

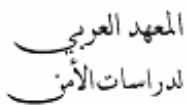
The WMD Forum

WMDFZ in the Middle East - Impact on Global Non-Proliferation Efforts Possibilities, Dynamics and Modalities

Amman – Jordan
November 13 to 14, 2013



Conference organized and sponsored by:
Arab Institute for Security Studies (ACSIS)
The Government of the Netherlands
The Government of Austria
EU Non Proliferation Consortium
Atomic Reporters



Arab Institute for Security Studies



Government of Austria



EU Non Proliferation Consortium



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Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Kingdom of the Netherlands

Government of the Netherlands

Track 1: WMD Non-Proliferation and Security

Panel I Amman Security Colloquium – Decision Makers Session



Sameer Mobaideen, Governor of Greater Amman, representing the Jordanian Government and speaking on behalf of the patrons of the meeting stressed on Jordan's commitment to nuclear non-proliferation. Given the circumstance witnessed throughout the region and huge burdens experienced by Jordan, the creation of a WMDFZ in the Middle East is still among Jordan's important priorities.



Grace Asirwatham, Deputy Director General - Organization of the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, discussed the importance of cooperation, in addition to confidence and transparency in advancing WMD non proliferation. She noted that Syria's accession to the Chemical Weapons Convention is an opportunity for the region, and an incentive for Egypt and Israel to accept the CWC. Ongoing socio-political change in the Middle East and unresolved conflicts present opportunities, as well as challenges, for rethinking traditional dynamics

between neighboring countries and approaches to regional security. The CWC can, in this regard, provide a well-anchored bridge for spanning confidence and transparency across historical deep divisions and mistrust in the Middle East. It can likewise provide a supporting arch for more extensive disarmament and security architecture for the region, such as that envisaged by the goal of a regional WMD-free zone.



Nico Frandi, EEAS EU, indicated that he represented the EU in the Amman framework, a framework developed by the Arab Institute for Security Studies (ACSIS) in 2011. He acknowledged ACSIS persistence and the determination in hosting an annual conference on the establishment of a WMDFZ in the Middle East which has helped in maintaining the momentum, even when one would have had reasons to think the chances for this long and difficult process to advance were slim. He pointed that the EU Non Proliferation Consortium will be present in this conference with several researchers from its four leading think tanks which will intervene actively in the discussions. He added that the EU

strongly supports the 2010 NPT Action Plan, it remains a strategic priority of the European Union to support peace and stability in the entire Middle East. The EU strong support to the Facilitator work is echoed by the continued call on all States in the region to urgently and proactively engage with the aim of holding the Helsinki Conference as soon as possible.



Andreas Reinicke, EU Envoy to the Middle East Peace Process, spoke about EU's involvement in the peace process and its possible scenarios. He added that at this stage he cant disclose much information about the details of ongoing discussions. Should the zone come first or should we start with peace is an argument that failed to have an answer. Ambassador Reinicke noted that the WMD issue is one element of Middle East peace negotiations and among the five final status issues imbedded within Arab-Israeli Conflict.



Adnen Mansar, Minister of Presidential Affairs, Official Spokesman of the Tunisian President Al Monsef Al Marzouqi, spoke on behalf of the Tunisian Government. He spoke about the effects of the Arab spring and its impact on a WMD/FZ. He mentioned that achieving the zone was a priority of former regimes as well as new regimes. He referred to a new era of intra-Arab cooperation which brings new opportunities and huge prospects, an era that could be invested to achieve a solid security structure and new perspectives to the zone issue.

Ambassador Paul van den IJssel, Ambassador of the Netherlands to Jordan chaired the second part of the session and spoke on behalf of the Netherlands. He noted that the Netherlands sponsorship to this meeting stems from its support to the non proliferation regime as reflected by the NPT. The Netherlands is hopeful for making serious progress and achieving greater transparency.



Panel II The Iran Dilemma- Breaking the Deadlock

Chair and Moderator:

Khaled Al Bu Ainnain, INEGMA (UAE)



Coralie Hindawi, Assistant Professor at American University in Beirut (Lebanon), attributed much of the current deadlock to what she described as the “Chapter 7 Trap”. This trap is a set of binding Security Council Resolutions that put pressures on Iran, making its emergence from the current crisis unnecessarily difficult. Dr. Hindawi concluded that an *ad hoc*, coercive approach of issuing resolution after resolution by the United Nations is not appropriate, and may indeed be dangerous. In order to demonstrate the severity of the situation and the difficulties faced by Iran,

The speaker quoted Dr. El Baradei, former IAEA Director General, as saying that “nothing would suffice except for Iran coming to the table completely undressed”.



Rania Abdul Wahhab, Ain Shams University (Egypt), gave an in-depth and thorough historical account of the Iranian nuclear program. She articulated the initial struggles of the program and the reasons why Iran would desire such a program. She then detailed the crisis of confidence between the West and Iran, highlighting the reasons for suspicion between the two sides and the reasons that negotiations have failed to resolve the crisis thus far. The behavior of most of the parties to

this crisis aims at protecting their own interests and current situation at the lowest cost, along with working as much as possible to avoid getting into the midst of a military confrontation. The speaker identified the nature of Iranian nuclear program by analyzing its stages of emergence, highlighting motives that are behind Iran’s quest to acquire nuclear weapon and concluded with determining the strategic repercussions of Iranian nuclear program.



Ali Mohammadi, Director Global Health and Security Consultants (Iran), proceeded to give an account of Iran’s nuclear program. The speaker stressed that historically speaking, Iran signed the NPT before the Islamic Revolution, and largely continued its obligations under that treaty even

after the revolution. He described Iran's terrible history with Weapons of Mass Destruction, providing a personal account of the casualties on the Iranian side as a result of the chemical weapons attacks during the Iran-Iraq War. He concluded that the current sanctions regime is not affecting the government as it is inflicting damage on the citizens of Iran by depriving them of necessary medical and food supplies.

Panel III The Zone- Addressing Other Categories of WMD

Chair and Moderator:

Saja Majali, International Organizations Unit - Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Jordan)



Christian Weidlich, Peace Research Institute in Frankfurt (Germany), addressed delivery vehicles, in relation to a WMDFZ in the Middle East, and whether the inclusion of delivery vehicles to other categories of WMDs would facilitate or complicate the process. He noted the importance of delivery systems, in the context of WMDs, because of their ability to extend mass destruction to larger geographical areas and because of their inherent destabilizing features; Delivery vehicles deserve considerable attention as part of the regional arms control and disarmament processes. Mr. Weidlich asserted that while missiles appear to complicate the Helsinki Conference, practical steps to banning delivery vehicles can actually be used to facilitate agreements, such steps includes a no first-use declaration, exchange of information on missile projects and activities, pre-notification of flight tests and space rocket launches, de-targeting and de-alerting of missiles, and restrains, moratoriums, or bars on missile tests.



John Hart, Head of the Chemical and Biology Security Project at SIPRI (Sweden), discussed maintaining and strengthening the International capacity to respond to chemical weapons threats. He first described the stipulations of the Chemical Weapons Convention, including the requirements and categories for chemical weapons. Highlighting the recent situation in Syria, the speaker illustrated that the evolution of events as they unfolded in Syria revealed operational and policy lessons when dealing with chemical weapons threats, including the need for verifying the completeness and correctness of chemical weapons declarations by states, as well as of the importance of authoritative information.

Mohamed I. Shaker, Chairman of the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA), highlighted the main elements needed to create a future zone. His framework addressed the geographical delimitation of the zone, the categories of weapons that must be included, the main responsibilities of parties to the zone, the creation of a regional governing organization, and the creation of positive and negative security assurances amongst the signatory members. The Ambassador's proposal argued that the participation of Israel and Iran would be a necessary requirement for a stable and functional WMDFZ. Turkey's inclusion into the zone would be that of a special status and additional consideration would be given to Pakistan, India and Afghanistan. A newly established verification organization would be tailored to allow IAEA and OPCW oversight and inspections and could lead to cooperative initiatives between member states.



Panel IV A WMD Free Zone in the Middle East- Obstacles and Opportunities.

Chair and Moderator:

Ambassador Lars Backstrom, Deputy Facilitator (Finland)

Zia Mian, Princeton University Program on Science and Global Security (US), spoke about scientific elements that need to be considered when discussing a Middle East zone free of weapons of mass destruction, particularly in the nuclear arena. Prof. Mian specifically described the elements involved in nuclear processes. A producer needs only 5 kg of Plutonium or 15 kg of HEU to make a weapon. The path to disarmament and strengthened non-proliferation require states not to separate/use Plutonium and not to enrich/use Uranium-235 above 6%. Seeing this picture as the end goal, Mr. Mian identified the problems facing the Middle East. He emphasized that the most important issue was that of Israel, which possesses stockpiles of Plutonium. One of the greatest objectives therefore, is to freeze, declare, and reduce Israel's stocks on a step-by-step basis. Mr. Mian discussed methods of verification, including the provisions under the Open Skies Treaty allowing infra-red sensors able to detect nuclear operations, and the possibility of the detection of inert gases in the atmosphere that are released by certain nuclear processes as well as on-site verification measures. Such elements are needed given mistrust within the region and in order to build confidence.



Grace Asirwatham, Deputy Director General of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), stated that OPCW not only talks about rights and obligations of states but their individual global responsibility. OPCW DDG discussed how there is a need for all countries of the Middle East to sign onto the OPCW and work together to fully support a WMDFZ. Syria's recent accession to the Chemical Weapons Convention should be a message to non-state parties to join the convention, which would not only contribute to the objective of non-proliferation, but also provide secondary benefits in the humanitarian and economic realms. Ms. Asirwatham called for actors who have not signed on to the CWC to do so. Joining the Convention not only gives the party security, but it also provides the region with the necessary consensus, and cooperation that would lead to achieving CWC universality.



Marc Finaud, Senior Advisor at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (Switzerland), dismisses the two conventional approaches to a solution in the Middle East. The world can let Israel join the NPT, give up its nuclear capability, and let the rest follow, or it can wait for the region to stabilize and experience a full peace before establishing a WMDFZ. Mr. Finaud explores a third scenario, pointing out that Israel is not likely to make a shift in strategy unless dramatic changes in the security situation occurs, but it is unwise to wait for peace to naturally occur. Instead, the international community can move towards creating a situation of confidence between Israel and the rest of the region. Such steps must be incremental, but there is no ideal sequence. Mr. Finaud notes that the international community must establish a comprehensive safeguard agreement with Iran to prevent the diversion of nuclear materials, it must coordinate dramatic efforts in regional peace agreements to simultaneously stabilize the region, and work toward nuclear states disarmament. The mentality "do as I say, not as I do" of the nuclear states will only hinder progress toward a WMDFZ in the Middle East.



Panel V Prospects of a Regional Nuclear Fuel Cycle in the Middle East.

Chair and Moderator:

Ziad Abu Zayyad, Publisher of the Quarterly Palestine-Israel Journal (Palestine)



Sameh Aboul Enein, Deputy Assistant Foreign Minister for Disarmament & International Security (Egypt), discussed the potentials of an ARABATOM body as an agency pursuing the goals of peaceful uses as well as assisting human development. Such a program would set in place unified regulations, assist practical research to develop applications such as meeting energy needs, promoting cancer therapy, combating poverty, protecting the environment, managing water usage, optimizing industrial processes, among many others. The speaker

stressed the need for the ARABATOM to be multilateral since it aims to provide nuclear materials equally to member states. Dr. Aboul Enein was clear to point out, however, that such an objective is not currently attainable and that the region is only in the primary stages of developing a regional nuclear fuel cycle. Citing the challenges faced by this endeavor, he emphasized the need for developing national legislations. Here, the IAEA is able to play a major role in issues related to nuclear safety and security measures. The IAEA, therefore, must be encouraged to develop capacities and work toward strengthening safety and radiation protection measures and further strengthen the role of international legislations and bodies.



Tom Coppen, Center for Conflict and Strategy Law at Utrecht (Netherlands), discussed rights permitted by the NPT in the way of establishing a regional fuel cycle, and the limits that the treaty sets to multilateral approaches to the nuclear fuel cycle. According to Mr. Coppen, the NPT 2010 Review Conference provided a solid legal basis for multilateral approaches to the nuclear fuel cycle. While Articles I and II of the NPT outline the individual obligation on all states to prohibit any assistance of a nuclear weapons program, Article III indicates that states

must sign comprehensive safeguard agreements and perhaps additional protocol guarantees as long as they do not infringe on the rights under Article IV. Coppen highlighted that the best legal basis for the multilateral approach to nuclear fuel cycle lies in Article IV.2, which describes the legal obligation to implement and actively contribute in the exchange of nuclear materials under guiding principles, including predictability and stability. Therefore, the legal basis for a multilateral approach to nuclear programs is present, but even with the collective obligation, an approach will only work when there's both support and legitimacy.



Alberto Mutti, VERTIC, discussed the fallacy in delaying the establishment of a strong verification system until the later stages of the development of a regional WMDFZ. Mr. Mutti outlines the risks of the process in developing a WMDFZ as a state may store or stockpile before the statutes and limitations of the zone is established. It is imperative that strong solid verification regime be introduced in the primary stages of the development of the zone. In order to create such a zone, a regional nuclear fuel cycle must have strong regional institutions, safeguards in

strong multilateral measures, and other measures to increase the transparencies of the individual state nuclear holdings, as such an assurance is necessary. Verification activities, therefore, must cover the entire timeline of the development of the zone. Mr. Mutti identified several stages in this process. With an established norm of fairness and transparency, every step can be truly multilateral with checks and balances because all parties are directly involved and observant. Central involvement of the IAEA and

signatories of the NPT are essential given the IAEA's expertise in verification and its experience in the commercial element of a regional nuclear fuel cycle through its involvement in bodies like EURATOM. A multilateral experience with the involvement of the IAEA can lay the foundation and synergy in cooperation leading to taking action toward the ultimate goal. However, such movement toward a goal can only take place once a political movement toward disarmament takes place in the region.

Panel VI Growing Utilization of Nuclear Energy in the Middle East- Towards a Nuclear Security Culture and Nuclear Transparency.

Chair and moderator:

Al Shareef Nasser bin Nasser, Middle East Scientific Institute for Security (Jordan)

Mahmoud Nasreddine, Middle East and North Africa Strategic Studies Center (Beirut), discussed the role of the Arab Atomic Energy Agency (AAEA) in developing nuclear energy technologies in the Arab world. Dr. Nasreddine proposed that the development and implementation of nuclear desalination plants in the Arab world would not only ease water scarcity issues in the region, but will also curb greenhouse emissions and regenerate considerable electricity. Given the success of nuclear desalination projects in Japan, India and Kazakhstan. The speaker expressed his deep support for similar projects within the region. He noted that several Arab states had endorsed nuclear desalination project and several committees had been formed to explore the technical, logistical and legal statutes required to successfully implement the project, including identifying possible sites, defining necessary infrastructure and addressing safety requirements.



Alalja Mena, General and Constitutional Law Dept at Khemis Miliana University (Algeria), proposed that nuclear energy can stabilize the Middle East in the same way coal and steel stabilized post-war Europe. Dr. Mena proposed that the development of safer nuclear power systems will increase energy production in the Middle East while reducing the effects of greenhouse emissions that are normally generated from fossil fuels. The speaker also promoted the use of modern nuclear technology in climate stabilization and the generation of new efficient and reliant power sources in the Arab region.



Benjamin Hautecouverture, CESIM and FRS (France), discussed the current status of the Jordanian civil nuclear energy program and highlighted the benefits of energy independence through nuclear energy. Mr. Hautecouverture, discussed the recent advances towards reactor sites Kherbat Al Samara, to the east of Amman, and in the Badia region. As the construction of the first Jordanian reactor prospectively begins in 2015. He expressed his support for nuclear cooperation between Jordan and the United States but also noted greater the increasing role of Russian and Chinese influence on the slowly developing nuclear program.



Panel VII International Security Models and Perspectives (Security, the Zone and other Dimensions)

Chair and Moderator

Erzébet Rózsa, Hungarian Institute for International Affairs (Hungary)

Arda Batu, ARI Movement (Turkey), cited the importance of youth engagement with politics, the speaker began by discussing initiatives aimed at getting youth involved in foreign policy. Mr. Batu asserted that “the decisions Turkey takes on foreign affairs resonate” and, “the role of NGOs is to point out how they can ameliorate the situation”



in the Middle East. He praised Turkey's increased activity on the international stage but cautioned that decision makers were in danger of "confusing values with national interest" and stated that the Turkish government's "rhetoric is too black and white" and "too absolutist;" he touched on the administration's treatment of the situation in Egypt during late 2013. Instead, he contended, "foreign policy is the art of maneuvering in grey areas."



Pierre Razoux, Research Director of IRSEM (France), provided a historical analysis of today's events. He made analogies between the Syrian civil war to the 20th century's Spanish Civil War. Considering the power struggle between Iran, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia, along with the changing Russian and US interests, he again drew connections to the 1970s, when big powers pulled at the region. Mr. Razoux commented on ongoing Iranian nuclear talks as well, citing growing internal and external threats, economic welfare, and the ever-present US-Israeli "military option" as reasons for its newfound openness to negotiations. He commented that a strong Iran will push the Gulf further toward the US, place pressure on Israel, and strengthen a drive towards emerging "axes of influence upon the region."



Jenny Nielson, the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) (UK), took the floor to discuss the "Humanitarian Initiative on Disarmament" that will affect the upcoming 2015 Non-Proliferation Treaty review process. She described the movement as a set of states lobbying against "the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons." Ms. Nielson referred to a conference that took place in Oslo in March 2013 dedicated to this topic and noted that the P5 did not attend. She claimed that the nuclear powers refusal to join creates an atmosphere of "dismissive discourse" and constitute "a cartel" behavior. She speculated that this movement may signal a paradigm shift in which the role of nuclear weapons in security doctrines is diminished. However, she pointed out that the initiative may one day divide along two "tracks," those who wish to decrease the salience of nuclear weapons, and those who wish to see them banned entirely.



Tuomo Melasuo, Tampere Peace Research Institute (Finland), spoke regarding Finland's long history of involvement in nuclear regulation, citing a history of developing and supporting diplomatic initiatives. He asserted that, as a result, it is only "natural" for Finland to support a WMD-free zone in the Middle East. He emphasized that, while Finland seeks an international role in reducing nuclear weapons stockpiles, its political neutrality has guaranteed its independence in foreign affairs. The speaker concluded by focusing on technical capabilities available within Finland especially in the fields in detecting and monitoring chemical, radiochemical, and nuclear items of concern.

Panel VIII WMDFZ in the Middle East- the Role of Media and Closing Remarks.

Chairman and Moderator:

Mohamed Anis Salim, Egyptian Council for Foreign Relations (Egyptian)



Peter Rickwood of the Atomic Reporters (Canada) called for journalists to actively engage with the topic of WMD nonproliferation and to do so responsibly. In no field, he said, is reporting accurately more crucial than in this one, as the stakes are incredibly high. He spoke of how the Atomic Reporters and everyone at the conference would be willing to act as resources for the assembled journalists, should they need assistance.



Zia Mian, physicist at Princeton University's program on Science and Global Security (USA), spoke of how the media engage with the topic of WMDs and engage the public. He spoke of how complicated the topic of WMDs can be, both for journalists to cover and for the public to understand. The speaker stressed on the importance of universities in informing the public, adding that journalists don't just have to report on stories, but they can create them.



Julian Borger, The Guardian (UK), reiterated the call for informed reporting on the nuclear issue in the Middle East, and commended the comment on how journalists can create experts by demanding expertise of universities. He also agreed with Dr. Mian that journalists have the right and responsibility to create stories and to investigate the issues from all angles. The speaker stressed, as he did in the journalists workshop, that there is no topic more important to cover than the WMD issue. Highlighting the role of the media in ensuring the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, he said that there can be no change to the status quo unless the media galvanized the public to desire such a change, and that the media can only do that by reliably and aggressively covering the issue of nuclear non-proliferation in the region and in the world as a whole.



Track II- WMD Workshop for Journalists



The annual WMD and Security Forum (2013 version) witnessed a side event organized by the Arab Institute for Security Studies with Atomic Reporters. This one day workshop targeted journalists and media representatives in the Middle East. The workshop took place on November 14th and was held in Amman (Jordan).

More than 30 journalists registered for the workshop and more than 20 participated in the event which was well received. The Arab Spring has resulted in diversification of the region's news media, and subjects previously considered as a taboo are being discussed more openly and critically. Journalists are reaching outside their accustomed terrain for information and there is keen interest in being better prepared for covering nuclear related issues.

The workshop was also timely because of current events such as the accession of Syria to the Chemical Weapons Convention and the announcement of the interim agreement between P5+1 and Iran. Such developments require journalists to bring a level of competence to them to be able to cover them accurately. Plans to convene a conference on a zone free from nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction free zone in the Middle also need to be better understood.

Mohamed Shaker, chair of the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA) gave the opening address to the workshop. Mr. Alfred Bratanek, Deputy Head of Mission in the Austrian Embassy Amman welcomed participants. Speakers in the workshop were: Ayman Khalil (Jordan); Grace Asirwatham (Deputy Director-General for the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons - OPCW); Sameh Aboul-Enein (Deputy Assistant Foreign Minister - Egypt); General Khalid Al Bu-Ainnain (Baynuna Group - UAE); Coralie Hindawi (American University of Beirut); Mahmoud Karem (ECFA -Egypt); Zia Mian (Princeton University - USA); Julian Borger (The Guardian); Tariq Rauf, (former head of verification and security policy coordination at the IAEA); Peter Rickwood (founder Atomic Reporters).

The journalists workshop consisted of six working panels (including one plenary session), namely:

Panel 1: Keynote Address (Ambassador Mohamad Shaker)

Panel 2: Destroying WMDs in the Middle East – OPCW and IAEA Activities

Panel 3: Arms Control Measures Achievements and Challenges

Panel 4: Strategic Considerations – Offense and Defense

Panel 5: Reporting the Story – Getting it Published (with simulation)

Panel 6: Plenary Session: News Media's Role – Keeping the Public Informed about WMD in the Middle East

Track III- The Arab Forum for Security & Non Proliferation

The Amman WMD and Security Forum hosted the second coordination meeting for the Arab Forum on Security and Nuclear Non-Proliferation. The Arab Forum was established with the support of the League of Arab States in 2011; today the forum consists of 25 member organizations from the Arab world. The Arab Forum is currently managed and coordinated by the Arab Institute for Security Studies. To maintain ongoing relations and better coordination and to explain positions, members of the Arab Forum agreed to strengthen relations with their counterparts at the European Non Proliferation Consortium as well as the facilitator office. Members of the Arab Forum debated a number of ideas, actions and proposals that will be conveyed to decision makers in the Arab World. It was jointly agreed to convene consultations in Cairo during 2014 and to meet for the third coordination meeting in Amman during November 2014.