zones: Past Lessons and Future Prospects</b> Chair: William Potter, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies Jean du Preez, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies Sonia Fernández-Moreno, Autoridad Regulatoria Nuclear, Argentina Ambassador Sameh Shoukry, Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt Commentator: Ariel Levite, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
11:00 am–12:20 pm <i>Horizon</i>	<b>The Space–Nuclear Nexus</b> Chair: Michael Krepon, The Henry L. Stimson Center Philip Coyle, World Security Institute Pavel Podvig, Stanford University Dingli Shen, Fudan University
12:30 pm–2:00 pm <i>Atrium Ballroom</i>	<b>Luncheon: Whither U.S.–Russia Relations?</b> Chair: Peter Baker, <i>The New York Times</i> Rose Gottemoeller, U.S. Department of State Ambassador Sergey I. Kislyak, Embassy of the Russian Federation
2:00 pm–3:30 pm <i>Amphitheater</i>	<b>Beyond 2010</b> Chair: H.E. Jonas Gahr Støre, Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway Sameh Aboul-Enein, Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the United Kingdom Robert Einhorn, Center for Strategic and International Studies H.E. Gareth Evans, International Commission on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament Ambassador Sudjadnan Parnohadiningrat, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia
3:30 pm–3:35 pm <i>Amphitheater</i>	<b>Closing Remarks</b> Deepti Choubey, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
3:35 pm–5:00 pm <i>Polaris</i>	<b>Closing Reception</b>

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# Conference Panels and Panelist Biographies

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## THE NUCLEAR ORDER—BUILD OR BREAK

Monday, April 6

9:10 am

Amphitheater

**CHAIR: GEORGE PERKOVICH**, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**AMBASSADOR LINTON BROOKS**

**MORTON HALPERIN**, Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States

**BRAD ROBERTS**, Institute for Defense Analyses

**ACHILLES ZALUAR**, Embassy of Brazil

This session will explore key questions arising from the Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States and the new Carnegie book, *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons: A Debate*. Does emphasizing the deterrent value of nuclear weapons help prevent proliferation or encourage it? If the nuclear-armed states were serious about disarmament, would proliferation stop? Does exploring abolition help renovate the nuclear order or break it? Would safer, more secure and reliable nuclear warheads facilitate nuclear disarmament and security or undermine them? If the U.S. and Russia agreed to reduce to 500 nuclear weapons, would China, India and others reduce accordingly or build up to seek parity with them?

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**George Perkovich** is a Vice President for Studies and the Director of the Nonproliferation Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His research focuses on nuclear strategy and nonproliferation, with a focus on South Asia and Iran, and on the problem of justice in the international political economy. He is the author of the award-winning book *India's Nuclear Bomb*. He is co-author of the Adelphi Paper, *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons*, published in September 2008 by the International Institute for Strategic Studies. This paper is the basis of the book, *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons: A Debate*, which includes 17 critiques by 13 eminent international commentators and is now available at [www.carnegieendowment.org/nuclearweaponsdebate](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/nuclearweaponsdebate). Perkovich is also co-author of a major Carnegie report, *Universal Compliance: A Strategy for Nuclear Security*, a blueprint for rethinking the international nuclear nonproliferation regime. He served as a speechwriter and foreign policy adviser to Senator Joseph Biden from 1989 to 1990. Perkovich is an advisor to the International Commission on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations' Task Force on U.S. Nuclear Policy.

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**Ambassador Linton Brooks**, now an independent consultant, served from July 2002 to January 2007 as Administrator of the Department of Energy's National Nuclear Security Administration, where he was responsible for the U.S. nuclear weapons program and for the Department's international nuclear nonproliferation programs. He has five decades of experience in national security, much of it associated with nuclear weapons. His government service includes Chief U.S. Negotiator for the START Treaty, Assistant Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Director of Defense Programs and Arms Control at the National Security Council and a number of Navy and Defense Department assignments as a career naval officer.

**Morton Halperin** is a Commissioner for the Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States. He is also a Consultant to the Open Society Institute and the Open Society Policy Center, as well as a Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress. Halperin worked for many years for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). He was Director of the Center for National Security Studies from 1975 to 1992; from 1984 to 1992 he was also the Director of the Washington Office of the ACLU. Halperin served in the Clinton, Nixon and Johnson administrations, most recently as Director of the Policy Planning Staff at the Department of State (1998–2001). He is the author of numerous books and articles including *The Lawless State* (1976) and *Self-Determination in the New World Order* (1992).

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**Brad Roberts** is a member of the research staff at the Institute for Defense Analyses in Alexandria, Virginia. He is also a Professorial Lecturer in International Affairs at George Washington University. He served previously as Editor of the *Washington Quarterly* and as a Research Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and also as Chair of the research advisory council of the Chemical and Biological Arms Control Institute. His research interests focus on the intersection of counterproliferation and nonproliferation strategies.

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**Achilles Zaluar** is Minister-Counselor at the Brazilian Embassy in Washington, D.C., where his portfolio includes nonproliferation, nuclear, defense and multilateral issues. He is most recently the author of "A Realistic Approach to Nuclear Disarmament," included in *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons: A Debate* by George Perkovich and James Acton. Previously, he served as the Deputy Head of the United Nations Division at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Brasilia. In previous assignments, he worked on nonproliferation and export control, including Brazil's relations with the MTCR and NSG control regimes, was Secretary of the interagency group that drafted Brazil's export control law, and was a member of the team responsible for the position papers and the presidential message for Brazil's accession to the NPT. His thesis at the Brazilian Rio Branco Institute was on "Nuclear Non-proliferation and the Security Council."

## INTERNATIONAL EXPECTATIONS OF THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION

Monday, April 6

11:00 am

Amphitheater

**CHAIR: NAILA BOLUS**, Ploughshares Fund

**AMBASSADOR PETER GOTTWALD**, Federal Foreign Office, Germany

**REBECCA JOHNSON**, The Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy

**VLADIMIR ORLOV**, Center for Policy Studies in Russia (PIR)

**DINGLI SHEN**, Fudan University

President Obama delivered yesterday in Prague a landmark address calling for a world free of nuclear weapons. Experts from China, Germany, the Russian Federation and the United Kingdom provide reactions to the vision and policies outlined by President Obama.

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**Naila Bolus** is the Executive Director of the Ploughshares Fund and leads all grantmaking, fundraising, public outreach and financial management of the Ploughshares Fund. Prior to joining Ploughshares in 1997, Naila was Co-Director of 20/20 Vision. She helped found and served as the Political Director for WiLL, the Women Legislators' Lobby and also served as the Legislative Director for Women's Action for New Directions (WAND) and lobbied Congress on a range of security and women's issues. Naila Bolus graduated from Tufts University in 1987 with a degree in International Relations. She also earned a Certificate of Political Studies from the Institute d'Etudes Politiques.

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**Ambassador Peter Gottwald** is the Commissioner of the Federal Government for Arms Control and Disarmament in Berlin. Before his appointment, he was the Permanent / Resident Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations and to the other International Organizations, Vienna, since July 2006. He was Deputy Chief of Mission of the German Embassy in Washington from 2003 to 2006. Prior to this, Gottwald was a fellow at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University. His previous positions include Director for North America at the Federal Foreign Office, Deputy Spokesman for former Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and Deputy Director in the arms control and disarmament division. He also served in London from 1993 to 1998. Gottwald was educated at the universities of Mannheim, Frankfurt, and Konstanz and holds an M.A. in International Relations from Syracuse University.

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**Rebecca Johnson** is the Executive Director of The Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy, London and publisher of *Disarmament Diplomacy*, the respected international journal on global security and multilateral arms negotiations, available at [www.acronym.org.uk](http://www.acronym.org.uk). Johnson holds a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics, and writes extensively on the UN system and multilateral treaties, notably the NPT and CTBT, as well as other disarmament and nonproliferation negotiations, civil society, British defense policy, space weaponization and international security. She has served as a consultant to the European Union and provided evidence to British, German and EU parliamentary committees.

**Vladimir Orlov** is President of the PIR Center and Editor-in-Chief of the *Security Index* journal. He is a leading expert on international security and foreign policy of the Russian Federation. Orlov founded the PIR Center in 1994 and since then he has been heading work of this organization in Moscow, Russia. Currently, he also is President of the Center's European branch based in Geneva, Centre russe d'études politiques. Orlov is a member of the Public Board at the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation. He is a member of the Russian Pugwash Committee at the Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences; the Monterey Nonproliferation Strategy Group; *Washington Quarterly* Editorial Board; and of the Trialogue Club International which he founded in 1993. Since 1994, Orlov is the Editor-in-Chief of *Security Index* journal (published until 2007 under the title of *Yaderny Kontrol*).

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**Dingli Shen** is the Professor of International Relations at Fudan University, Shanghai. He is the Director of Fudan University's Center for American Studies, and Executive Dean of the Institute of International Studies. He is the Co-Founder and Director of China's first non-government-based program on arms control and regional security, at Fudan University. Shen teaches nonproliferation, international security, and China's foreign policy in China and U.S. His research areas cover China-U.S. security and nuclear relationship, regional security and nonproliferation issues, and Chinese and American foreign and defense policies.



**LUNCHEON KEYNOTE**

Monday, April 6

12:30 pm-2:00 pm

Atrium Ballroom

**DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES B. STEINBERG**, U.S. Department of State

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**James B. Steinberg** is the Deputy Secretary of State, serving as the principal Deputy to Secretary Clinton. Prior to his appointment in the Obama Administration, Steinberg served as Dean of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs since January 2006. He had previously served as the Vice President and Director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. (2001–2005). From December 1996 to August 2000, Steinberg served as Deputy National Security Advisor to President Bill Clinton. During that period he also served as the president's personal representative ("Sherpa") to the 1998 and 1999 G-8 summits. Previously, he served as Chief of Staff of the U.S. State Department and Director of the State Department's policy planning staff (1994–1996), and as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Analysis in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (1993–1994).

Steinberg has also been a Senior Analyst at RAND (1989–1993), and a Senior Fellow for U.S. Strategic Policy at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (1985–1987). He served as Senator Edward Kennedy's principal aide for the Senate Armed Services Committee (1983–1985); Minority Counsel, U.S. Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee (1981–1983); Special Assistant to the U.S. Assistant Attorney General (Civil Division) (1979–1980); law clerk to Judge David L. Bazelon, U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit (1978–1979); and Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1977). Steinberg received his B.A. from Harvard in 1973 and J.D. from Yale Law School in 1978.

## Afternoon Concurrent Panels

### NUCLEAR CRISIS POINTS: IRAN, NORTH KOREA, SYRIA, AND PAKISTAN

Monday, April 6

2:00 pm

Amphitheater

**CHAIR: CARLA ROBBINS**, *The New York Times*

**ARIEL LEVITE**, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**SHUJA NAWAZ**, The Atlantic Council of the United States

**LEONARD SPECTOR**, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies

What is happening in Iran, Syria, North Korea, and Pakistan? This panel discusses critical developments in these countries—whether and how they are collaborating—and how their nuclear ambitions will affect efforts to curb the spread of nuclear appetites and weapons around the world.

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**Carla Robbins** joined *The Times* editorial board in July 2006 and became Deputy Editor in January 2007. Robbins was previously *The Wall Street Journal's* Chief Diplomatic Correspondent. She covered Central and Latin America for *U.S. News & World Report* and began her career at *Business Week*. Robbins received the 2003 Georgetown University Weintal Prize for diplomatic reporting. She also shared in two Pulitzer Prizes at the *Journal* and other reporting prizes and was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University. Robbins is a graduate of Wellesley College and holds an M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Berkeley.

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**Ariel Levite** is a Nonresident Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment. Earlier, he was the Principal Deputy Director General (Policy) at the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission (2002–2007), a Visiting Fellow at the Stanford Center for International Security and Cooperation (2000–2002), Deputy Israeli National Security Advisor (Defense Policy; 1999–2000), and Head of the Bureau of International Security at the Israeli MOD. Prior to joining government service, Levite worked as a Senior Research Associate at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel-Aviv University. He has authored numerous books and articles on issues of strategy, military doctrine, deterrence, arms control, proliferation, and intelligence. He holds a Ph.D. in Government from Cornell University.

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**Shuja Nawaz** is the Director of the South Asia Center at The Atlantic Council of the United States. He writes for leading newspapers and *The Huffington Post*, and speaks on current topics before civic groups, at think tanks, and on radio and television. He has worked on projects with RAND, the United States Institute of Peace, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, The Atlantic Council, and other leading think tanks on projects dealing with Pakistan and the Middle East. His latest book is *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, its Army, and the Wars Within* (Oxford University Press; 2008), available on the web and from leading booksellers worldwide. He is also the author of *FATA: A Most Dangerous Place* (CSIS, Washington, D.C.; January 2009).

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**Leonard Spector** directs the Washington, D.C. Office of the Monterey Institute's James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS). He currently leads the Center's Program on Nonproliferation Policy and Law, in partnership with Georgetown University. Previously, while at CNS, he served as Editor-in-Chief of the web journal, *WMD Insights*. From September 1997 to January 2001, Spector served as Assistant Deputy Administrator for Arms Control and Nonproliferation at the National Nuclear Security Administration. Earlier in his career, Spector directed the Nonproliferation Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The author of six books on nuclear proliferation and numerous articles, Spector appears frequently in the media as a commentator on nuclear affairs.

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**U.S.-CHINA STRATEGIC STABILITY**

Monday, April 6

2:00 pm

Polaris

**CHAIR: BRAD ROBERTS**, Institute for Defense Analyses

**SHULONG CHU**, Tsinghua University

**ADMIRAL RICHARD MIES**

**ROBERT PFALTZGRAFF, JR.**, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis

The U.S.-China strategic relationship is entering a period of new dynamism and uncertainty, as China builds up and diversifies its nuclear “counter-deterrent” and as the United States builds down its nuclear forces but also diversifies its strategic military toolkit with missile defenses, etc. How can a stable relationship be preserved in this dynamic period? What kind of a strategic relationship should the U.S. want and what kind of strategic relationship can it have with China? And vice versa?

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**Brad Roberts** is a member of the research staff at the Institute for Defense Analyses in Alexandria, Virginia. He is also a Professorial Lecturer in International Affairs at George Washington University. He served previously as Editor of the *Washington Quarterly* and as a Research Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and also as Chair of the research advisory council of the Chemical and Biological Arms Control Institute. His research interests focus on the intersection of counterproliferation and nonproliferation strategies.

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**Shulong Chu** is a Professor of Political Science and International Relations, and the Deputy Director of Institute of International Strategic and Development Studies at Tsinghua University in Beijing, China. He is also a Professor at China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Party School, an adviser of international reporting at China's Central Television (CCTV). Chu's research covers international relations, strategic studies, American foreign policy, and China's foreign and security strategies. His most recent publication is the book *China's Foreign Strategy and Policy*.

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**Admiral Richard Mies** presently serves as the Chairman of the Department of Defense Threat Reduction Committee. Admiral Mies completed a distinguished 35-year career in the U.S. Navy. He commanded U.S. Strategic Command for four years prior to retirement. As Commander in Chief, he was directly responsible for the command and control of the nation's strategic nuclear forces supporting the national security objective of strategic deterrence. Admiral Mies has a unique breadth and depth of operational and policy experience in undersea and strategic warfare. He has held both U.S. and Allied commands at senior military levels and is one of a few flag officers to complete qualification as both a submariner and naval aviation observer.

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**Robert Pfaltzgraff, Jr.** is the President of the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis and the Shelby Cullom Davis Professor of International Security Studies at The Fletcher School, Tufts University. He has advised key administration officials on military strategy, defense modernization, the future of the Atlantic Alliance, proliferation and counterproliferation issues, and arms control policy. He has lectured widely at government, industry, and academic forums in the United States and overseas. These include the NATO Defense College, National Defense University, the Marine Corps University, the Army War College, the Air University, the Naval War College, and the Armed Forces Staff College. He currently serves on the International Security Advisory Board (ISAB), U.S. State Department.

**INNOVATING THE REGIME**

Monday, April 6

2:00 pm

Horizon

**CHAIR: PETER HAYES**, Nautilus Institute

**PIERRE GOLDSCHMIDT**, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**MONIKA HEUPEL**, Freie Universität Berlin

**RAMESH THAKUR**, Balsillie School of International Affairs

The fabric of the global nonproliferation regime has been ripped apart by recent nonproliferation developments, including the North Korean nuclear test, the U.S.-India nuclear deal, the prospect of a rapid spread of fuel cycle facilities in East Asia, and the diffusion of dual capable nuclear weapons knowledge and technology. The Obama administration may inject new energy into reconstituting the regime. This panel outlines some of the important innovations that must be included in any strategy to make the regime capable of containing the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

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**Peter Hayes** is the Executive Director of the Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainable Development, a non-governmental policy-oriented research and advocacy group. Hayes graduated with a degree in History from the University of Melbourne. He has a doctorate from the Energy and Resources Group at the University of California, Berkeley. Professionally active as an environment and energy consultant in developing countries (working for United Nations Environment Programme, Asian Development Bank, World Bank, Canadian International Development Research Council, U.S. Agency for International Development, United Nations Development Programme), he also writes widely about security affairs in the Asian-Pacific region. He was Executive Director of the Environment Liaison Centre in Nairobi, Kenya in 1974–76. He was Deputy Director of the Commission for the Future (Australian Government) from 1989–1991. He has visited the DPRK seven times. He is a member of the Pacific Council on International Policy, the Western partner of the Council on Foreign Relations; and the U.S. Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific. He was awarded a MacArthur Fellowship in 2000.

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**Pierre Goldschmidt** is a Nonresident Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Goldschmidt is also a member of the Board of Directors for the Association Vinçotte Nuclear (AVN). AVN is a non-profit, Authorized Inspection Organization charged with verifying compliance of nuclear power plants with Belgian safety regulations. Goldschmidt was the Deputy Director General, Head of the Department of Safeguards, at the International Atomic Energy Agency from 1999 to June 2005. The Department of Safeguards is responsible for verifying that nuclear material placed under safeguards is not diverted to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices and that there is no undeclared nuclear material or activities in non-nuclear weapons States party to the NPT. Before the IAEA, Goldschmidt was, for 12 years, Director General of SYNATOM, the company responsible for the fuel supply and spent fuel management of seven Belgian nuclear plants. For six years, Goldschmidt was a member of the Directoire of EURODIF, the large French uranium enrichment company. Goldschmidt has headed numerous European and international committees, including as Chairman of the Uranium Institute in London and Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the EURATOM Supply Agency.

**Monika Heupel** is a Lecturer in International Relations at the Center for Transnational Relations, Foreign and Security Policy at the Freie Universität Berlin. Previously, she pursued post-doctoral research at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Chatham House, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the United Nations University. From 2002 to 2005, she was a Research Associate at the University of Bremen. She holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Bremen and an M.A. in International Relations from the University of Warwick. Heupel's research focuses on the implications of the emergence of transnational security threats such as cross-border proliferation networks, transnational terrorism and so-called "new wars."

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**Ramesh Thakur** is the founding Director of the Balsillie School of International Affairs in Waterloo, Canada. He was previously Vice Rector / Senior Vice Rector of the UN University (and Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations); a Commissioner and one of the principal authors of *The Responsibility to Protect*, Senior Adviser on Reforms, and Principal Writer of UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's second reform report; and serves on the international advisory boards of institutes in Africa, Asia, Europe and North America. His books include *The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect*—winner of the ACUNS 2008 Award for the best book on the UN system, and *The United Nations and Global Governance: An Unfinished Journey*.



## PART 1: TOWARD A NUCLEAR POWER RENAISSANCE? FACT OR FICTION

Monday, April 6

4:00 pm

Amphitheater

**CHAIR: TOM ISAACS**, Stanford University / Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory

**ROBERT ROSNER**, Argonne National Laboratory

**JOHN ROWE**, Exelon Corporation

**SHARON SQUASSONI**, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Times have changed; concerns over global warming, energy security, and energy adequacy have put nuclear power squarely back into important discussions about future energy supply. The growth and, importantly, the spread of nuclear power and fuel cycle facilities bring both tremendous opportunity for improved well being for the planet and its citizens and renewed attention to many well known concerns. Is nuclear power about to reemerge as a major energy source both in the U.S. and internationally? If so, what changes in technical, political, societal, and economic circumstances are required, including those necessary to allay nonproliferation concerns?

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**Tom Isaacs** is currently a Consulting Professor at Stanford University in the Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC). He remains the Director of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory's (LLNL's) Office of Planning, and Special Studies. Isaacs has an extensive background in science policy and work experience directly relevant to issues at the intersection of energy security, national security, the environment, and waste management as well as to the U.S. and other repository programs in particular. He is a member of the National Academy of Sciences Nuclear and Radiation Studies Board. Before joining LLNL, he held a variety of positions within the U.S. Department of Energy. These included serving as Executive Director of the Department of Energy's Advisory Committee on External Regulation of DOE Nuclear Safety, and Deputy Director of the Office of Geologic Repositories for the department's radioactive waste program. Isaacs received a B.S. degree in Chemical Engineering from the University of Pennsylvania and an M.S. degree in Engineering and Applied Physics from Harvard University.

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**Robert Rosner** is the William E. Wrather Distinguished Service Professor in Astronomy & Astrophysics and Physics at the University of Chicago (UChicago) and President of UChicago Argonne, LLC and Director of Argonne National Laboratory. Prior to his appointment as Director of Argonne (2004), he served as its Chief Scientist (2002–2004), as Chairman of Astronomy & Astrophysics at UChicago (1991–1997), and as the Rothschild Visiting Professor at Cambridge University (2004). Rosner is a student of astrophysical fluid dynamics and plasma physics. He was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (2001), and is a Fellow of the American Physical Society. He holds a Ph.D. (Physics, 1976) from Harvard and a B.S. (Physics, 1969) from Brandeis.

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**John Rowe** is the Chairman and CEO of Exelon Corporation, a utility holding company headquartered in Chicago. Exelon has the largest market capitalization in the electric utility industry. Its retail affiliates serve 5.4 million customers in Illinois and Pennsylvania, and its generation affiliate operates the largest fleet of nuclear power plants in the nation. Rowe is the most senior chief executive in the utility industry, having served in such positions since 1984. Rowe has led Exelon since its formation in 2000. Rowe previously held CEO positions at the New England Electric System and Central Maine Power Company. Rowe serves as Chairman of the Nuclear Energy Institute, is a past Chairman of the Edison Electric Institute, and is a Co-Chairman of the National Commission on Energy Policy, an industry and environmental organization dealing with climate change.

**Sharon Squassoni** is a Senior Associate in the Nonproliferation Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and has been analyzing nonproliferation, arms control and national security issues for two decades. Prior to joining Carnegie in 2007, she helped advise Members of Congress as a specialist in weapons of mass destruction at the Congressional Research Service. She has also served in the executive branch, beginning her government career as a nuclear safeguards expert in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Her last position at the State Department was Director of Policy Coordination in the Nonproliferation Bureau. Squassoni has contributed to journals, magazines, and books on nuclear proliferation and defense. Her most recent publications include: "The New Disarmament Discussion," in *Current History*, January 2009 and *Nuclear Energy: Rebirth or Resuscitation?*, a Carnegie Report, February 2009.

## ARE THE REQUIREMENTS FOR EXTENDED DETERRENCE CHANGING?

Monday, April 6

4:00 pm

Polaris

**CHAIR: SCOTT SAGAN**, Stanford University

**LUKASZ KULESA**, Polish Institute of International Affairs

**GEORGE PERKOVICH**, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**AMBASSADOR YUKIO SATOH**, Japan Institute of International Affairs

Extended deterrence is back on the analytic and policy agenda. North Korea's nuclear test, China's rising power, Russia's assertiveness, Iran's unceasing uranium enrichment, and American interest in nuclear disarmament have renewed U.S. allies' attachments to extended deterrence. How are the challenges and requirements of credible extended deterrence evolving? How should deterrence be integrated with reassurance and cooperation in overall security strategies in Europe and Northeast Asia? What role, if any, should nuclear weapons play in extended deterrence?

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**Scott Sagan** is a Professor of Political Science and Co-Director of Stanford's Center for International Security and Cooperation. Before joining the Stanford faculty, Sagan was a Lecturer in the Department of Government at Harvard University and served as a Special Assistant to the Director of the Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the Pentagon. He is the author of *The Limits of Safety* (Princeton University Press), co-author (with Kenneth Waltz) of *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed* (W.W. Norton), and the editor of *Inside Nuclear South Asia* (Stanford University Press, forthcoming).

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**Lukasz Kulesa** is the Head of the Research Office at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM). He has been working as an analyst at PISM since 2003, dealing mainly with issues of international security, proliferation of WMD, security policy of Poland, and developments of NATO. Between 2005 and 2008, he was a coordinator of the International Security Project at the Institute. His recent publications in English include: "Missile Defence Dossier: The Polish Perspective," "Points de Vue," *Fondation pour la Recherche Strategique*, 2007 and "Nuclear disarmament in accordance with Article VI and the principle of undiminished security for all," *Europe and Nuclear Weapons: Deterrence, Disarmament, (Non-) Proliferation*, Bruylant Editions, 2008.

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**George Perkovich** is a Vice President for Studies and the Director of the Nonproliferation Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His research focuses on nuclear strategy and nonproliferation, with a focus on South Asia and Iran, and on the problem of justice in the international political economy. He is the author of the award-winning book *India's Nuclear Bomb*. He is co-author of the Adelphi Paper, *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons*, published in September 2008 by the International Institute for Strategic Studies. This paper is the basis of the book, *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons: A Debate*, which includes 17 critiques by 13 eminent international commentators and is now available at [www.carnegieendowment.org/nuclearweaponsdebate](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/nuclearweaponsdebate). Perkovich is also co-author of a major Carnegie report, *Universal Compliance: A Strategy for Nuclear Security*, a blueprint for rethinking the international nuclear nonproliferation regime. He served as a speechwriter and foreign policy adviser to Senator Joseph Biden from 1989 to 1990. Perkovich is an advisor to the International Commission on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations' Task Force on U.S. Nuclear Policy.

**Ambassador Yukio Satoh** is a member of Japan's National Commission on Public Safety and also Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA). Previously, he was the President of JIIA (2003–2009). While in the Japanese foreign service from 1961 to 2002, he served as the Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations (1998–2002), Ambassador of Japan to Australia (1996–1998) and Ambassador of Japan to the Netherlands (1994–96). His Ministry of Foreign Affairs postings included Director-General, Intelligence and Analysis Bureau (1990–92) and Director-General, North American Affairs Bureau (1992–94). He was also the Chief of Prefectural Police of Miyazaki Prefecture (1984–85). He has written numerous articles on Japanese foreign and security policy.

**VERIFICATION: COMMON GROUND AND EMERGING CONTROVERSIES**

Monday, April 6

4:00 pm

Horizon

**CHAIR: PATRICIA LEWIS**, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies**JAMES ACTON**, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace**AMBASSADOR LINTON BROOKS****JAMES DOYLE**, Los Alamos National Laboratory**COMMENTATOR, ANGELA WOODWARD**, Verification Research, Training and Information Centre

A number of important issues involving verification are on the global agenda: U.S.-Russian strategic arms control, denuclearization in North Korea, reform of IAEA safeguards, nuclear disarmament, national debates about CTBT ratification and international discussions about an FMCT. What common ground on verification is emerging? What disputes appear likely? Can a new relationship be forged between intelligence gathering and verification regimes? How much verification is useful or necessary? Is verification a side-show or the central issue?

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**Patricia Lewis** is the Deputy Director and Scientist-in-Residence of the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies. Prior to this appointment, she was the Director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR). From 1989 to 1997, she was the Director of the Verification Research, Training and Information Centre (VERTIC) in London. She holds her B.Sc.(Hons) in Physics from the University of Manchester and her Ph.D. in Nuclear Physics from the University of Birmingham. Lewis was a Commissioner on the 2004–2006 Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, chaired by Dr. Hans Blix. In 1998–1999, she served as a member of the Tokyo Forum for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Nuclear Disarmament, having previously served as an external reviewer for the Canberra Commission. Currently, Lewis is an Advisor to the International Commission on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament (ICNND). She was appointed UK Governmental Expert to the 1990 UN Study on the Role of the UN in Verification and appointed consultant on conventional forces verification to the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office from 1989–1990. She was the Elizabeth Poppleton Fellow at the Australian National University in 1992 and a Visiting Lecturer at Imperial College London from 1991–92.

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**James Acton** is an Associate in the Nonproliferation Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Before joining the Endowment in October 2008, Acton was a Lecturer at the Centre for Science and Security Studies in the Department of War Studies at King's College London where he co-authored the Adelphi Paper, *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons*. Prior to that, Acton was the science and technology researcher at the Verification Research, Training and Information Centre (VERTIC), where he was a participant in the UK-Norway dialogue on verifying the dismantlement of warheads. He holds a Ph.D. in Theoretical Physics from Cambridge University.

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**Ambassador Linton Brooks**, now an independent consultant, served from July 2002 to January 2007 as Administrator of the Department of Energy's National Nuclear Security Administration, where he was responsible for the U.S. nuclear weapons program and for the Department's international nuclear nonproliferation programs. He has five decades of experience in national security, much of it associated with nuclear weapons. His government service includes Chief U.S. Negotiator for the START Treaty, Assistant Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Director of Defense Programs and Arms Control at the National Security Council and a number of Navy and Defense Department assignments as a career naval officer.

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**James Doyle** is a Technical Staff Member in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Division at Los Alamos National Laboratory. His professional focus is on systems analysis, strategic planning and policy development. Doyle holds a Ph.D. in International Security Studies from the University of Virginia. At Los Alamos, he has managed projects with Russia's nuclear weapons institutes on the joint development of technologies and procedures to monitor the dismantlement and storage of nuclear warheads and fissile materials. Doyle's articles on nuclear security issues have appeared in *Defense News*, *Science and Global Security*, *Nonproliferation Review*, *Arms Control Today*, *Comparative Strategy* and *Strategic Review*. He is most recently the Editor of *Nuclear Safeguards, Security and Nonproliferation: Achieving Security with Technology and Policy*, Elsevier, New York.

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**Angela Woodward** is the Executive Director of the Verification Research, Training and Information Centre (VERTIC). Her research focuses on the legal, policy and technology aspects of arms control and disarmament verification. She is a leading expert in biological weapons law and verification and has spoken and published widely in this field. In 2005, she initiated VERTIC's programme to provide legislative assistance for national implementation of the BTWC. Along with VERTIC colleagues, she is currently working on the UK-Norway process on verifying nuclear warhead dismantlement. Woodward served as an Advisor to the Chair of the UN Group of Governmental Experts on Verification in All its Aspects in 2006.

**KEYNOTE: NUCLEAR INDUSTRY'S ROLE IN NONPROLIFERATION**

Monday, April 6

5:30 pm

Amphitheater

**ANNE LAUVERGEON**, Chief Executive Officer, AREVA

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**Anne Lauvergeon** was appointed Chief Executive Officer of AREVA group in 2001. From 1999–2001, she served as Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Cogema. Prior to joining AREVA, Lauvergeon was Senior Executive Vice President at Alcatel Telecom, responsible for international organization and the group's interests overseas in the energy and nuclear fields. In 1998, she was appointed as a member to the Alcatel Executive Committee. Lauvergeon became a Partner of Lazard Frères & Cie in Paris in 1995.

Lauvergeon also has extensive experience in government. She was named Advisor for Economic International Affairs at the French Presidency in 1990, and Deputy Chief of its staff in 1991. It was during this time that Lauvergeon became "Sherpa" to the President, in charge of preparations for the G7 Summits. From 1985 to 1988, she supervised the underground utilities activities in and around Paris and was appointed, in 1988, Deputy Director of the General Mining Council. In 1984, she directed the European safety studies for the chemical industry of CEA (Commissariat à l'Énergie Atomique), the public technological research organization in France.

Lauvergeon began her professional career in 1983 in the iron and steel industry. She graduated from the French National School of Mining Engineer (École des Mines) and the French "École Normale Supérieure" with a degree in Physics.

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**WELCOME RECEPTION**

Monday, April 6

6:30 pm

Atrium Ballroom

## Concurrent Breakfast Briefings

### IT IS 5 MINUTES TO MIDNIGHT

Tuesday, April 7

7:30 am

Polaris

**CHAIR: KENNETTE BENEDICT**, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*

**LAWRENCE KORB**, Center for American Progress

**ALLISON MACFARLANE**, George Mason University

A breakfast briefing sponsored by the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*

Board members of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* discuss current threats to humanity, as indicated by the Doomsday clock, and propose ways that governments, including the Obama administration, can reduce the dangers posed by nuclear weapons and climate change.

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**Kennette Benedict** is the Executive Director and Publisher of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, a publishing and communications organization that informs the public about the dangers of nuclear weapons, climate change, and other threats to humanity. From 1992–2005, she directed the International Peace and Security Program at the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, where she established and directed its initiative in the former Soviet Union from 1992–2002.

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**Lawrence Korb** is a Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress. He was an Assistant Secretary of Defense in the Reagan administration and is an expert on national security, arms control, and U.S. defense spending. He wrote *American National Security: Policy and Process* and *The Fall and Rise of the Pentagon*, and was awarded the Defense Department's Medal for Distinguished Public Service.

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**Allison Macfarlane** is Associate Professor of Environmental Science and Policy at George Mason University. She is a geologist who specializes in technical issues of nonproliferation and the nuclear fuel cycle, and is a leading expert on Yucca Mountain. She edited *Uncertainty Underground: Yucca Mountain and the Nation's High-Level Nuclear Waste*, which considers the scientific uncertainties of nuclear waste disposal.

**ENHANCING GLOBAL SECURITY THROUGH INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION**

Tuesday, April 7

7:30 am

Horizon

**CHAIR: DAVID FRANZ**, Midwest Research Institute**ANNE HARRINGTON**, U.S. National Academy of Sciences**RON LEHMAN II**, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory

A breakfast briefing sponsored by The National Academies

The government's first Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) programs were created in 1991 to eliminate the former Soviet Union's nuclear, chemical, and other weapons and prevent their proliferation. The programs have accomplished a great deal, but must be fundamentally redesigned to meet the magnitude of new security challenges, particularly at the nexus of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism. A bold new vision is needed to create a new version of CTR—CTR 2.0. Hailed by Senator Richard Lugar as a "critically important set of recommendations that should guide the Obama administration's efforts to expand the Nunn-Lugar Program around the world," *Global Security Engagement: A New Model for Cooperative Threat Reduction*, proposes a new, more flexible, and responsive CTR model that will require strong White House leadership, working across the executive branch, with Congress, and with a broad range of non-governmental and international partners. Panelists will discuss this new National Academies' report and how its recommendations can be implemented now in areas such as North Korea and with international partners such as Russia, to initiate the transition to a fully-integrated and upgraded CTR.

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**David Franz** is the Vice President and Chief Biological Scientist of the Midwest Research Institute. He served in the U.S. Army Medical Research and Materiel Command for 23 of 27 years. He served as Commander of USAMRIID and as Deputy Commander of the Medical Research and Materiel Command. Franz was the Chief Inspector on three UN Special Commission biological warfare inspection missions to Iraq and served as technical advisor on long-term monitoring. He also served as a member of the first two U.S.-UK teams that supported the Trilateral Joint Statement on Biological Weapons and as a member of the Trilateral Experts' Committee for biological weapons negotiations. His current activities relate to international engagement in the life sciences as a component of national security policy.

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**Anne Harrington** is the Director of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences Committee on International Security and Arms Control. Previously, she served in the State Department, where she was Acting Director and Deputy Director of the Proliferation Threat Reduction Office, and U.S. government expert on nonproliferation and cooperative threat reduction. She focused on developing policy and implementing programs to prevent the proliferation of WMD and missile expertise in Russia, and launched similar efforts Iraq and Libya. She was based in Moscow from 1991–1993, where she was Senior Advisor to the U.S. Delegation to the International Science and Technology Center Preparatory Committee and a Science Analyst at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

**Ronald Lehman II** is the Director of the Center for Global Security Research at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and also Chairman of the Governing Board of the International Science and Technology Center. He serves on the Department of Defense Threat Reduction Advisory Committee, and served on the Defense Science Board Task Forces on Globalization and Security and on Tritium, and on the National Research Council's Committee on Science, Technology, and Health Aspects of the Foreign Policy Agenda of the United States. President Clinton appointed him to the five-member President's Advisory Board on Arms Proliferation Policy. He also served as Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

## Morning Concurrent Panels

### **PART 2: CHALLENGES TO GLOBAL NUCLEAR POWER: TECHNOLOGICAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC**

Tuesday, April 7

9:00 am

Amphitheater

**CHAIR: ARIEL LEVITE**, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**JACQUES BOUCHARD**, Commissariat à l'Énergie Atomique

**CHARLES MCCOMBIE**, Arius Association

**ERNEST MONIZ**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

What are the obstacles to a genuine worldwide nuclear energy renaissance? Panelists will provide an international perspective on the political and policy challenges, technical and technological developments, and economic and industrial considerations that may aid or hinder the promotion of nuclear energy.

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**Ariel Levite** is a Nonresident Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment. Earlier, he was the Principal Deputy Director General (Policy) at the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission (2002–2007), a Visiting Fellow at the Stanford Center for International Security and Cooperation (2000–2002), Deputy Israeli National Security Advisor (Defense Policy; 1999–2000), and Head of the Bureau of International Security at the Israeli MOD. Prior to joining government service, Levite worked as a Senior Research Associate at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel-Aviv University. He has authored numerous books and articles on issues of strategy, military doctrine, deterrence, arms control, proliferation, and intelligence. He holds a Ph.D. in Government from Cornell University.

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**Jacques Bouchard** has been Chairman of the Generation IV International Forum (GIF) since 2006. Bouchard joined the Commissariat à l'Énergie Atomique (CEA) in 1964 and was appointed Head of the Experimental Physics Unit in 1973, then Head of the Nuclear Engineering Department in 1975. In 1982, he became Head of the CEA's Fast Neutron Reactor Department in Cadarache, then, in 1990, Head of CEA's Nuclear Reactor Division. From 1994 to 2000, he headed CEA's military application division, then its entire nuclear energy sector until 2004. Since that date, he has served as Special Adviser to CEA's Chairman.

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**Charles McCombie** is an independent strategic and technical advisor to various national and international waste management programmes. Currently, one of his prime responsibilities is as Executive Director of the Arius Association, which is dedicated to advancing multinational initiatives for the safe and secure management of spent fuel and radioactive wastes. He has over 30 years experience in the nuclear field, with almost 20 years as Technical Director of the Swiss National Disposal Programme. He is an author or co-author of over 150 published papers and served on numerous review and advisory bodies, including the Board on Radioactive Waste Management of the U.S. National Research Council. McCombie has B.Sc. in Natural Philosophy (Physics) and a Ph.D. in Physics.

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**Ernest Moniz** is the Cecil and Ida Green Professor of Physics and Engineering Systems, Director of the Energy Initiative, and Director of the Laboratory for Energy and the Environment at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), where he has served on the faculty since 1973. He served as Head of the Department of Physics and as Director of the Bates Linear Accelerator Center. His research focus is energy technology and policy, including a leadership role in MIT interdisciplinary technology and policy studies on the future of nuclear power, coal, nuclear fuel cycles, natural gas, and solar energy in a low-carbon world. Moniz served as Under Secretary of the Department of Energy from 1997 until January 2001 and, from 1995 to 1997, as Associate Director for Science in the Office of Science and Technology Policy in the Executive Office of the President.



## THE FUTURE OF THE CTBT

Tuesday, April 7

9:00 am

Polaris

**CHAIR: DARYL KIMBALL**, Arms Control Association

**SIDNEY DRELL**, Stanford University

**AMBASSADOR JAMES GOODBY**, Hoover Institution

**AMBASSADOR TIBOR TÓTH**, Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organization Preparatory Commission

The Obama administration has signaled that it will reach out to the Senate to reconsider and support U.S. ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) “as soon as practical.” The panel will discuss the key technical and policy developments relating to the treaty over the past decade, including the maintenance of the U.S. arsenal in the absence of testing and capabilities to detect and deter nuclear test explosions.

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**Daryl Kimball** became the Executive Director of the Arms Control Association (ACA) in 2001. ACA is a non-profit membership organization dedicated to public understanding and support for effective arms control solutions. ACA publishes the monthly journal, *Arms Control Today*. From 1989–1997, Kimball was the Director of Security Program at Physicians for Social Responsibility where he helped lobby for the 1992 U.S. nuclear test moratorium legislation and negotiation of a zero-yield CTBT. From 1997–2001, he was Executive Director of the Coalition to Reduce Nuclear Dangers where he led NGO efforts to win support for U.S. CTBT ratification.

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**Sidney Drell** is a Professor of Physics, Emeritus, at the SLAC National Accelerator Laboratory. He is also a Senior Fellow at Stanford University’s Hoover Institution. He has been an adviser to the U.S. government on technical national security and arms control issues for more than 40 years. He currently serves on the Boards of Governors that manage the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and the Los Alamos National Laboratory, and he is an active member of JASON, a group of academic scientists who work on issues of national importance for the U.S. government.

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**Ambassador James Goodby** is currently a Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, where he works with former Secretary of State George Shultz and noted physicist Professor Sidney Drell. He also is affiliated with the Brookings Institution and MIT. He served for over 30 years in the U.S. Foreign Service and was given five presidential appointments to ambassadorial rank, including as U.S. Ambassador to Finland. He has written and edited many books and articles while teaching at Stanford, Georgetown, Syracuse, and Carnegie Mellon Universities. He is Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus at Carnegie Mellon University.

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**Ambassador Tibor Tóth** has been Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO) since 2005. Ambassador Tóth has three decades of experience and involvement in the international disarmament and nonproliferation regime. He has served as Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations Office in Geneva (1990–1993; 2003–2005) and Vienna (1997–2001). In that capacity, he represented Hungary at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, the Preparatory Commission of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) in the Hague, the International Atomic Energy Agency and its Board of Governors and the CTBTO in Vienna. In 1994–1996, he served as Deputy State Secretary of Defense responsible for international affairs. In 1992–2004, as Chairperson, he conducted the Biological Weapon Convention negotiation on an implementation regime.

**AFTER THE KHAN NETWORK: WHAT WORKS, WHAT DOESN'T AND WHERE DO WE GO?**

Tuesday, April 7

9:00 am

Horizon

**CHAIR: JOBY WARRICK**, *The Washington Post*

**DAVID ALBRIGHT**, Institute for Science and International Security

**ROLF MOWATT-LARSEN**, Harvard University

**RALF WIRTZ**, Oerlikon Leybold Vacuum

Few have anticipated the difficulties resulting from shutting down the A.Q. Khan network and preventing additional illicit nuclear trade by the likes of Iran, Syria, and North Korea. The challenges in the private sector, intelligence, and law enforcement remain formidable. Panelists will describe the achievements and problems in bringing down the Khan network and the changes needed to deal with pervasive illicit nuclear trade.

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**Joby Warrick** has been a *Washington Post* reporter since 1996, serving on both the national and investigative staffs. A Pulitzer Prize winner, he was part of the *Post's* special investigations team for nine years, writing primarily about WMD proliferation and weapons trafficking. His articles about international proliferation threats earned him the Overseas Press Club of America's Bob Considine Award in 2004 for best newspaper interpretation of international affairs. Since 2007, Warrick has served as a national security reporter covering intelligence, terrorism and nonproliferation.

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**David Albright** is the President of the Institute for Science and International Security (ISIS) in Washington, D.C. Prior to founding ISIS, Albright worked as a Senior Staff Scientist at the Federation of American Scientists and was a member of the research staff of Princeton University's Center for Energy and Environmental Studies. From 1992 until 1997, Albright cooperated with the IAEA Action Team, focusing on analyses of Iraqi documents and past procurement activities. In June 1996, he was the first non-governmental inspector of the Iraqi nuclear program. Albright received a 1992 Olive Branch Award for a series of articles he wrote, along with Mark Hibbs, on the Iraqi nuclear weapons program for the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. Albright holds a Masters of Science in Physics from Indiana University and a Masters of Science in Mathematics from Wright State University. In addition to the Outstanding Alumni Award, Albright also received an Honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters from Wright State University in 2007.

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**Ralf Wirtz** is the Head of Global Trade at Oerlikon Leybold Vacuum, a world leader in vacuum technology. He has global responsibility for the Oerlikon high-tech group of thin film, vacuum and clean technology companies. Wirtz spent fifteen years in export controls for Oerlikon, focusing on global compliance activities, counter-proliferation and the nuclear network, and has over 25 years of experience in international export business and global trade.

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**Rolf Mowatt-Larsen** is a Senior Fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Studies at Harvard University. Prior to his appointment at the Belfer Center, Mowatt-Larsen served for three years as the Director of Intelligence and Counterintelligence at the U.S. Department of Energy. Prior to this, he served for 23 years as a CIA intelligence officer in various domestic and international posts, to include: Chief of the Europe Division in the Directorate of Operations, Chief of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Department, Counterterrorist Center, Deputy Associate Director of Central Intelligence for Military Support, and numerous overseas assignments. Mowatt-Larsen is a graduate of the United States Military Academy, West Point, NY.

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## ENFORCING A WORLD WITHOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Tuesday, April 7

11:00 am

Amphitheater

**CHAIR: STEVEN MILLER**, Harvard University

**ALEXEI ARBATOV**, Carnegie Moscow Center

**MARTIN BRIENS**, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France

**AMBASSADOR RICHARD BUTLER AC**, New York University / Penn State University

States will not abolish nuclear weapons if they are not highly confident that everyone will comply with key disarmament agreements and nonproliferation rules. Reliable robust enforcement of compliance will be vital. Do recent compliance and enforcement experiences tell us anything about the future? What are the gaps between what is needed for enforcement and what the international community is now prepared to do?

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**Steven Miller** is Director of the International Security Program, Editor-in-Chief of the quarterly journal, *International Security* and also co-editor of the International Security Program's book series, *Belfer Center Studies in International Security* (published by MIT Press). Previously, he was Senior Research Fellow at the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and taught Defense and Arms Control Studies in the Department of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Miller is editor or co-editor of some two dozen books, including, most recently, *Offense, Defense, and War* (October 2004), *The Russian Military: Power and Policy* (September 2004), *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict—Revised Edition* (2001), and *The Rise of China* (2000).

Miller is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, where he has been a member of their Committee on International Security Studies (CISS). He is also co-chair of the U.S. Pugwash Committee, a member of the Council of International Pugwash, a member of the Advisory Committee of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), a member of the Scientific Committee of the Landau Network Centro Volta (Italy), and formerly a member of the Council of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). He did his undergraduate degree at Occidental College in Los Angeles. He received a Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy and a Ph.D. in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

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**Alexei Arbatov** is the Head of the Center for International Security of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and is the Chair of the Nonproliferation Program at the Carnegie Moscow Center. Arbatov has played a leading role in the politics of Russia, as a member of the Russian Parliament in 1994–2003, and as Vice Chairman of the YABLOKO Party from 2001 to the present. Arbatov is a member of the International Commission on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament and the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, the Vice President of the Luxembourg Forum, a member of the Governing Board of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, the International Advisory Board of the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, and the Board of the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies.

**Martin Briens** has been the Director of the Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament Division of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs since May 25, 2007. Previously, he was the Deputy Director of the French MFA Policy Planning Staff (2006–2007). He also served as the Counselor in charge of political-military affairs at the French Embassy in Washington, D.C. (2003–2006), at the French Embassy in Beijing (1999–2003) and at the Department of Strategic, Security and Disarmament Affairs in the French MFA in Paris (1996–1999). He graduated from the National School of Administration (E.N.A) in 1996.

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**Ambassador Richard Butler AC** is a Global Diplomat in Residence at New York University and a Distinguished Scholar for International Peace and Security at Penn State University. Ambassador Butler is the former Australian Ambassador to the United Nations. He chaired the Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons, led the Australian Delegation to the NPT Review and Extension Conference, tabled the CTBT at the UN General Assembly and managed its adoption, and was Head of UNSCOM.

**NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE-ZONES: PAST LESSONS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS**

Tuesday, April 7

11:00 am

Polaris

**CHAIR: WILLIAM POTTER**, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies**JEAN DU PREEZ**, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies**SONIA FERNÁNDEZ-MORENO**, Autoridad Regulatoria Nuclear, Argentina**AMBASSADOR SAMEH SHOUKRY**, Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt**COMMENTATOR: ARIEL LEVITE**, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zones (NWFZs) are among the most promising approaches for attaining both disarmament and nonproliferation objectives. And yet, they tend to be underappreciated and poorly understood by many advocates and critics of a "Road to Zero." This panel examines the lessons learned from several existing NWFZs and assesses the prospects for and potential benefits of additional zones.

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**William Potter** is the Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar Professor of Nonproliferation Studies and Director of the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies (MIIS). He is the author or editor of fourteen books, the most recent of which is *The Four Faces of Nuclear Terrorism*. Potter serves on the Nonproliferation Panel of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences Committee on International Security and Arms Control. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and served for five years on the UN Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters. He was an advisor to the delegation of Kyrgyzstan at the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference and the 1997, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2007 and 2008 sessions of the NPT Preparatory Committee, as well as at the 2000 and 2005 NPT Review Conferences.

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**Jean du Preez** is the Nonproliferation Professor at the Graduate School for International Policy Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies and directs the Nuclear Nonproliferation and Arms Control Project at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies. Prior to joining the Monterey Institute and CNS, he served in the South African Foreign Service for 17 years during which time he held several diplomatic assignments, the most recent of which was as Senior Political Counsellor (Disarmament) to the United Nations where he represented his country at the General Assembly First Committee on Disarmament and the Non-Aligned Movement. Prior to this assignment, he was Deputy-Director for Chemical, Biological and Missile Nonproliferation in the South African Foreign Service and a member of the South African Council for the Nonproliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction. He participated in numerous international arms control conferences, including the 1995, 2000 and 2005 NPT Review Conferences and their preparatory committee meetings, the 2001 UN Conference on Small Arms and Light Weapons, the UN Expert Panel on Missiles, meetings of the Missile Technology Control Regime and conferences of the Biological Weapons Convention and the Chemical Weapons Convention.

**Sonia Fernández-Moreno** is a Senior Advisor of Autoridad Regulatoria Nuclear in national and international safeguards, nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament. Fernández-Moreno has twenty years of experience in the nuclear institutions of Argentina. She has written several papers and has served as an expert in a number of technical and consultant meetings. Fernández-Moreno is a member of the IAEA Standing Advisory Group in Safeguards Implementation (SAGSI). She has participated in the negotiations of the agreements between Brazil and Argentina for the peaceful use of nuclear energy, the establishment of ABACC and the Quadripartite Safeguards Agreement with the IAEA, and the debates of the IAEA Committee of 24 that prepared the model Additional Protocol. Fernández-Moreno was a member of the Argentinean delegation to the IAEA's Board of Governors and to the General Conference. She has a degree from Catholic University in International Relations and Political Science.

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**Ambassador Sameh Shoukry** was appointed Ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the United States on September 24, 2008. Ambassador Shoukry previously served as Egypt's Permanent Representative to the United Nations in Geneva (2005–08), as well as Ambassador to Austria and Permanent Representative to the International Organizations in Vienna (1999–2003). He also served as Director of the Cabinet for the Minister of Foreign Affairs (2004–05), and as Secretary for Information and Follow-Up for President Hosni Mubarak (1995–1999). As a career diplomat who joined the diplomatic corps in 1976, Ambassador Shoukry served in the Egyptian embassies in London, Buenos Aires as well as the Egyptian Permanent Mission in New York. He also headed the Department of the United States and Canada at the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1994–95). Ambassador Shoukry holds a law degree from Ein Shams University in Cairo.

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**Ariel Levite** is a Nonresident Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment. Earlier, he was the Principal Deputy Director General (Policy) at the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission (2002–2007), a Visiting Fellow at the Stanford Center for International Security and Cooperation (2000–2002), Deputy Israeli National Security Advisor (Defense Policy; 1999–2000), and Head of the Bureau of International Security at the Israeli MOD. Prior to joining government service, Levite worked as a Senior Research Associate at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel-Aviv University. He has authored numerous books and articles on issues of strategy, military doctrine, deterrence, arms control, proliferation, and intelligence. He holds a Ph.D. in Government from Cornell University.

**THE SPACE-NUCLEAR NEXUS**

Tuesday, April 7

11:00 am

Horizon

**CHAIR: MICHAEL KREPON**, The Henry L. Stimson Center**PHILIP COYLE**, World Security Institute**PAVEL PODVIG**, Stanford University**DINGLI SHEN**, Fudan University

ASAT tests by China and the United States in 2007 and 2008 have clarified satellite vulnerabilities. This panel considers the nexus between space and nuclear issues, particularly the implications of space warfare capabilities on nuclear force postures. The panel will also consider new diplomatic initiatives for space.

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**Michael Krepon** is Co-Founder of the Henry L. Stimson Center and the author or editor of thirteen books and over 350 articles. Prior to co-founding the Stimson Center, Krepon worked at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency during the Carter administration, and in the U.S. House of Representatives, assisting Congressman Norm Dicks. Krepon divides his time between Stimson's South Asia and Space Security projects. The South Asia project concentrates on escalation control, nuclear risk reduction, confidence building, and peacemaking between India and Pakistan. The Space Security project seeks to promote a Code of Conduct for responsible space-faring nations and works toward stronger international norms for the peaceful uses of outer space. Krepon also teaches in the Politics Department at the University of Virginia. He received an M.A. from the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University and a B.A. from Franklin & Marshall College. He also studied Arabic at the American University in Cairo, Egypt.

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**Philip Coyle** is a Senior Advisor to the President of the World Security Institute, and to its Center for Defense Information, a Washington, D.C.-based national security study center. He is a recognized expert on U.S. and worldwide military research, development and testing, on operational military matters, and on national security policy and defense spending. From September 29, 1994, through January 20, 2001, Coyle was Assistant Secretary of Defense and Director, Operational Test and Evaluation, in the Department of Defense, and is the longest serving Director in the 25 year history of the Office. In this capacity, he was the principal advisor to the Secretary of Defense on test and evaluation in the Department of Defense.

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**Pavel Podvig** is a Researcher at the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University. Before coming to Stanford in 2004, he worked at the Center for Arms Control Studies at the Moscow Institute of Physics and Technology (MIPT), which was the first independent research organization in Russia dedicated to analysis of technical issues related to arms control and disarmament. In Moscow, Pavel Podvig was the leader of a major research project and the editor of the book *Russian Strategic Nuclear Forces* (MIT Press, 2001). In recognition of his work in Russia, the American Physical Society awarded Podvig the Leo Szilard Lectureship Award of 2008 (with Anatoli Diakov). In 2000–2004, Podvig worked with the Program on Science and Global Security at Princeton University and earlier—with the Security Studies Program at MIT. His current research focuses on the Russian strategic forces and nuclear weapons complex, as well as technical and political aspects of nuclear nonproliferation, disarmament, missile defense, and U.S.-Russian arms control process.

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**Dingli Shen** is the Professor of International Relations at Fudan University, Shanghai. He is the Director of Fudan University's Center for American Studies, and Executive Dean of Institute of International Studies. He is the Co-Founder and Director of China's first non-government-based program on arms control and regional security, at Fudan University. Shen teaches nonproliferation, international security and China's foreign policy in China and the U.S. His research areas cover China-U.S. security and nuclear relationship, regional security and nonproliferation issues, and Chinese and American foreign and defense policies. He publishes widely in China and abroad.

**LUNCHEON: WHITHER U.S.–RUSSIAN RELATIONS?**

Tuesday, April 7

12:30 pm

Atrium Ballroom

**CHAIR: PETER BAKER**, *The New York Times*

**ROSE GOTTEMOELLER**, U.S. Department of State

**AMBASSADOR SERGEY I. KISLYAK**, Embassy of the Russian Federation

START I expires in December and the presidents of the United States and the Russian Federation say they want to restore cooperation on arms control and nonproliferation. What are each country's priorities? Do they share a work plan? What do Washington and Moscow think is feasible and how does this conform with international expectations?

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**Peter Baker** is a White House Correspondent for *The New York Times* covering President Obama and a contributing writer for *The New York Times Magazine*. He previously covered both President Clinton and President Bush for *The Washington Post*. In between stints at the White House, he was a Moscow Bureau Chief for *The Post* chronicling the rise of Vladimir Putin. Baker also covered the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. He is the author of *The Breach: Inside the Impeachment and Trial of William Jefferson Clinton*, and (with Susan Glasser) of *Kremlin Rising: Vladimir Putin's Russia and the End of Revolution*.

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**Rose Gottemoeller** is Assistant Secretary for Verification and Compliance at the U.S. Department of State. Previously, she was the Director of the Carnegie Moscow Center from January 2006–December 2008 and then a Senior Associate in the Carnegie Russia & Eurasia Program in Washington, D.C. Before joining the Endowment, she was Deputy Undersecretary for Defense Nuclear Nonproliferation in the U.S. Department of Energy. Previously, Gottemoeller served as the Energy Department's Assistant Secretary for Nonproliferation and National Security, with responsibility for all nonproliferation cooperation with Russia and the Newly Independent States. She first joined the department in November 1997 as Director of the Office of Nonproliferation and National Security. Prior to the Energy Department, Gottemoeller served for three years as Deputy Director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. From 1993 to 1994, she served on the National Security Council in the White House as director for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia Affairs, with responsibility for denuclearization in Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. Previously, she was a social scientist at RAND and a Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellow. She has taught on Soviet military policy at Georgetown University, and is currently teaching on Russian security in Eurasia, also at Georgetown University. Gottemoeller graduated with a B.S. from Georgetown University and received her masters from George Washington University. She speaks fluent Russian.

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**Ambassador Sergey I. Kislyak** was appointed Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the United States in July 2008. Ambassador Kislyak has served the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Federation since 1977. He was previously Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2003 until 2008. From 1998–2003, he was the Ambassador of the Russian Federation to Belgium as well as the Permanent Representative of Russia to NATO in Brussels. From 1995 to 1998, Ambassador Kislyak served as the Director of the Department of Security Affairs and Disarmament in the Foreign Ministry. He was previously the Director of the Department of International Scientific and Technical Cooperation in the Foreign Ministry from 1993–1995 and Deputy Director from 1991–1993. Ambassador Kislyak also served as Deputy Director of the Department of International Organizations in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR from 1989–1991. From 1985–1989, Ambassador Kislyak was the First Secretary Counselor of the Embassy of the USSR to the United States. Earlier, he was Second Secretary of the Permanent Mission of the USSR to the UN in New York (1981–1985).

Ambassador Kislyak was born in 1950. He graduated from the Moscow Engineering Physics Institute in 1973, and from the USSR Academy of Foreign Trade in 1977. Ambassador Kislyak speaks English and French.

**BEYOND 2010**

Tuesday, April 7

2:00 pm

Amphitheater

**CHAIR: H.E. JONAS GAHR STØRE**, Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway

**SAMEH ABOUL-ENEIN**, Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the United Kingdom\*

**ROBERT EINHORN**, Center for Strategic and International Studies

**H.E. GARETH EVANS**, International Commission on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament

**AMBASSADOR SUDJADNAN PARNOHADININGRAT**, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia

*\*Panelist is speaking in his personal capacity. Affiliation is for identification purposes only.*

What are reasonable expectations of what can be accomplished before and during the 2010 NPT Review Conference? Who must do what in order to prevent the Review Conference from being a failure? What is the post-2010 agenda likely to emphasize?

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**H.E. Jonas Gahr Støre** has served as Norway's Minister of Foreign Affairs since 2005 as part of Jens Stoltenberg's second government. Before assuming this role, Minister Støre was the Secretary General of the Norwegian Red Cross (2003–2005). Minister Støre's previous positions include: Working Chair, ECON Analysis (2002–2003); State Secretary and Chief of Staff, Office of the Prime Minister, Jens Stoltenberg's first government (2000–2001); Chief of Staff, World Health Organization (1998–2000); Ambassador, Norwegian Mission to the UN in Geneva (1998); Director General, International Department, Office of the Prime Minister (1995–1998); Special Adviser, Office of the Prime Minister, Government of Norway (1989–1995); Researcher, the Norwegian School of Management (1986–1989); Teaching Fellow, Harvard Negotiation Project, Harvard Law School (1986).

Minister Støre was awarded a degree in Political Science, by the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, with a focus in history and social economics. He is also a graduate of the Naval Officers School at the Royal Norwegian Naval Academy. Støre was born on August 25, 1960, and is fluent in English and French and has a working knowledge of German. He is a member of the Labour Party.

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**Sameh Aboul-Enein** is Minister Plenipotentiary and Deputy Head of Mission of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the United Kingdom. He has previously served as Head of the Political Section and Counselor for Disarmament at the Permanent Mission of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the UN and to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. He is the former Director of the United Nations Affairs Department at the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and worked earlier in the cabinets of two ex-Egyptian Foreign Ministers and traveled extensively with them.

Early in the 1990's, he worked as a Research and Teaching Assistant at the Political Science Department, American University in Cairo and is the author of several articles published in Egypt's quarterly periodical, *El-siassa El-dowlya*, and monthly political periodical, *The Diploma*, on topics ranging from regional zones free of nuclear weapons and a new generation of nuclear reactors for energy purposes to WMD-free-zone terms and definitions. He holds a Master of Science in Politics and Government of the Middle East, from The School of Oriental and African Studies, UK. He completed his Ph.D. / M.Phil. in International Relations and Foreign Policy Making with a specialization in the Middle East from the American University of London and the University of London. Aboul-Enein has a certificate in Disarmament and Security Policies from the Geneva Centre for Security Policy. He is also currently a member of an Expert Multilateral Study Group on Missiles.

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**Robert Einhorn**, from 2001–2009, has been a Senior Adviser in the International Security Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), where he works on a broad range of nonproliferation, arms control, and other national security issues. Before coming to CSIS, he served in the U.S. government for 29 years. From November 1999 to August 2001, he was Assistant Secretary for Nonproliferation at the Department of State, where he was responsible for nonproliferation of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons, missile delivery systems, and advanced conventional arms. Before becoming Assistant Secretary, Einhorn was Deputy Assistant Secretary for Nonproliferation in the State Department's Political-Military Bureau from 1992 to 1999 and a Senior Adviser in the Department Policy Planning Staff from 1986 to 1992. He served at the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) from 1972 to 1984.

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**H.E. Gareth Evans** has been President of the Brussels-based International Crisis Group, the independent global NGO working with some 135 full-time staff on five continents to prevent and resolve deadly conflict, since January 2000. He came to Crisis Group after 21 years in Australian politics, thirteen of them as a Cabinet Minister. As Foreign Minister (1988–96), he was best known internationally for his role in developing the UN peace plan for Cambodia, helping conclude the Chemical Weapons Convention, and helping initiate new Asia Pacific regional economic and security architecture. He has written or edited nine books—most recently *The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and for All*, published in September 2008—and has published over 100 journal articles and chapters on foreign relations, human rights and legal and constitutional reform. He was Co-Chair of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (2001), and a member of the UN Secretary General's High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (2004), the Blix Commission on Weapons of Mass Destruction (2006), and the Zedillo International Task Force on Global Public Goods (2006).

In June 2008, he was appointed Co-Chair (with former Japanese Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi) of the International Commission on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament. He is also a member of the UN Secretary-General's Advisory Committee on Genocide Prevention.

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**Ambassador Sudjadnan Parnohadiningrat** is the Republic of Indonesia's Ambassador to the United States. From 2002 to 2005, he was Secretary General of the Department of Foreign Affairs. During his tenure as Secretary General, he was also assigned as the Senior Official Meeting (SOM) Co-Leader for the 2005 Asia Africa Summit in Jakarta, Indonesia. He was the Indonesian SOM Leader for ASEAN in 2004–2005. In 2004, he was elected as the Chairman of the Third Preparatory Committee Meeting for the 2005 Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and in 2005, he chaired the Main Committee I of the 2005 NPT Review Conference. From 1996 to 1998, Ambassador Parnohadiningrat was the Minister Counselor at the Indonesian Permanent Mission in New York. During his assignment in New York, he was elected as Vice Chairman of the First Committee of the 1998 United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) and Chairman of Working Group in SSOC IV of the 1997 and 1998 UNDC sessions. He also served as Coordinator of the NAM Working Group on Disarmament during this time. From 1989 to 1992, he served as First Secretary at the Indonesian Permanent Mission in Geneva covering the Conference on Disarmament (CD). In 1990, he was the facilitator of the negotiation on the Old and Abandoned Chemical Weapons at the CD Chemical Weapons Convention Negotiation. In 1982–1986 was the Third Secretary / Second Secretary at the Indonesian Permanent Mission in Vienna covering the IAEA.

He received his degree in International Relations from Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia and attended a Master Program at the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University in New York, USA. He is now completing his Doctoral degree in Diplomatic Study at the Asia Pacific College of Diplomacy of the Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

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The Stanley Foundation  
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U.S. Civilian Research and Development Foundation  
[www.crdf.org](http://www.crdf.org)

The Ux Consulting Group  
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(AS OF MARCH 19, 2009)

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# About the Nonproliferation Program

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The Carnegie Endowment's Nonproliferation Program is an internationally recognized source of knowledge and policy thinking on efforts to curb the spread and use of nuclear weapons. Carnegie's analysis consistently stays at the forefront of proliferation developments (e.g., on Iran, North Korea, South Asia, and Russia) and nonproliferation policy debates (e.g., on national fuel cycle capabilities or regime enforcement). In Washington, Moscow, Brussels, New Delhi, and increasingly in Beijing, the program hosts public and private seminars, speeches, and workshops, where leading officials and experts seek to overcome obstacles to reducing the danger of nuclear war. The program works publicly and behind-the-scenes in active Track II diplomacy to promote solutions to challenges such as the Iranian nuclear case, U.S.-Russian threat reduction cooperation, new approaches to managing the nuclear fuel cycle, and the future of nuclear disarmament.

Approximately every eighteen months, Carnegie convenes the Carnegie International Nonproliferation Conference, widely considered to be the premier event in its field and attracting over 800 government officials, policy and technical experts, academics, and journalists from around the world.

Our publications and commentary include books, working papers, and articles. Major recent publications include *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons: A Debate*; *Nuclear Energy: Rebirth or Resuscitation*; *Are New Nuclear Bargains Attainable?*; *Concrete Steps to Improve the Nonproliferation Regime*; and *Nuclear Weapons after the Cold War*.

The Nonproliferation Program website [www.carnegieendowment.org/npp](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/npp), which *National Journal* applauded as a "top site" that "mak[es] voluminous information easily accessible," offers current news, analysis, official documents, maps, charts, and other key resources. The free, twice-weekly *Proliferation Newsletter* provides an electronic summary of news and analysis.

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The program in Washington is complemented by the nonproliferation activities at the Carnegie Moscow Center. Dmitri Trenin is the Director of the Carnegie Moscow Center, Alexei Arbatov is a Scholar-in-Residence, and General Vladimir Dvorkin is a Visiting Scholar.



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From 1982 to 1993, she was founding Vice President and Director of Research of the World Resources Institute, an internationally known center for policy research on environmental and natural-resource management issues. She served on the editorial board of the *Washington Post* from 1980 to 1982, covering energy, environment, science, technology, arms control, health, and other issues. Later, she became a weekly columnist for the *Washington Post*, writing a column that appeared nationwide and in the *International Herald Tribune*. From 1977 to 1979, she was Director of the Office of Global Issues of the National Security Council, covering nuclear proliferation, conventional arms sales policy, chemical and biological warfare, and human rights. In 1993, she returned to government as Deputy to the Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs.

Mathews is a Director of Somalogic Inc. and HanesBrands Inc., and a Trustee of the Century Foundation, the Nuclear Threat Initiative, and the International Crisis Group. She is also a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the American Philosophical Society. She has previously served on the boards of the Brookings Institution, Radcliffe College, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Surface Transportation Policy Project, and the Joyce Foundation, among others. Mathews holds a B.S., *magna cum laude*, from Radcliffe College and a Ph.D. in Molecular Biology from the California Institute of Technology.

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**George Perkovich** is a Vice President for Studies and the Director of the Nonproliferation Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His research focuses on nuclear strategy and nonproliferation, with a focus on South Asia and Iran, and on the problem of justice in the international political economy. He is the author of the award-winning book *India's Nuclear Bomb*. He is co-author of the Adelphi Paper, *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons*, published in September 2008 by the International Institute for Strategic Studies. This paper is the basis of the book, *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons: A Debate*, which includes 17 critiques by 13 eminent international commentators and is now available at [www.carnegieendowment.org/nuclearweaponsdebate](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/nuclearweaponsdebate). Perkovich is also co-author of a major Carnegie report, *Universal Compliance: A Strategy for Nuclear Security*, a blueprint for rethinking the international nuclear nonproliferation regime. He served as a speechwriter and foreign policy adviser to Senator Joseph Biden from 1989 to 1990. Perkovich is an advisor to the International Commission on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations' Task Force on U.S. Nuclear Policy.

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**Deepti Choubey** is the Deputy Director of the Nonproliferation Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Choubey is responsible for establishing strategic priorities for the program, conducting research and generating policy analysis, designing and implementing new outreach initiatives, and leading the Carnegie International Nonproliferation Conference. Her research interests include the calculations of non-nuclear-weapon states, the intersection of nuclear nonproliferation and climate-change agendas, and the role of nonproliferation for long-term U.S. foreign policy. Her recent publications include *Carnegie Reports Are New Nuclear Bargains Attainable?* and with Stephen Schwartz, *Nuclear Security Spending: Assessing Costs, Examining Priorities*.

Prior to joining the Carnegie Endowment in 2006, Choubey was Director of the Peace and Security Initiative (PSI) for the Ploughshares Fund. The PSI is a network of more than 160 think tanks, advocacy organizations, grassroots groups, and funders that work together to increase their capacity to influence U.S. national security policies. Before joining Ploughshares, Choubey worked for Ambassador Nancy Soderberg in the New York office of the International Crisis Group. Choubey earned her Master of International Affairs, with a focus on South Asia security policy, from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs. She also became a Foreign Language and Areas Studies Fellow in Hindi and Urdu. Before that, Choubey was a strategy consultant advising market-leading companies in Asia, Europe, and the United States. She earned her undergraduate degree in Government from Harvard University.

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**James Acton** is an Associate in the Nonproliferation Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Before joining the Endowment in October 2008, Acton was a Lecturer at the Centre for Science and Security Studies in the Department of War Studies at King's College London where he co-authored the Adelphi Paper, *Abolishing Nuclear Weapons*. Prior to that, Acton was the science and technology researcher at the Verification Research, Training and Information Centre (VERTIC), where he was a participant in the UK-Norway dialogue on verifying the dismantlement of warheads. He holds a Ph.D. in Theoretical Physics from Cambridge University.

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Sadjadpour was named a Young Global Leader by the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland and has been the recipient of numerous academic awards, including a Fulbright scholarship. He has lived in Latin America, Europe, and the Middle East.

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**NONRESIDENT SENIOR ASSOCIATE**

**Pierre Goldschmidt** is a Nonresident Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Goldschmidt is also a member of the Board of Directors for the Association Vinçotte Nuclear (AVN). AVN is a nonprofit, Authorized Inspection Organization charged with verifying compliance of nuclear power plants with Belgian safety regulations. Goldschmidt was the Deputy Director General, Head of the Department of Safeguards, at the International Atomic Energy Agency from 1999 to June 2005. The Department of Safeguards is responsible for verifying that nuclear material placed under safeguards is not diverted to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices and that there is no undeclared nuclear material or activities in non-nuclear weapons States party to the NPT. Before the IAEA, Goldschmidt was, for 12 years, Director General of SYNATOM, the company responsible for the fuel supply and spent fuel management of seven Belgian nuclear plants. For six years, Goldschmidt was a member of the Directoire of EURODIF, the large French uranium enrichment company. Goldschmidt has headed numerous European and international committees, including as Chairman of the Uranium Institute in London and Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the EURATOM Supply Agency.

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**NONRESIDENT SENIOR ASSOCIATE**

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**SHAHRAM CHUBIN**  
**NONRESIDENT SENIOR ASSOCIATE**

**Shahram Chubin** is a Nonresident Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment. Based in Geneva, Chubin's research focuses on nonproliferation, terrorism, and Middle East security issues. Chubin was Director of Studies at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Switzerland, from 1996 to 2009. A specialist in the security problems of the Middle East region, he has been a consultant to the U.S. Department of Defense, the RAND Corporation, and the United Nations. He has been Director of Regional Security Studies at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, a Resident Fellow at the Wilson Center, and a Fellow at the Hudson Institute. Chubin has taught at various universities including the Graduate School of International Studies in Geneva and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He has lectured at Oxford, Harvard, and Columbia universities as well as military staff colleges. He has published widely in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *International Security*, *Washington Quarterly*, *Survival*, *Daedalus*, the *Middle East Journal*, the *World Today* and the Adelphi Paper series.

A Swiss national, Chubin was born in Iran and was educated in Britain and the United States.

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**DMITIRI TRENIN**  
**DIRECTOR, CARNEGIE MOSCOW CENTER**

**Dmitri Trenin** is the Director of the Carnegie Moscow Center and has been with the Center since its inception. In 1993–1997, Trenin held the posts of Senior Research Fellow at the NATO Defense College in Rome and Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Europe in Moscow. He served in the Soviet and Russian armed forces from 1972 to 1993, including experience working as a liaison officer in the External Relations Branch of the Group of Soviet Forces (stationed in Potsdam) and as a staff member of the delegation to the U.S.–Soviet nuclear arms talks in Geneva from 1985 to 1991. He also taught in the War Studies Department of the Military Institute from 1986 to 1993.

**ALEXEI ARBATOV**  
**SCHOLAR-IN-RESIDENCE, CARNEGIE MOSCOW CENTER**

**Alexei Arbatov** is the head of the Center for International Security of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences and is the Chair of the Nonproliferation Program of the Carnegie Moscow Center. Arbatov has played a leading role in the politics of Russia, as a member of the Russian Parliament in 1994–2003, and as vice chairman of the YABLOKO Party from 2001 to the present. Arbatov is the member of the International Commission on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament and the Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, the vice-president of the Luxembourg Forum, a member of the Governing Board of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, the International Advisory Board of the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, and the Board of the Center for Nonproliferation Studies of the Monterey Institute of International Studies.

**VLADIMIR DVORKIN**  
**VISITING SCHOLAR, CARNEGIE MOSCOW CENTER**

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### KELLI BLAND

Kelli's over 20 years of experience developing, managing, and producing successful meetings, conferences, conventions, and expositions led her to follow her dream and create *A Moment's Notice Events* in 2001. Kelli has held a variety of executive level management positions with Marriott Hotels, Hilton Hotels and Holiday Inn. Kelli takes a hands-on approach and stays closely involved with all clients throughout each project. She was the lead planner on multiple events produced for Hanley Wood, Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, International Life Sciences Institute and now the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Kelli is a member of the Professional Convention Management Association, and as a former member of the Meetings Professional International, Kelli served as Co-Chair of the Multicultural Program Committee, Potomac Chapter. Kelli is also a member of the National Association of Women Business Owners, Washington, D.C. Chapter.

### DOMINIQUE ROUGEAU

Dominique brings over 20 years of sales, marketing and management experience from the hospitality and events industry to *A Moment's Notice Events*. Dominique serves as a Consultant to *A Moment's Notice Events* on select projects and maintains our Chicago office. Dominique has produced meetings and events globally for the National Institutes of Health, Howard University, American Institute of Architects, Burrell Communications, Accenture, Verizon and the Democratic National Committee. Her areas of expertise include project management, event technology and e-based marketing. Having worked on both the client and supplier side of the industry, Dominique brings a unique approach to each project.









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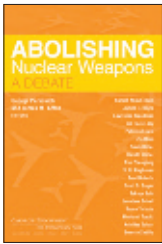
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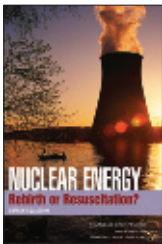
#### ABOLISHING NUCLEAR WEAPONS

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#### ARE NEW NUCLEAR BARGAINS ATTAINABLE?

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#### NUCLEAR ENERGY: REBIRTH OR RESUSCITATION?

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