Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

AGENDA

CONFERENCE on
NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION:
ENHANCING THE TOOLS OF THE TRADE

June 9-10, 1997
Washington Marriott Hotel
1221 22nd Street, NW, Washington, DC

Leonard S. Spector
Director, Carnegie Endowment Nuclear Non-Proliferation Project
Conference Chair

Sherry Pettic, Conference Coordinator

MONDAY, JUNE 9, 1997

8:00 a.m.  REGISTRATION, Continental Breakfast

8:45 a.m.  WELCOMING REMARKS - CONFERENCE OVERVIEW
Leonard S. SPECTOR, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

9:00 a.m.  KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Hon. James STEINBERG, Deputy Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

Presiding: Jessica T. MATHEWS, President, Carnegie Endowment
for International Peace

9:45 a.m.  STRENGTHENING THE NORM OF NON-PROLIFERATION

Reducing Nuclear Arms or Eliminating Them?

Amb. Richard BUTLER, Permanent Representative of Australia to the UN
Adm. Hank CHILES, former Commander U.S. Strategic Command
Hon. Robert BELL, Special Assistant to the President, Defense Policy and
Arms Control
Amb. Rüdiger HARTMANN, Federal Commissioner on Arms Control, FRG

Presiding: Dr. Morton HALPERIN, Council on Foreign Relations
Monday, June 9 -- continued...

11:15 a.m.  BREAK

11:30 a.m.  Next Steps for the Nuclear Powers: Which Are Most Important?

Hon. Alexei ARBATOV, Member of Duma, Russian Federation
Amb. Naresh CHANDRA, Ambassador of India to the United States
Harald MÜLLER, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt
William C. POTTER, Monterey Inst. of International Studies

Presiding: Cathleen FISHER, The Henry L. Stimson Center

12:45 p.m.  LUNCHEON

Speaker:  WANG Xiaoyu, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, China
Comment:  Robert EINHORN, U.S. Department of State

Presiding: Robert MANNING, Progressive Policy Institute

2:15 p.m.  WORKSHOPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monday June 9</th>
<th>Room A Assertive Diplomacy</th>
<th>Room B Improving the Regime</th>
<th>Room C Addressing Demand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2:15 p.m.</td>
<td>Using Sanctions for Non-Proliferation</td>
<td>Improving IAEA Verification</td>
<td>The Middle East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Technology Denial and Export Controls</td>
<td>NPT Review Process; NWFZs</td>
<td>South Asia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ROOM A: Using Sanctions to Support Non-Proliferation**

Leonard WEISS, Senate Governmental Affairs Committee
Richard HAASS, The Brookings Institution
Gary SAMORE, National Security Council
Zamir AKRAM, Embassy of Pakistan

Presiding: Michael MAZARR, Center for Strategic and International Studies

**ROOM B: Strengthening Non-Proliferation Verification Tools – The 93+2 Program of the International Atomic Energy Agency**

Michael ROSENTHAL, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
Richard HOOPER, International Atomic Energy Agency
David ALBRIGHT, Institute for Science and International Security
Paul LEVENTHAL, Nuclear Control Institute
Suzanna van MOYLAND, Verification Technology Information Center, London

Presiding: Ben SANDERS, Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation
Monday, June 9 -- continued...

**ROOM C: Addressing Proliferation “Demand” Through Threat Reduction, Arms Control, and Engagement – The Middle East**

Shai FELDMAN, John F. Kennedy School
Geoffrey KEMP, Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom
Nabil FAHMY, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt
Phebe MARR, National Defense University

**Presiding:** Avner COHEN, U.S. Institute of Peace

3:45 p.m. **BREAK**

4:00 p.m. **WORKSHOPS**

**ROOM A: Using Technology Denial and Export Controls to Support Non-Proliferation – The U.S. Debate**

Hon. John DESPRES, former Assistant Secretary for Export Enforcement, U.S. Department of Commerce
Michael MALOOF, U.S. Department of Defense
Marvin MILLER, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Gary MILHOLLIN, Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control
Janne NOLAN, The Brookings Institution

**Presiding:** Randy RYDELL, Senate Governmental Affairs Committee

**ROOM B: Strengthening the Non-Proliferation Regime Through the New Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Process and Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones**

Amb. Valery TSEPKALO, Ambassador of Belarus to the United States
David FITE, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
Lawrence SCHEINMAN, Monterey Institute of International Studies, formerly U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
John SIMPSON, Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation
Sudjadnan PARNOHADININGRAT, Mission of Indonesia to the UN

**Presiding:** Susan BURK, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

**ROOM C: Addressing Proliferation “Demand” Through Threat Reduction, Arms Control, and Engagement – South Asia**

Amb. Riaz KOKHAR, Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States
Hon. Robin RAPHEL, U.S. Department of State
C. Raja MOHAN, *The Hindu*, New Delhi
SHEN Dingli, Fudan University, Shanghai
Virginia FORAN, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**Presiding:** Stephen P. COHEN, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Monday, June 9, continued...

5:30 p.m. **WORKSHOPS CONCLUDE**

6:30 p.m. **RECEPTION – WASHINGTON MARRIOTT HOTEL**

7:00 p.m. **DINNER – WASHINGTON MARRIOTT HOTEL**

**Using Incentives to Support Non-Proliferation**

**Speaker:** Hon. Stephen BOSWORTH, Executive Director, Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO)

**Presiding:** Leonard S. SPECTOR, Carnegie Endowment for Int'l Peace

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**TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1997**

8:00 a.m. **CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST**

9:00 a.m. **WORKSHOPS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tuesday June 10</th>
<th>Room A New Tools for Changing Threats</th>
<th>Room B Emerging Threats</th>
<th>Room C Controlling Supply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00 a.m.</td>
<td>Counter-Proliferation</td>
<td>Chemical and Biological Arms</td>
<td>Engaging Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:45 a.m.</td>
<td>Missile Non-Proliferation</td>
<td>WMD Terrorism</td>
<td>Engaging China</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ROOM A:** Using “Counter-Proliferation” to Address the Spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction

Lewis DUNN, Science Applications International Corporation
Mitchel WALLERSTEIN, U.S. Department of Defense
Rudolf ADAM, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Germany
Camille GRAND, Institut de Relations Internationales et Stratégiques, France

**Presiding:** Robert JOSEPH, National Defense University

**ROOM B:** Chemical and Biological Weapons – New Stepping Stones to Strategic Arsenals?

Kathleen BAILEY, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory
Brendon HAMMER, Embassy of Australia
Anne HARRINGTON, U.S. Department of State
Michael MOODIE, Chemical and Biological Arms Control Institute

**Presiding:** Amy SMITHSON, Henry L. Stimson Center
Tuesday, June 10 -- continued...

**ROOM C: Controlling Material and Technology – Engaging Russia**

Laura HOLGATE, U.S. Department of Defense  
Gennady PSHAKIN, Institute of Physics & Power Engineering, Obninsk, RF  
Cherie FITZGERALD, U.S. Department of Energy  
Alexander PIKAYEV, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Moscow)  
Jo HUSBANDS, National Academy of Sciences

**Presiding:** Gary BERTSCH, University of Georgia

10:30 a.m. **BREAK**

10:45 a.m. **WORKSHOPS**

**ROOM A: The Missile Proliferation Threat**

Vann van DIEPEN, U.S. Department of State  
Mitchel KUGLER, Senate Subcommittee on International Security, Proliferation, and Federal Services  
Dennis GORMLEY, Pacific Sierra Research Corporation  
Aaron KARP, Old Dominion University

**Presiding:** Richard SPEIER, Independent Consultant

**ROOM B: New Proliferation Threats – Mass Terrorism and Non-State Actors**

John SOPKO, U.S. Department of Commerce  
Ronald PURVER, Security and Intelligence Service, Canada  
Jessica STERN, Independent Consultant  
Jonathan TUCKER, Monterey Institute of International Studies

**Presiding:** Brad ROBERTS, Institute for Defense Analyses

**ROOM C: Controlling Materials and Technology – Engaging China**

SUN Xiangli, Inst. of Applied Physics & Computational Mathematics, Beijing  
Wendy FRIEMAN, Science Applications International Corporation  
Richard CUPITT, University of Georgia  
Clyde LAYNE, Sandia National Laboratories  
Bates GILL, Monterey Institute of International Studies

**Presiding:** Arnold KANTER, Forum for International Policy

12:15 p.m. **LUNCHEON**

**Speaker:** Hon. Rolf EKÉUS, Executive Chairman, UN Special Commission on Iraq (UNSCOM)

**Presiding:** Leonard S. SPECTOR
Tuesday, June 10 -- continued

2:00 p.m.  EXPANDING THE NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME – THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN

Demonstration of the Prototype International Data Center
Richard GUSTAFSON, Center for Monitoring Research

3:00 p.m.  Implementing the CTBT: Practical Challenges

SONG Jiashu, Inst. of Applied Physics & Computational Mathematics, Beijing
Viktor SLIPCHENKO, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Russian Federation
Christopher PAINE, Natural Resources Defense Council

Presiding: Patricia LEWIS, Verification Technology Information Ctr., London

4:00 p.m.  BREAK

4:15 p.m.  The CTBT: Facilitating Entry into Force

Amb. Prakash SHAH, Permanent Representative of India to the UN
Amb. Munir AKRAM, Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the Conference
on Disarmament
Michael KREPON, Henry L. Stimson Center

Presiding: Peter ZIMMERMAN, Institute for Defense Analyses

5:15 p.m  CONCLUDING REMARKS

Leonard S. SPECTOR, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

5:30 p.m.  CONFERENCE ADJOURNS

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This conference has been made possible by the generous support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Ford Foundation, the Henry P. Kendall Foundation, and the Ploughshares Fund.
Seventh Carnegie International Non-Proliferation Conference

Program

Monday, January 11, 1999

8:00 a.m.  Registration and Continental Breakfast

8:45 a.m.  Conference Opening

Jessica Mathews
President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

9 - 9:15 a.m.  Welcome

Joseph Cirincione
Non-Proliferation Project, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

9:15 - 10:45 a.m.  The Challenge of Russia’s Nuclear Cities

Chair:  Kenneth Luongo
Russian-American Nuclear Security Advisory Council

Rose Gottemoeller
United States Department of Energy

Stephen Mladineo
Pacific Northwest National Laboratory

Lev Ryabev
Ministry of Atomic Energy, Russian Federation

Evgeny N. Avrorin
Zababakhin Russian Federal Nuclear Center, Chelyabinsk-70

David Bernstein
Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University

10:45 a.m.  Break

11:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.  Inspecting Iraq

Speaker:  Richard Butler, Executive Chairman
United Nations Special Commission

Comments by:  David Albright
Institute for Science & International Security
12:15 - 1:45 p.m.  Luncheon

Speaker:  Jayantha Dhanapala, Under Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs, United Nations

2:00 – 3:30 p.m.  Concurrent Sessions

Will the Agreed Framework in Korea Survive?

Chair:  Mitchell B. Reiss
Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization

Gary Samore
National Security Council

William B. Inglee (No Show)
Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, United States House of Representatives

Lee Sigal
Social Sciences Research Council

The Non-Proliferation Treaty Approaches the 2000 Review

Chair:  Honorable Lawrence Scheinman
Monterey Institute of International Studies

Harald Müller
Peace Research Institute Frankfurt

Mitsuru Kurosawa
Osaka School of International Public Policy, Japan

Ben Sanders
Programme for Promoting Nuclear Non-Proliferation

Shen Dingli
Fudan University, People’s Republic of China

Counter-Proliferation: Deterrence, Defense and Counter-force

Chair:  Mitchel B. Wallerstein
John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

James N. Miller, Jr.
Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy & Threat Reduction, United States

Rear Admiral John F. Sigler
U.S. Central Command, United States Navy

3:30 – 3:45 p.m.  Break
3:45 – 5:15 p.m.  Concurrent Sessions
Chemical and Biological Weapons: Terrorist Threats, Warfare Realities

Chair: Yonah Alexander
George Washington University

Brad Roberts
Institute for Defense Analyses

Elisa Harris
National Security Council

Honorable Vladimir Averchev
Duma of the Russian Federation

Amy Sands
Monterey Institute of International Studies

Prospects for Bringing South Asia into Technology Control Regimes

Chair: Anupam Srivastava
University of Georgia

Neil Joeck
Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory

Seema Gahlaut
University of Georgia

Lewis A. Dunn
Science Applications International Corporation

Sharon Burke
United States Department of Defense

Negotiating an End to Fissile Material Production

Chair: Ambassador Mark J. Moher
Canadian Representative to the United Nations

Rebecca Johnson
The Acronym Institute

Camille Grand
Institut d’études politiques de Paris

William Walker
University of St. Andrews

Michael A. Guhin
United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
6:30 p.m. Reception
(By Invitation Only)

7:00 p.m. Dinner with Keynote Speaker

Honorable Karsten D. Voigt
Former Member of Bundestag
and Speaker for the Social Democratic Party on Foreign Affairs,
National Security and Arms Control, Federal Republic of Germany

Comments by:
Harald Müller
Peace Research Institute Frankfurt

Sessions will resume on Tuesday, January 12, 1999
Tuesday, January 12, 1999

8:00 a.m.  Registration and Continental Breakfast

8:30 – 9:30 a.m.  Special Address to Conference

Honorable Samuel R. Berger
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

9:30 – 9:45 a.m.  Break

9:45 – 11:00 a.m. Concurrent Sessions

Russia and Iran: Can Diplomacy and Controls Stop Missile Proliferation?

Chair: Richard Speier
Consultant to the Carnegie Non-Proliferation Project

Honorable Robert Gallucci
Dean, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

Viktor Mizin
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Russian Federation

Honorable Robbie Sabel
Arms Control and Disarmament, Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The Next Steps in Strategic Reductions

Chair: Michael Krepon, Henry L. Stimson Center

Bruce G. Blair
Brookings Institution

Matthew Bunn
Harvard University

Ambassador Thomas Graham Jr.
Lawyers Alliance for World Security

Robert G. Bell
National Security Council

The Effectiveness of Sanctions

Chair: Leonard Weiss
Committee on Governmental Affairs, United States Senate

Henry D. Sokolski
Nonproliferation Policy Education Center

Gary Milhollin
Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control

Daniel T. Morrow
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

11:10 a.m. – 12:30 p.m.  Concurrent Sessions
The Russian WMD Proliferation Threats

Chair: Jessica Stern  
Council on Foreign Relations

William C. Potter  
Monterey Institute of International Studies

Jonathan B. Tucker  
Monterey Institute of International Studies

Alexander A. Pikayev  
Carnegie Moscow Center

Leonard S. Spector  
United States Department of Energy

Middle East Arms Control and Regional Security Dilemmas

Chair: Benjamin Frankel  
Security Studies

Bruce Jentleson  
United States Institute of Peace/University of California at Davis

Ariel Levite  
Bureau of International Security and Arms Control, Isreal

Additional Panelist To Be Announced

New Agendas

Chair: Natalie J. Goldring  
University of Maryland

Darach MacFhionnghairr  
Department of Foreign Affairs, Ireland

Luiz F. Machado  
Embassy of Brazil

Marina B. Laker  
Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Canada

Patricia Lewis  
United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
12:30 – 1:45 p.m.  Luncheon

Speaker:  Ambassador Sha Zukang, Director General
          Arms Control and Disarmament Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
          People’s Republic of China

General Sessions

1:45 - 3:15 p.m.  Fallout from the South Asia Tests

Chair:  Gary K. Bertsch
        University of Georgia

Honorable Naresh Chandra (replaced by T.P. Sreenvista)
Ambassador of India to the United States

Honorable Shahid Kamal
Deputy Chief of Mission of Pakistan to the United States

Ambassador Cheng Ruisheng
China Center of International Studies

George Perkovich
W. Alton Jones Foundation

Robert Einhorn
Department of State, United States

3:15 – 3:30 p.m.  Break

3:30 – 4:15 p.m.  Special Address to the Conference

Secretary of Energy Bill Richardson
United States Department of Energy

4:15 - 5:30 p.m.  The Senate and the Duma: Two Views of the Problems

Senator Pete V. Domenici
United States Senate

Honorable Alexei Arbatov
Duma of the Russian Federation

5:30 p.m.  Closing Remarks

Joseph Cirincione
Non-Proliferation Project, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Conference Agenda

Wednesday, March 15, 2000

4:00pm - 6:00pm  Registration begins

6:30pm - 8:30pm  Spanish Tapas Dinner for panelists and guests, Marriott Hotel

Thursday, March 16, 2000
Conference Day One

7:30am  Registration begins
Continental Breakfast served

9:00am  Welcome and Introduction
*Jessica Mathews*
President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

9:15am  Welcome
*Joseph Cirincione*
Director, Carnegie Non-Proliferation Project

9:30am  Plenary Panel on Proliferation Prospects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>John Simpson (Chair)</th>
<th>Director, Mountbatten Centre for International Studies, University of Southampton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador Richard Butler</td>
<td>Diplomat-in-Residence, Council on Foreign Relations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ambassador Robert Gallucci</td>
<td>Dean, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University</td>
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<td>Ambassador Rolf Ekeus</td>
<td>Ambassador of Sweden to the United States</td>
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<td>Minister He Yefei</td>
<td>Embassy of the People's Republic of China</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

11:00am  Refreshment Break
11:30am  Keynote Address by  
**General John Shalikashvili**  
Former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

12:30pm  Lunch with Luncheon Address  
**Admiral Dennis C. Blair, USN**  
Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Command

2:00pm  Break-Out Panels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOM A</th>
<th>ROOM B</th>
<th>ROOM D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Weapon of Mass</strong></td>
<td><strong>Proliferation</strong></td>
<td><strong>The Future of US-Russian Threat Reduction</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Destruction</strong></td>
<td><strong>Consequences of National Missile Defense</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Terrorism</strong></td>
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<td><strong>John Parachini</strong></td>
<td><strong>Michael Krepon</strong></td>
<td><strong>Jon Wolfsthal</strong></td>
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<td>(Chair) Monterey Institute</td>
<td>(Chair) Stimson Center</td>
<td>(Chair) Carnegie Endowment</td>
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<td><strong>Jerrold Post</strong></td>
<td><strong>Camille Grand</strong></td>
<td><strong>Col. Robert Boudreau</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Political Psychology</td>
<td>French Ministry of Defense</td>
<td>US Department of Defense</td>
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<td>Associates</td>
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<td><strong>Ehud Sprinzak</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mitsuru Kurosawa</strong></td>
<td><strong>Matthew Bunn</strong></td>
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<td>Hebrew University</td>
<td>Osaka University</td>
<td>Harvard University</td>
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<td><strong>Jessica Stern</strong></td>
<td><strong>Alexander Pikayev</strong></td>
<td><strong>Vladimir Orlov</strong></td>
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<td>Harvard University</td>
<td>Carnegie Endowment</td>
<td>PIR Center</td>
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<td><strong>Vladimir Rybachenkov</strong></td>
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<td>Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3:30pm  Refreshment Break
4:00pm  Break-out Panels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOM A</th>
<th>ROOM B</th>
<th>ROOM D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>East Asia's Spent Fuel Dilemma</strong></td>
<td><strong>South Asia: On the Brink?</strong></td>
<td><strong>State Biological Weapons Terrorism</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Daniel Poneman *(Chair)*  
Hogan & Hartson | Stephen Cohen *(Chair)*  
Brookings Institution | Marie Chevrier *(Chair)*  
University of Texas |
| Paul Leventhal  
Nuclear Control Institute | P.R. Chari  
Institute of Peace & Conflict Studies | Elisa Harris  
National Security Council |
| Fred McGoldrick  
Bengelsdorf, McGoldrick, & Associates | Masuma Hasan  
National Institute for Public Administration | Karen Mössenlechner  
Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs |
| Ashley Tellis  
RAND Corporation | | Brad Roberts  
Institute for Defense Analyses |

6:30pm  Dinner with Dinner Address  
Secretary Bill Richardson  
United States Secretary of Energy
### Friday, March 17, 2000
#### Conference Day Two

**8:00am**  Continental Breakfast served

**9:00am**  Break-out Panels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOM A</th>
<th>ROOM B</th>
<th>ROOM D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NPT Review Conference Prospects</strong>&lt;br&gt;Tariq Rauf (Chair)&lt;br&gt;Monterey Institute</td>
<td><strong>Southwest Asia: Containment or Breakout</strong>&lt;br&gt;Michael Eisenstadt (Chair)&lt;br&gt;Washington Institute for Near East Policy</td>
<td><strong>Security on the Korean Peninsula</strong>&lt;br&gt;Robert Litwak (Chair)&lt;br&gt;Wilson Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebecca Johnson&lt;br&gt;Acronym Institute</td>
<td>David Albright&lt;br&gt;Institute for Science and International Security</td>
<td>Hiroyasu Ando&lt;br&gt;Government of Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Potter&lt;br&gt;Monterey Institute</td>
<td>Shyam Bhatia&lt;br&gt;Dean Herald of India</td>
<td>Peter Hayes&lt;br&gt;Nautilus Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrique Roman-Morey&lt;br&gt;OPANAL</td>
<td>Geoffrey Kemp&lt;br&gt;Nixon Center</td>
<td>Gary Samore&lt;br&gt;National Security Council</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**10:30am**  Refreshment Break

**11:00am**  Break-out Panels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOM A</th>
<th>ROOM B</th>
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</tr>
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<td><strong>The Future of Export Controls</strong>&lt;br&gt;Gary Bertsch (Chair)&lt;br&gt;University of Georgia</td>
<td><strong>National Missile Defense System: Will It Work?</strong>&lt;br&gt;Elizabeth Becker (Chair)&lt;br&gt;The New York Times</td>
<td><strong>China's Nuclear Posture</strong>&lt;br&gt;David Shambaugh (Chair)&lt;br&gt;George Washington Univ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Clements&lt;br&gt;General Electric</td>
<td>Steven Andreasen*&lt;br&gt;National Security Council</td>
<td>Bates Gill&lt;br&gt;Brookings Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Cupitt&lt;br&gt;University of Georgia</td>
<td>Lisbeth Gronlund&lt;br&gt;Union of Concerned Scientists &amp; MIT</td>
<td>Robert Manning&lt;br&gt;Council on Foreign Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elaina Kiritchenko&lt;br&gt;Russian Academy of Sciences</td>
<td>Baker Spring&lt;br&gt;Heritage Foundation</td>
<td>Dengli Shen&lt;br&gt;Fudan University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Friday, March 17, 2000 - Continued**

12:30pm  
**Luncheon with Keynote Address**  
*Gerard Errera*  
Political Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France

2:00pm  
**Plenary Panel on**  
**The Clinton Non-Proliferation Legacy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mitchell Reiss (Chair)</th>
<th>Dean of International Affairs, College of William and Mary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary Elizabeth Hoinkes</td>
<td>Associate Legal Adviser, US Department of State</td>
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<tr>
<td>Janne Nolan</td>
<td>Director of International Programs, The Century Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Sokolski</td>
<td>Executive Director, Nonproliferation Education Center</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3:30pm  
**Refreshment Break**

4:00pm  
**Plenary Panel on the Expanded Threat Reduction Initiative for Russia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kenneth Luongo (Chair)</th>
<th>Executive Director, Russian-American Nuclear Security Advisory Council</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rose Gottemoeller</td>
<td>Deputy Under Secretary of Energy for Defense Nuclear Nonproliferation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador William Taylor</td>
<td>Deputy Coordinator of Assistance to the Newly Independent States, US Department of State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ted Warner</td>
<td>Assistant Secretary of Defense for Strategy and Threat Reduction</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

5:30pm  
**Closing Remarks**  
*Joseph Cirincione*  
Director, Carnegie Non-Proliferation Project

6:30pm  
**Private Dinner and Address for Rapporteurs and New Analysts, at the Carnegie Endowment**  
*Jessica Mathews*  
President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Thursday, October 5

Arrival of out-of-town participants
Check-in and registration (Hotel Savoy)
20:00 Reception for out-of-town participants (Hotel Savoy)

Friday, October 6 (Hotel Metropol)

8:30 Registration

9:00-9:30 Welcome address: Jessica Mathews, Vladimir Orlov, Alexander Pikayev

9:30-11:00 Plenary Session I
Key-note address: "International Cooperation"
Oleg Chernov
Chair: Jessica Mathews (US)
Speakers:

11:00-11:30 Coffee break

11:30-13:00 Plenary Session II
Key-note address: "Status of the Regime in Light of the Outcome of the 2000 NPT Review Conference"
William Potter (USA)
Chair: Piet de Klerk (IAEA), Yuri Kapralov (RF), Cyrus Nasseri (I.R. of Iran)
Speakers:

13:00-15:00 Lunch
Luncheon address: Aleksei Arbatov (US)

15:00-16:30 Break-out panels

16:30-17:00 Coffee break

17:00-18:30 Break-out panels

19:00 Dinner (restaurant Savoy)
Dinner address: Yevgenii Adamov (RF)
Saturday, October 7 (Hotel Metropol)

9:00-10:30 Break-out panel

10:30-11:00 Coffee break

11:00-12:30 Break-out panel

12:30-14:30 Lunch
   Luncheon address: Fidel Castro Diaz-Balart (Cuba)

14:30-16:00 Plenary Session III "Global Context"
   Chair: Vladimir Baranovsky (Russia)
   Speakers: Yevgeni Kozhokin (Russia), Pervez Hoodbhoy (Pakistan), Sergei Galaka (Ukraine), Pascal Boniface (France)

16:00-16:30 Coffee break

16:30-18:00 Plenary Session IV "Future of the Regimes"
   Chair: Amb. Roland Timerbaev (Russia)
   Speakers: Joseph Cirincione (US), Antonio Patriota (Brazil), William Walker (UK)

19:00 Farewell dinner
   (restaurant at Savoy)
Conference Agenda

Sunday, June 17

6:30 pm  Reception for panelists and guests
J.W. Marriott Hotel, Salon D – Ballroom Level

Monday, June 18

7:30 am  Registration  Amphitheater Foyer
Continental Breakfast
Proliferation Café opens.

8:30 am  Welcome and Introduction  Amphitheater
Jessica Mathews, President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

8:45 am  Conference Overview
Joseph Cirincione, Director, Non-Proliferation Project

9:00 am  Keynote Address by Marshal Igor Sergeyev
Former Minister of Defense, Russian Federation

9:45 am  Plenary Remarks by Uta Zapf
Member of the German Bundestag

10:30 am  Refreshment Break

11:00 am  Keynote Address by Senator Richard G. Lugar
United States Senate, Indiana (R)

11:30 am  Keynote Address by Honorable Abdul Sattar
Foreign Minister of Pakistan
Introduction by Karl F. Inderfurth, Former Assistant Secretary of State

12:30 pm  Luncheon  Atrium Ballroom
Keynote Address by Charles B. Curtis
President and Chief Operating Officer, Nuclear Threat Initiative
### Monday, June 18 - Continued

**2:00 pm  Breakout Panels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amphitheater</th>
<th>Hemisphere A</th>
<th>Oceanic A &amp; B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Physics of Missile Defense</td>
<td>Proliferation Threats: Growing, Shrinking or Changing?</td>
<td>Do the NPT Review Conferences Really Matter?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Z. Collina (Chair)</td>
<td>Lee Feinstein, (Chair) Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</td>
<td>Lewis A. Dunn (Chair) Science Applications International Corporation</td>
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<td>Union of Concerned Scientists</td>
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<td>Philip E. Coyle</td>
<td>Thomas W. Graham Formerly with the Second Chance Foundation</td>
<td>Camille Grand Institut français des relations Internationales (IFRI)</td>
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<td>Center for Defense Information</td>
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<td>Theodore A. Postol</td>
<td>Elisa Harris National Security Council</td>
<td>Harald Müller Peace Research Institute Frankfurt</td>
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<td>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</td>
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<td>Amy Sands Monterey Institute for International Studies</td>
<td>Norman Wulf U.S. Department of State</td>
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**3:30 pm  Refreshment Break**

**4:00 pm  Breakout Panels**

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<tr>
<td>Russia’s Non-Proliferation Challenges</td>
<td>Developing Security Relationships with China</td>
<td>Global Epidemiological Monitoring in Response to the BW threat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vladimir A. Orlov (Chair) PIR Center</td>
<td>Wade Huntley (Chair) Nautilus Institute</td>
<td>Jessica Stern (Chair) Harvard University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maurizio Martellini Landau Network-Centro Volta</td>
<td>Alexei Arbatov Russian Duma</td>
<td>Margaret A. Hamburg Nuclear Threat Initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nikolai N. Ponomarev-Stepnoi Kurchatov Institute</td>
<td>Dingli Shen Fudan University People's Republic of China</td>
<td>James M. Hughes Centers for Disease Control and Prevention</td>
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<td>William C. Potter Monterey Institute of International Studies</td>
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<td>Tara O'Toole Johns Hopkins University</td>
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</table>

**6:30 pm  Reception and Dinner**

Pavilion (Second Floor)
TUESDAY, JUNE 19

8:00 am    Continental Breakfast    Amphitheater Foyer

9:00 am    Breakout Panels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amphitheater</th>
<th>Hemisphere A</th>
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<tr>
<td>Plutonium Disposition</td>
<td>Dealing with Iran</td>
<td>A Conversation with Robert Gallucci</td>
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</table>
| Mitsuru Kurosawa (Chair)  
Osaka University | C. Richard Nelson (Chair)  
The Atlantic Council of the United States | Carla Anne Robbins  
*Wall Street Journal* |
| Michael Guhin  
U.S. Department of State | Shai Feldman  
Tel Aviv University | Robert L. Gallucci  
Georgetown University |
| Annette Schaper  
Peace Research Institute Frankfurt | Geoffrey Kemp  
The Nixon Center | |
| Thomas Shea  
International Atomic Energy Agency | Alexander Pikayev  
Carnegie Moscow Center | |
| William Walker  
University of St. Andrews | | |

10:30 am    Refreshment Break
11:00 am  Breakout Panels

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<td><strong>A New Nuclear Posture for the United States</strong></td>
<td><strong>Which Way on North Korea?</strong></td>
<td><strong>The Iraq Dilemma</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose Gottemoeller (Chair) Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</td>
<td>Leonard Spector (Chair) Monterey Institute of International Studies</td>
<td>David Albright (Chair) Institute for Science and International Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karl F. Inderfurth Former Assistant Secretary of State</td>
<td>Mitchell B. Reiss College of William &amp; Mary</td>
<td>Robert J. Einhorn U.S. Department of State</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scott D. Sagan Stanford University</td>
<td>Gary Samore International Institute for Strategic Studies</td>
<td>Michael Eisenstadt Washington Institute for Near East Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>David J. Smith Global Horizons, Inc.</td>
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</table>

12:30 pm  Luncheon

**Atrium Ballroom**

**Keynote Address by Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr.**
United States Senate, Delaware (D)

*The Conference Will Be Open to the Public for the Final Plenary Sessions*

2:00 pm  Plenary Panel

**Amphitheater**

Simulating Global Thermonuclear War

The Natural Resources Defense Council will release a major new report, “The U.S. Nuclear War Plan: A Time for Change,” and provide the first public demonstration of their new computer model of nuclear warfare operational plans and consequences.

Scott Sagan (Moderator)
Stanford University

Thomas Cochran, Matthew McKinzie, and Robert Norris
Natural Resources Defense Council
Tuesday, June 19 - Continued

3:30 pm       Refreshment Break

4:00 pm       Plenary Panel
               Media Coverage of Proliferation Issues
               Amphitheater

               A panel of distinguished reporters and journalists discuss how and why they cover proliferation issues

               Marvin Kalb (Chair)       Harvard University
               David Ensor              CNN
               Stephen Fidler           Financial Times
               Judith Miller            The New York Times
               Steve Mufson             Washington Post
               Mike Shuster             National Public Radio

5:30 pm       Closing Remarks
               Joseph Cirincione

6:00 pm       Proliferation Café closes.
Carnegie International Non-Proliferation Conference
Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center
Washington, DC

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 2002
6:30 pm – 8:00 pm  Reception for Panelists and Guests  J.W. Marriott Hotel

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 2002
7:30 am  Registration  Amphitheater Foyer

8:30 am – 8:45 am  Welcome Address  Amphitheater
Jessica T. Mathews, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Joseph Cirincione, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

8:45 am – 10:00 am  European Views on Proliferation Threats
Chair: Paolo Cotta-Ramusino, Pugwash Conferences
On Science and World Affairs
Therese Delpech, Atomic Energy Commission, France
Dieter Dettke, Friedrich Ebert Foundation
Simon Fraser, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, United Kingdom
Tomas Ries, National Defence College, Finland

10:00 am – 10:30 am  Break

10:30 am – 11:05 am  Keynote Address  
Secretary of Energy Spencer Abraham

11:05 am – 11:40 am  Keynote Address  
Senator Sam Nunn, Nuclear Threat Initiative
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14, CONTINUED

11:40 am – 12:20 pm  Keynote Address
Mohamed ElBaradei, International Atomic Energy Agency

12:30 pm – 2:00 pm  Luncheon Keynote
Liu Jieyi, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The People's Republic of China

Afternoon Concurrent Panels

2:00 pm – 3:30 pm  US Nuclear Policy  Amphitheater
Chair: Rose E. Gottemoeller, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
William F. Burns, US Army (Retired)
Franklin C. Miller, National Security Council
Christopher Paine, Natural Resources Defense Council
David J. Smith, National Institute for Public Policy

2:00 pm – 3:30 pm  Reshaping US-Russian Threat Reduction  Hemisphere A
Chair: Jon B. Wolfsthal, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Kenneth Luongo, Russian-American Nuclear Security Advisory Council
Ken Myers III, Office of Senator Richard Lugar
Alexander Pikayev, Carnegie Moscow Center
Paul F. Walker, Global Green USA

2:00 pm – 3:30 pm  New Nuclear Powers in Asia  Horizon
Chair: Ellen B. Laipson, Henry L. Stimson Center
Kurt M. Campbell, Center for Strategic and International Studies
Benjamin Self, Henry L. Stimson Center
Leonard S. Spector, Monterey Institute of International Studies

3:30 pm – 4:00 pm  Break
4:00 pm – 5:30 pm  
**North Korea's Nuclear Challenge**  
Amphitheater  
Chair: Mitchell Reiss, College of William and Mary  
Takehiro Funakoshi, Embassy of Japan  
Don Oberdorfer, Johns Hopkins University's SAIS

4:00 pm – 5:30 pm  
**Closing-Off the Spigot:**  
*Perspectives on Export Control Challenges and Strategies for the Future*  
Hemisphere A  
Chair: Adam M. Scheinman, US Department of Energy  
Fouad El Khatib, Ministry of Defense, France  
Seema Gahlaut, University of Georgia  
Vladimir Orlov, Center for Policy Studies in Russia (PIR Center)  
Dingli Shen, Fudan University

4:00 pm – 5:30 pm  
**An Uncertain Future For the Nuclear Testing Moratorium**  
Horizon  
Chair: Daryl Kimball, Arms Control Association  
Richard Garwin, Council on Foreign Relations  
Jaap Ramaker, Permanent Mission of the Netherlands to the United Nations Organizations at Vienna  
Representative John Spratt, (D-SC), US House of Representatives  
Frank von Hippel, Princeton University

6:30 pm – 8:30 pm  
**Dinner**  
Atrium Ballroom  
Keynote Speaker TBA
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 2002

Morning Concurrent Panels

9:00 am – 10:30 am  Weapons in Space  Amphitheater
Chair: Jonathan Dean, Union of Concerned Scientists
Bruce Deblois, Council on Foreign Relations
Peter L. Hays, Joint Force Quarterly
Rebecca Johnson, Liu Institute, University of British Columbia

9:00 am – 10:30 am  The Second Nuclear Age  Hemisphere A
Moderator: Michael Shuster, National Public Radio
Paul Bracken, Yale University

9:00 am – 10:30 am  The Challenge of Iran  Horizon
Chair: Gary Samore, International Institute for Strategic Studies
Patrick Clawson, Washington Institute for Near East Policy
Saideh Lotfian, University of Tehran
George Perkovich, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

10:30 am – 11:00 am  Break

11:00 am – 12:30 pm  Nuclear Terror Threats  Amphitheater
Chair: William C. Potter, Monterey Institute of International Studies
David Albright, Institute for Science & International Security
Charles D. Ferguson, Monterey Institute of International Studies
Richard Garwin, Council on Foreign Relations
Richard A. Meserve, Nuclear Regulatory Commission
**FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15, CONTINUED**

11:00 am – 12:30 pm  **Preventing the Misuse of Biotechnology**  Horizon
Chair: Nancy W. Gallagher, University of Maryland
Gerald A. Epstein, Defense Threat Reduction Agency
Elisa D. Harris, University of Maryland
Barry Kellman, DePaul University
Jeanna Kwik, Johns Hopkins University

11:00 am – 12:30 pm  **Consequences of War with Iraq**  Hemisphere A
Chair: Joseph Cirincione, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Anatol Lieven, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Matthew McKinzie, Natural Resources Defense Council
Shibley Telhami, University of Maryland

12:45 pm – 2:00 pm  **Luncheon Keynote**  Atrium Ballroom
*Senator Chuck Hagel, US Senate (R-NE)*

**Afternoon Plenary**

2:15 pm – 3:30 pm  **The Relevance of Regimes**  Amphitheater
Chair: Lawrence Scheinman, Monterey Institute of International Studies
Jayantha Dhanapala, United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs
John S. Wolf, US Department of State
Brad Roberts, Institute for Defense Analyses
3:30 pm – 4:30 pm  **Avoiding Armageddon**  
A preview and discussion with the producers and reporters of the forthcoming PBS documentary series, *Avoiding Armageddon*.  
Chair: Robert J. Wussler, Ted Turner Documentaries  
Jeff Bieber, WETA-TV  
Tony Black, Ted Turner Documentaries  
Virginia Durin, Ted Turner Documentaries  
Christopher Koch, Ted Turner Documentaries  
Timothy Rockwood, Ted Turner Documentaries

4:30 pm – 5:30 pm  **Reception**  
Amphitheater Foyer
Carnegie International Non-Proliferation Conference  
Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center  
Washington, DC  

Sunday, June 20, 2004  
6:30 pm – 8:00 pm  Reception for Panelists and Guests  J.W. Marriott Hotel  

Monday, June 21, 2004  
7:30 am  Registration and Continental Breakfast  Amphitheater Foyer  
8:30 am – 8:45 am  Welcome and Introduction  Amphitheater  
         Jessica T. Mathews, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
8:45 am – 9:00 am  Overview of New Carnegie Strategy  
         Joseph Cirincione, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
9:00 am – 9:50 am  Presentation of New Carnegie Strategy  
         George Perkovich, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
         Rose Gottemoeller, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
         Jon B. Wolfsthal, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
9:50 am – 10:20 am  Break  
10:20 am – 11:00 am  Keynote Address  
         Mohamed ElBaradei, International Atomic Energy Agency  
11:00 am – 11:40 am  Keynote Address  
         Linton F. Brooks, National Nuclear Security Administration  
11:40 am – 12:20 am  Keynote Address  
         Hans Blix, Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission  
12:30 pm – 2:00 pm  Luncheon Keynote  Atrium Ballroom  
         Sam Nunn, Nuclear Threat Initiative  

Afternoon Concurrent Panels  
2:00 pm – 3:30 pm  A Global Threat Assessment  Amphitheater  
         Chair: Bruce Blair, Center for Defense Information  
         Joseph Cirincione, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
         Brad Roberts, Institute for Defense Analyses  
         Oliver Thränert, German Institute for International and Security Affairs  
2:00 pm – 3:30 pm  The Pakistan Network  Horizon A  
         Chair: Michael Krepon, Henry L. Stimson Center  
         David Albright, Institute for Science and International Security
Husain Haqqani, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Ashraf Jehangir Qazi, Embassy of Pakistan

2:00 pm – 3:30 pm  
**Controlling Deadly Pathogens  
Hemisphere A**
Chair: Elisa D. Harris, University of Maryland
David R. Franz, Midwest Research Institute
Tara O’Toole, University of Pittsburgh Medical Center
Amy P. Patterson, National Institutes of Health

Monday, Concurrent Panels Continued

3:30 pm – 4:00 pm  
**Break**

4:00 pm – 5:30 pm  
**Risk Reduction with Russia  
Amphitheater**
Chair: Vladimir A. Orlov, Center for Policy Studies in Russia
Matthew Bunn, Harvard University
Eugene E. Habiger, University of Georgia
Sergey M. Rogov, Institute for the U.S. and Canadian Studies

4:00 pm – 5:30 pm  
**Impact of the Iraq War on Proliferation Policy  
Horizon**
Karen DeYoung, *The Washington Post*
Tod Lindberg, Hoover Institution
Harald Mueller, Frankfurt Peace Research Institute
Mohamed I. Shaker, Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs

4:00 pm – 5:30 pm  
**Enforcing Disarmament  
Hemisphere A**
Chair: Natalie J. Goldring, University of Maryland
Rebecca Johnson, Acronym Institute for Disarmament Affairs
Randy Rydell, United Nations
Alexei Arbatov, Carnegie Moscow Center

5:30 pm – 6:30 pm  
**Arms Control Association Reception  
Amphitheater Foyer**

6:30 pm – 8:30 pm  
**Dinner Keynote  
Atrium Ballroom**
Mitchell B. Reiss, U.S. Department of State
Tuesday, June 22, 2004

8:00 am  
Registration and Continental Breakfast  
Amphitheater Foyer

Morning Concurrent Panels

9:00 am – 10:30 am  
Reforming the International Fuel Cycle  
Amphitheater
Chair: Jon B. Wolfsthal, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Daniel B. Poneman, Scowcroft Group  
Tariq Rauf, International Atomic Energy Agency  
Richard J. Stratford, U.S. Department of State

9:00 am – 10:30 am  
How Do We Enforce the NPT's Nonproliferation Provisions?  
Horizon
Chair: Gary Samore, International Institute for Strategic Studies  
Martin Bries, Embassy of France  
Christopher A. Ford, U.S. Department of State  
David M. Landsman, U.K. Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
Henry D. Sokolski, Nonproliferation Policy Education Center

9:00 am – 10:30 am  
A Nuclear North Korea  
Hemisphere A
Chair: James E. Goodby, Brookings Institution  
Robert L. Gallucci, Georgetown University  
Scott Snyder, Asia Foundation

10:30 am – 11:00 am  
Break

Tuesday, Concurrent Panels Continued

11:00 am – 12:30 pm  
Inspections After Iraq  
Amphitheater
Chair: Henrik Salander, Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission  
Pierre Goldschmidt, International Atomic Energy Agency  
Demetrios Perricos, United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission  
Barbara H. Rosenberg, Center for Arms Control & Non-Proliferation

11:00 am – 12:30 pm  
U.S. Nuclear Posture  
Hemisphere A
Chair: Rose Gottemoeller, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Ashton B. Carter, Harvard University  
Christopher F. Chyba, Stanford University  
John R. Harvey, National Nuclear Security Administration  
C. Paul Robinson, Sandia National Laboratories

11:00 am – 12:30 pm  
Dealing with Iran  
Horizon
Chair: George Perkovich, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Robert J. Einhorn, Center for Strategic and International Studies  
Philippe Errera, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
M. Hadi Semati, Tehran University
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12:30 pm – 2:00 pm</td>
<td>Luncheon Keynote</td>
<td>Atrium Ballroom</td>
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<td>Graham Allison, Harvard University</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Afternoon Plenary</strong></td>
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<td>2:00 pm – 3:30 pm</td>
<td>Preventing Nuclear Terrorism</td>
<td>Amphitheater</td>
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<td>Chair: William C. Potter, Monterey Institute of International Studies</td>
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<td>Michael May, Stanford University</td>
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<td>Paul M. Longsworth, U.S. Department of Energy</td>
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<td>Richard A. Meserve, Carnegie Institution</td>
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<td>3:30 pm – 4:30 pm</td>
<td>Keynote Address</td>
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<td>Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA), United States Senate</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:30 pm – 5:30 pm</td>
<td>Reception</td>
<td>Amphitheater Foyer</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Conference Agenda

Carnegie International Non-Proliferation Conference
Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center
Washington, DC

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 2005

6:30 pm–8:00 pm  Reception for Panelists and Out-of-town Guests
                 Hotel Washington, Skyroom

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 2005

7:30 am  Registration and Continental Breakfast
          Amphitheater Foyer

8:30 am  A Brief History of the Atomic Age
          Amphitheater
          Joseph Cirincione, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

          Welcome and Overview
          Amphitheater
          Jessica T. Mathews, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

          Keynote Address
          Amphitheater
          Director General Mohamed ElBaradei, International Atomic Energy Agency

10:00 am  Break

10:30 am  Keynote Address
          Amphitheater
          Ambassador Nabil Fahmy, Embassy of Egypt

          Keynote Address
          Amphitheater
          Secretary Samuel Bodman, U.S. Department of Energy

          Keynote Address
          Amphitheater
          Annalisa Giannella, General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union

          A Short Film by Stephen Sotor and Trace Gaynor (Age 13)

          A Conversation with Historians of the Nuclear Age
          Amphitheater
          Moderator: Carla Anne Robbins, Wall Street Journal
          Robert Norris, Natural Resources Defense Council
          Richard Rhodes, Author of The Making of the Atomic Bomb
          Jonathan Schell, Yale University
12:30 pm  Luncheon Keynote
Atrium Ballroom
Under Secretary Robert Joseph, U.S. Department of State

Monday Afternoon Concurrent Panels

2:00 pm–3:30 pm  The Iranian Stalemate
Amphitheater
Chair: George Perkovich, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Thérèse Delpech, Center for International Studies, Paris
Pierre Goldschmidt, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Ariel Levite, Israeli Atomic Energy Commission
Vladimir Orlov, Policy Studies in Russia Center

2:00 pm–3:30 pm  The Future of Verification
Polaris
Chair: Dori Ellis, Sandia National Laboratories
Alexei Arbatov, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Paula DeSutter, U.S. Department of State
James Goodby, The Brookings Institution
Michael Krepon, Henry L. Stimson Center

2:00 pm–3:30 pm  The Taboos, Secrets, and Hidden History of Nuclear Weapons
Horizon
Chair: William Burr, National Security Archive
Lynn Eden, Stanford University
Robert Norris, Natural Resources Defense Council
Nina Tannenwald, Brown University

3:30 pm–4:00 pm  Break

4:00 pm–5:30 pm  Preventing Catastrophic Terrorism
Amphitheater
Chair: Jon Wolfsthal, Center for Strategic and International Studies
Ashton Carter, Harvard University
Christopher Chyba, Princeton University
Rose Gottemoeller, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Congressman Adam Schiff (D-CA)

4:00 pm–5:30 pm  The Nuclear Deal with India
Polaris
Chair: Henry Sokolski, Nonproliferation Policy Education Center
David Fite, House International Relations Committee
Sverre Lodgaard, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
Andrew Semmel, U.S. Department of State
Baker Spring, Heritage Foundation
4:00 pm–5:30 pm  
**Outer Space Security**
Horizon
Chair: **Theresa Hitchens**, Center for Defense Information  
**Richard Garwin**, IBM  
**Ambassador Paul Meyer**, Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade  
**Ye Ru’an**, China Arms Control and Disarmament Association  
**Brigadier General Simon Worden**, University of Arizona

5:30 pm–6:30 pm  
**Reception**
Amphitheater Foyer

6:30 pm–8:30 pm  
**Dinner Keynote**
Atrium Ballroom  
**Secretary William Perry**, Stanford University

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**TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 2005**

8:00 am  
**Registration and Continental Breakfast**
Amphitheater Foyer

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**Tuesday Morning Concurrent Panels**

9:00 am–10:30 am  
**Negotiating with North Korea**
Pavilion
Chair: **Leon Sigal**, Social Sciences Research Council  
**Ambassador Joseph DeTrani**, U.S. Department of State  
**Siegfried Hecker**, Stanford University  
**Daniel Poneman**, The Scowcroft Group

9:00 am–10:30 am  
**Congressional Oversight of Nuclear Weapons**
Horizon
Chair: **Amy Woolf**, Congressional Research Service  
**Stephen Schwartz**, Editor and Co-author of *Atomic Audit*  
**Congressman Christopher Shays** (R-CT)  
**Congresswoman Ellen Tauscher** (D-CA)

9:00 am–10:30 am  
**Utility of Nuclear Weapons**
Polaris
Chair: **Daryl Kimball**, Arms Control Association  
**General Eugene Habiger**, University of Georgia  
**Frank Miller**, The Cohen Group  
**Ivan Oelrich**, Federation of American Scientists  
**Henrik Salander**, WMD Commission

10:30 am–11:00 am  
**Break**
11:00 am–12:20 pm

The New Look of U.S. Nonproliferation Policy
Pavilion
Chair: William Potter, Monterey Institute of International Studies
Lewis Dunn, Science Applications International Corporation
Harald Mueller, Frankfurt Peace Research Institute
Henry Sokolski, Nonproliferation Policy Education Center

11:00 am–12:20 pm

Reforming the Nuclear Fuel Supply
Horizon
Chair: Daniel Poneman, The Scowcroft Group
Chaim Braun, Stanford University
Pierre Goldschmidt, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Valentin Ivanov, Deputy of the Russian State Duma
James Timbie, U.S. Department of State

11:00 am–12:20 pm

Black Markets, Loopholes and Trade Controls
Polaris
Chair: Scott Jones, University of Georgia
Richard Cupitt, MK Technology
Rüdiger Lüdeking, German Foreign Office
Tariq Rauft, International Atomic Energy Agency

12:30 pm–1:45 pm

Luncheon Keynotes
Atrium Ballroom
Director Alexander Rumyantsev, Russian Federal Atomic Energy Agency

2:00 pm–4:00 pm

Tuesday Afternoon Plenary Panels and Concluding Remarks
Amphitheater

SPECIAL LIVE BROADCAST ON NPR’S TALK OF THE NATION
WITH HOST NEAL CONAN PRESENTED IN COOPERATION WITH
THE BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

Panel I

Today’s Nuclear Threats
Ambassador Linton Brooks, National Nuclear Security Administration
Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN)
Senator Sam Nunn (D-GA), Nuclear Threat Initiative

Panel II

60 Years of Trying to Control the Bomb
General Eugene Habiger, University of Georgia
Siegfried Hecker, Stanford University
Richard Rhodes, Author of The Making of the Atomic Bomb

Concluding Remarks
Secretary Robert S. McNamara

4:00 pm–5:00 pm

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist Reception
Celebrating 60 Years of Publication
Amphitheater Foyer
Conference Agenda

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

MONDAY, JUNE 25, 2007

8:00 am  Registration and Continental Breakfast
Amphitheater Foyer

9:00 am–9:20 am  Welcome and Opening Remarks
Amphitheater
Jessica T. Mathews, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
George Perkovich, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

9:20 am–10:20 am  A World Free of Nuclear Weapons
Amphitheater
Chair: Jessica T. Mathews, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson LLP
Senator Sam Nunn, Nuclear Threat Initiative

10:20 am–10:50 am  Break

10:50 am–12:20 pm  The Security Council’s Iran Challenge
Amphitheater
Alexei Arbatov, Carnegie Moscow Center*
Neil Crompton, British Embassy, Washington
Glenn Kessler, The Washington Post
Other panelists to be announced

12:30 pm–2:00 pm  Luncheon Keynote: A World Free of Nuclear Weapons?
Atrium Ballroom
Margaret Beckett, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs,
United Kingdom

Monday Afternoon Concurrent Panels

2:00 pm–3:30 pm  Forging Nonproliferation Consensus after U.S.-Indian Civil Nuclear Cooperation
Amphitheater
Chair: Sharon Squassoni, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Robert Einhorn, Center for Strategic and International Studies
Ambassador S. Jaishankar, High Commission of India to Singapore
Peter Potman, Royal Netherlands Embassy

2:00 pm–3:30 pm  What the Future Holds for U.S. and Russian Nuclear Weapons
Polaris
Chair: Rose Gottemoeller, Carnegie Moscow Center
Alexei Arbatov, Carnegie Moscow Center
Ambassador Linton Brooks, formerly with the National Nuclear Security Administration
Major General William Burns, U.S. Army (ret.)
Roald Sagdeev, University of Maryland

2:00 pm–3:30 pm  Six Party Talks: New Roles and Purposes
Horizon
Chair: Jon Wolfsthall, Center for Strategic and International Studies
Michael Green, Center for Strategic and International Studies
Jae H. Ku, Johns Hopkins University
Wu Xinbo, Fudan University
2:00 pm–3:30 pm  
**Conflict in Space: Can It Be Prevented?**  
*Hemisphere A*  
Chair: Clay Moltz, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies  
Lt. Col. Peter Hays (ret.), Science Applications International Corporation  
Rebecca Johnson, Acronym Institute  
John Logsdon, George Washington University

3:30 am–4:00 pm  
**Break**

4:00 pm–5:30 pm  
**The Future of Nuclear Weapons: A View from the Hill**  
*Amphitheater*  
Chair: Congressman Adam Schiff (D-CA)  
Congressman John Spratt Jr. (D-SC)  
*Other panelists to be announced*

4:00 pm–5:30 pm  
**Deterrence or Disarmament:**  
**The Future of Nuclear Weapons in China, France, and the UK**  
*Polaris*  
Chair: Scott Sagan, Stanford University  
Li Bin, Tsinghua University  
Harald Mueller, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt  
Hugh Powell, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, United Kingdom  
Bruno Tertrais, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique

4:00 pm–5:30 pm  
**NPT Challenges in 2010: Decoding Signals from the 2007 NPT PrepCom**  
*Horizon*  
Chair: Rebecca Johnson, Acronym Institute  
Christopher Ford, U.S. Department of State  
Ambassador Naela Gabr, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt  
Ambassador Rüdiger Lüdeking, Federal Foreign Office, Germany

4:00 pm–5:30 pm  
**Biotechnology Proliferation: Benefits, Dangers, and Management**  
*Hemisphere A*  
Chair: Christopher Chyba, Princeton University  
Dongli Chen, China Arms Control and Disarmament Association  
Adel Mahmoud, Princeton University  
John Steinbruner, University of Maryland  
Respondent: Camille Grand, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France

5:30 pm–7:30 pm  
**Welcome Reception**  
*Atrium Ballroom*

**TUESDAY, JUNE 26, 2007**

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

8:00 am–9:00 am  
**PART 1: A Conversation with Deputy Secretary of Energy Clay Sell on GNEP and Nonproliferation Policy**  
*Meridian D–E*  
Hosted by Rose Gottemoeller, Carnegie Moscow Center  
Clay Sell, U.S. Department of Energy  
Continue the policy discussion by attending PART 2: The U.S. and the Future of Reprocessing immediately following this session.

**Tuesday Morning Concurrent Panels**

9:00 am–10:30 am  
**Taking Nuclear Disarmament Seriously**  
*Amphitheater*  
Chair: Kåre Aas, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway  
Ambassador Abdul Samad Minty, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, South Africa  
George Perkovich, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Ashley Tellis, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
9:00 am–10:30 am  
**Realizing Fuel Assurances: Third Time’s the Charm?**  
*Polaris*  
Chair: Laura Holgate, Nuclear Threat Initiative  
Caroline Jorant, AREVA  
Tariq Rauf, International Atomic Energy Agency  
Ambassador Pedro Raul Villagra Delgado, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Argentina

9:00 am–10:30 am  
**Finding Innovative Ways to Detect and Thwart Illicit Nuclear Trade**  
*Horizon*  
Chair: Steve Coll, *The New Yorker*  
David Albright, Institute for Science and International Security  
Matti Tarvainen, International Atomic Energy Agency  
Ralf Wirtz, Oerlikon Leybold Vacuum

9:00 am–10:30 am  
**PART 2: The U.S. and the Future of Reprocessing**  
*Meridian D–E*  
Chair: José Goldenberg, University of São Paulo  
Tatsujiro Suzuki, University of Tokyo  
Frank von Hippel, Princeton University  
William Walker, University of St Andrews

10:30 am–11:00 am  
**Break**

11:00 am–12:20 pm  
**European Proposals for Strengthening the Nonproliferation Regime**  
*Amphitheatre*  
Chair: Mustafa Kibaroglu, Bilkent University  
Martin Bries, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France  
Ambassador Nabil Fahmy, Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the United States  
Pierre Goldschmidt, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

11:00 am–12:20 pm  
**Rules for the Nuclear Renaissance**  
*Polaris*  
Chair: Sharon Squassoni, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Peter Bradford, formerly with the Nuclear Regulatory Commission  
Charles Ferguson, Council on Foreign Relations  
Corey Hinderstein, Nuclear Threat Initiative  
Henry Sokolski, Nonproliferation Policy Education Center

11:00 am–12:20 pm  
**Implementing International Measures to Combat Nuclear Terrorism**  
*Horizon*  
Chair: William Potter, Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Monterey Institute of International Studies  
Ambassador Peter Burian, Permanent Mission of Slovakia to the United Nations  
Igor Khiprunov, University of Georgia  
William Tobey, U.S. Department of Energy

11:00 am–12:20 pm  
**Are Sanctions Effective?**  
*Meridian D–E*  
Chair: Thomas Bierstecker, Brown University  
Paula DeSutter, U.S. Department of State  
Shen Dingli, Fudan University  
Skip Fischer, U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs

12:30 pm–2:00 pm  
**Luncheon Keynote: The Dauntless Vision of the NPT**  
*Atrium Ballroom*  
Jonas Gahr Støre, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Norway

2:00 pm–4:00 pm  
**The Next 5 Big Nuclear Stories: A Conversation with Mark Hibbs**  
*Amphitheater*  
Mark Hibbs, Nucleonics Week  
Matthew Bunn, Harvard University  
Joseph Cirincione, Center for American Progress

4:00 pm–5:00 pm  
**Closing Reception**  
*Polaris*
# Conference Agenda

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

**Monday, April 6, 2009**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:00 am</td>
<td>Registration and Continental Breakfast</td>
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</table>
| Amphitheater  | *Welcome and Opening Remarks*  
Jessica T. Mathews, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace         |
| 9:00 am–9:10 am | The Nuclear Order—Build or Break  
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 |
| Amphitheater  | **Break**                                                             |
| 11:00 am–12:20 pm | International Expectations of the Obama Administration  
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 |
| Amphitheater  | **Luncheon Keynote**  
Deputy Secretary of State James B. Steinberg, U.S. Department of State |

## Monday Afternoon Concurrent Panels

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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| 2:00 pm–3:30 pm | Nuclear Crisis Points: Iran, North Korea, Syria, and Pakistan  
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 |
| Amphitheater  | **U.S.–China Strategic Stability**  
Chair: Brad Roberts, Institute for Defense Analyses  
Shulong Chu, Tsinghua University  
Admiral Richard Mies  
Robert Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis |
<p>| 2:00 pm–3:30 pm | Polaris                                                              |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Details</th>
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</table>
| 2:00 pm–3:30 pm | **Innovating the Regime**                  | 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 | Break                                      |                                                        |
| 4:00 pm–5:20 pm | **PART 1: Toward a Nuclear Power Renaissance? Fact or Fiction** | Chair: Tom Isaacs, Stanford University  
                          Robert Rosner, Argonne National Laboratory  
                          John Rowe, Exelon Corporation  
                          Sharon Squassoni, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace |
| 4:00 pm–5:20 pm | **Are the Requirements for Extended Deterrence Changing?** | 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 | **Verification: Common Ground and Emerging Controversies** | 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 | **Keynote: Nuclear Industry’s Role in Nonproliferation** | Anne Lauvergeon, CEO, AREVA |
| 6:30 pm–8:00 pm | Welcome Reception                          |                                                        |
CONFERENCE AGENDA

TUESDAY, APRIL 7, 2009

7:30 am  Registration and Continental Breakfast
Amphitheater Foyer

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

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

Tuesday Morning Concurrent Panels

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

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

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

10:30 am–11:00 am  Break
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<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11:00 am−12:20 pm</td>
<td><strong>Enforcing a World Without Nuclear Weapons</strong></td>
<td>Chair: Steven Miller, Harvard University</td>
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<td>Amphitheater</td>
<td>Alexei Arbatov, Carnegie Moscow Center</td>
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<td>Martin Briens, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France</td>
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<td>Ambassador Richard Butler AC, New York University / Penn State University</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00 am−12:20 pm</td>
<td><strong>Nuclear—Weapon-Free-Zones: Past Lessons and Future Prospects</strong></td>
<td>Chair: William Potter, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Polaris</td>
<td>Jean du Preez, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies</td>
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<td>Sonia Fernández-Moreno, Autoridad Regulatoria Nuclear, Argentina</td>
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<td>Ambassador Sameh Shoukry, Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt</td>
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<td>Commentator: Ariel Levite, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00 am−12:20 pm</td>
<td><strong>The Space—Nuclear Nexus</strong></td>
<td>Chair: Michael Krepon, The Henry L. Stimson Center</td>
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<td>Horizon</td>
<td>Philip Coyle, World Security Institute</td>
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<td>Pavel Podvig, Stanford University</td>
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<td>Dingli Shen, Fudan University</td>
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<td>12:30 pm−2:00 pm</td>
<td><strong>Luncheon: Whither U.S.—Russia Relations?</strong></td>
<td>Chair: Peter Baker, <em>The New York Times</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Atrium Ballroom</td>
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<td>Rose Gottemoeller, U.S. Department of State</td>
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<td>Ambassador Sergey I. Kislyak, Embassy of the Russian Federation</td>
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<tr>
<td>2:00 pm−3:30 pm</td>
<td><strong>Beyond 2010</strong></td>
<td>Chair: H.E. Jonas Gahr Støre, Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norway</td>
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<td>Amphitheater</td>
<td>Sameh Aboul-Enein, Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the United Kingdom</td>
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<td>Robert Einhorn, Center for Strategic and International Studies</td>
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<td>H.E. Gareth Evans, International Commission on Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament</td>
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<td>Ambassador Sudjadnan Parnohadiningrat, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia</td>
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<td>3:30 pm−3:35 pm</td>
<td><strong>Closing Remarks</strong></td>
<td>Deepti Choubey, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</td>
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<td>Amphitheater</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:35 pm−5:00 pm</td>
<td><strong>Closing Reception</strong></td>
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# Conference Agenda

## Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference
**Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center**  
**Washington, D.C.**

### MONDAY, MARCH 28, 2011

<table>
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<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>8:00 am</td>
<td><strong>Registration and Continental Breakfast</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Amphitheater Foyer</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>9:00 am–9:10 am</td>
<td><strong>Welcome and Opening Remarks</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Amphitheater</strong></td>
<td>Jessica T. Mathews, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:10 am–10:20 am</td>
<td><strong>Keynote: Reconciling Interests</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Amphitheater</strong></td>
<td>Ambassador Celso Amorim, former Minister of External Affairs, Brazil</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:20 am–10:50 am</td>
<td><strong>Break</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>10:50 am–12:30 pm</td>
<td><strong>Implications of Japan’s Nuclear Disaster</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Amphitheater** | Chair: Ariel Levite, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
                                 | George Apostolakis, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission  
                                 | Vallampadugai Arunachalam, Center for Study of Science, Technology, and Policy  
                                 | Mark Hibbs, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
                                 | Richard Meserve, Carnegie Institution for Science  
                                 | Irving Rotter, Sidley Austin, LLP |
| 12:30 pm–2:00 pm | **Luncheon Keynote**                      |
| **Atrium Ballroom** | Thomas Donilon, U.S. National Security Advisor, Executive Office of the President |

### Monday Afternoon Concurrent Panels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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| 2:00 pm–3:30 pm  | **Taking Compliance Seriously: Iran and the Next Iran**  
                                 | Chair: Martin Briens, Permanent Mission of France to the United Nations  
                                 | Robert Einhorn, U.S. Department of State  
                                 | Mark Fitzpatrick, International Institute for Strategic Studies  
                                 | Ambassador Peter Jenkins, Geneva Center for Security Policy |
| **Amphitheater** |                                         |
| 2:00 pm–3:30 pm  | **Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty: What Now?**  
                                 | Chair: Rebecca Johnson, Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy  
                                 | Vallampadugai Arunachalam, former Science Advisor to the Prime Minister of India  
                                 | Timothy Morrison, Office of U.S. Senator Jon Kyl (R-AZ)  
                                 | Andreas Persbo, Verification Research, Training and Information Center |
| **Polaris**      |                                         |
CONFERENCE AGENDA

2:00 pm–3:30 pm  
**Horizon**  
**Safeguarding the Nuclear Renaissance**  
Chair: Pierre Goldschmidt, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Jill Cooley, International Atomic Energy Agency  
Olli Heinonen, Harvard University  
Roger Howsley, World Institute for Nuclear Security

3:30 pm–4:00 pm  
**Break**

4:00 pm–5:20 pm  
**Amphitheater**  
**Deep Reductions: Stability at Low Numbers**  
Chair: Franklin Miller, Scowcroft Group  
James Acton, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Alexei Arbatov, Carnegie Moscow Center  
Bin Li, Tsinghua University/Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

4:00 pm–5:20 pm  
**Polaris**  
**Destination Unknown: Where is the Global Nuclear Fuel Cycle Heading**  
Chair: Mark Hibbs, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Stephen Goldberg, Argonne National Laboratory  
Mujid Kazimi, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Philip Sewell, United States Enrichment Corporation

4:00 pm–5:20 pm  
**Horizon**  
**Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia After Mumbai**  
Chair: Peter Lavoy, Office of the Director of National Intelligence  
Syed Rifaat Hussain, Quaid-i-Azam University  
Michael Krepon, The Henry L. Stimson Center  
Vipin Narang, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

5:30 pm–8:00 pm  
**Atrium Ballroom**  
**Welcome Reception**  
Sponsored in part by the Scoville Peace Fellowship

TUESDAY, MARCH 29, 2011

7:15 am  
**Amphitheater Foyer**  
**Registration and Continental Breakfast**

8:00 am–8:50 am  
**Amphitheater**  
**Keynote**  
Senator Jon Kyl, U.S. Senator representing Arizona

9:00 am–10:30 am  
**Amphitheater**  
**Innovating Nuclear Governance**  
Chair: Deepti Choubey, Nuclear Threat Initiative  
Ariel Levite, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Oliver Thränert, German Institute for International and Security Affairs  
William Walker, University of Saint Andrews

9:00 am–10:30 am  
**Polaris**  
**U.S. Nuclear Cooperation: How and With Whom?**  
Chair: Mark Hibbs, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Ambassador Hamad Alkaabi, Embassy of the United Arab Emirates  
Chung Min Lee, Yonsei University  
Richard Stratford, U.S. Department of State
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Speaker Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00 am–10:30 am</td>
<td>Two Triads: India-Pakistan-China and China-U.S.-Russia</td>
<td>Chair: Toby Dalton, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</td>
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<td>Hua Han, Peking University</td>
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<td>Sergey Rogov, Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies</td>
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<td>Ashley Tellis, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</td>
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<td>10:30 am–11:00 am</td>
<td>Break</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00 am–12:30 pm</td>
<td>A Middle East WMD Free Zone Conference: Preparing for Success</td>
<td>Chair: Alison Kelly, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ireland</td>
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<td>General Shlomo Brom, Institute for National Security Studies</td>
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<td>Ambassador Seyed Hossein Mousavian, Princeton University</td>
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<td>Ambassador Khaled Shamaa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt</td>
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<td>11:00 am–12:30 pm</td>
<td>Extended Deterrence and the 21st Century</td>
<td>Chair: Paul Schulte, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</td>
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<td>Ken Jimbo, Keio University</td>
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<td>Łukasz Kulesa, National Security Bureau, Poland</td>
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<td>Sinan Ülgen, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00 am–12:30 pm</td>
<td>The Future of the Nuclear Suppliers Group</td>
<td>Chair: Joan Rohlfing, Nuclear Threat Initiative</td>
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<td>John Carlson, Independent Consultant</td>
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<td>Richard Goorevich, U.S. Department of Energy</td>
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<td>Henk Cor van der Kwast, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Netherlands</td>
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<td>12:30 pm–2:00 pm</td>
<td>Luncheon Keynote: Darkness Before Dawn? The Future of Pakistan</td>
<td>Javed Jabbar, former Minister and Senator, Pakistan</td>
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<td>2:00 pm–3:15 pm</td>
<td>Keynote: Atoms for Peace</td>
<td>Andreas Widl, CEO, Oerlikon Leybold Vacuum</td>
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<td>Followed by a discussion:</td>
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<td>3:15 pm–3:45 pm</td>
<td>Break</td>
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<td>3:45 pm–5:00 pm</td>
<td>What’s Next After New START</td>
<td>Chair: Ambassador Linton Brooks</td>
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<td>Assistant Secretary Rose Gottemoeller, U.S. Department of State</td>
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<td>Ambassador Sergey Kislyak, Embassy of the Russian Federation</td>
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<td>5:00 pm–5:10 pm</td>
<td>Closing Remarks</td>
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<td>5:10 pm–6:30 pm</td>
<td>Closing Reception</td>
<td>Sponsored by the Nuclear Threat Initiative</td>
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2013 Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference
Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center
Washington, DC

April 6, 2013

Panel times, titles, and speakers are subject to change.

MONDAY, April 8, 2013

7:30 a.m.  Registration and Continental Breakfast
Amphitheater Foyer

Monday Morning Side Briefings
Morning side briefings are not organized by the Carnegie Endowment, but are open to all conference attendees.

7:45-8:45 am  BMD and the Nuclear Reset
Horizon
Hosted by Carnegie Moscow Center
Moderator
Steven Pifer, The Brookings Institution

Speaker
Alexei Arbatov, Carnegie Moscow Center

Polaris
Hosted by the U.S. Department of State and the Carnegie Nuclear Policy Program

Speaker
Rose Gottemoeller, Acting Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security

Proliferation Café
Fukushima Nuclear Accident: Shortcomings of Safety Regulation and Lessons Learned
Sponsored by the Rebuild Japan Initiative Foundation
Moderator
Kay Kitazawa, Japan Science and Technology Agency

Speaker
Gregory Jaczko, former Chairman, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission
M.V. Ramana, Princeton University
Formal Program

9:00 a.m. – 9:05 a.m. Welcome and Opening Remarks
Amphitheater
Toby Dalton, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

9:05 a.m. – 10:15 a.m. Morning Keynote: Director General Yukiya Amano
Amphitheater
International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

Discussion: Mark Fitzpatrick, International Institute for Strategic Studies

10:15 a.m. – 10:40 a.m. Break

Morning Plenary

10:40 a.m. – 12:00 p.m. Prague 2.0? Deterrence, Disarmament, and Nonproliferation in Obama’s Second Term
Amphitheater
Moderator
George Perkovich, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Speakers
Alexei Arbatov, Carnegie Moscow Center
Rose Gottemoeller, U.S. Department of State
Yao Yunzhu, Academy of Military Science, China

12:00 p.m. – 1:30 p.m. Luncheon Keynote: Chairman Allison Macfarlane
Atrium Ballroom
U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Discussion: Matthew Wald, New York Times

Afternoon Concurrent Panels

1:30 p.m. – 3:00 p.m. I: Humanitarian Dimensions of Nuclear War, Deterrence and Disarmament
Horizon
Moderator
Nina Tannenwald, Brown University

Speakers
Elbridge Colby, Center for Naval Analyses
Benno Laggner, Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs
Li Bin, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Amphitheater
II: Too Little Disarmament, Too Much Nonproliferation?
Moderator
Scott Sagan, Stanford University

Speakers
Christopher Ford, U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations
Alfredo Labbé, Permanent Representative of Chile to the IAEA
Harald Müller, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt

**Polaris**

**III: Proliferation Implications of New Fuel Cycle Technologies**

**Moderator**

Jeffrey Lewis, *James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies*

**Speakers**

Soon Heung Chang, *Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology*

Nancy Jo Nicholas, *Los Alamos National Laboratory*

Francis Slakey, *American Physical Society*

3:00 p.m. – 3:30 p.m. **Break**

**Late-Afternoon Concurrent Panels**

3:30 p.m. – 5:00 p.m. **Horizon**

**I: Deterring Cyber and Space-Based Threats**

**Moderator**

Linton Brooks, *former Administrator, National Nuclear Security Administration*

**Speakers**

Sergey Rogov, *Russian Academy of Sciences*

Xu Weidi, *National Defense University, China*

**Amphitheater**

**II: Are Treaties like FMCT and CTBT Still Vital?**

**Moderator**

Deepti Choubey, *Nuclear Threat Initiative*

**Speakers**

Christoph Eichhorn, *Federal Foreign Office, Germany*

Maleeha Lodhi, *former Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States*

William Potter, *James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies*

**Polaris**

**III: Whither Nuclear Power?**

**Moderator**

Oliver Morton, *The Economist*

**Speakers**

Mark Hibbs, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

Gürkan Kumbaroğlu, *Boğaziçi University*

M.V. Ramana, *Princeton University*

5:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m. **Welcome Reception**

Atrium Ballroom

**TUESDAY, April 9, 2013**

7:30 a.m. – 8:50 a.m. **Registration and Continental Breakfast**

Amphitheater Foyer
Tuesday Morning Side Briefings

Morning side briefings are not organized by the Carnegie Endowment, but are open to all conference attendees.

7:45-8:45 am  
**Horizon**  
**Iran's Nuclear Odyssey: Costs and Risks**  
Hosted by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**Speakers**  
Karim Sadjadpour, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Ali Vaez, International Crisis Group

**Polaris**  
**The Importance of Track II Diplomacy for Arms Control and Nonproliferation: Measuring Success and Recommendations for Action**  
Hosted by the National Academy of Sciences, Committee on International Security and Arms Control (CISAC)

**Moderator**  
Micah Lowenthal, CISAC

**Speakers**  
Frank Klotz, CISAC member, Council on Foreign Relations  
Ambassador Linton Brooks, CISAC member, former Administrator, National Nuclear Security Administration

**Proliferation Café**  
**Nuclear Weapons and U.S.-China Relations: A Way Forward**  
Hosted by the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Project on Nuclear Issues

**Speakers**  
Elbridge A. Colby, Center for Naval Analyses  
John Warden, Center for Strategic and International Studies

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Formal Program

9:00 a.m. – 10:00 a.m.  
**Amphitheater**  
**Morning Keynote: M. J. Chung**  
National Assembly of the Republic of Korea

**Discussion:** Douglas Paal, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

10:00 a.m. – 11:10 a.m.  
**Amphitheater**  
**Managing Nuclear Power Post-Fukushima**  
**Opening Remarks:** Daniel Poneman, U.S. Deputy Secretary of Energy

**Speakers**  
George Felgate, World Association of Nuclear Operators  
Tatsujiro Suzuki, Japan Atomic Energy Commission

11:10 a.m. – 11:30 a.m.  
**Break**

Morning Concurrent Sessions
11:30 a.m. – 1:00 p.m.  
**Polaris**  
I: What Nuclear Weapons Can the United States Afford?  
**Moderator**  
Walter Pincus, *Washington Post*  

**Speakers**  
Barry Blechman, *Stimson Center*  
Eric Edelman, *Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments*  
Garrett Harencak, *U.S. Air Force*  
David Mosher, *Congressional Budget Office*  

**Amphitheater**  
II: The Arab Spring and a Middle East WMDFZ  
**Moderator**  
David Ignatius, *Washington Post*  

**Speakers**  
Shahram Chubin, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*  
Dore Gold, *Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs*  
Mahmoud Karem, *Egyptian Council of Foreign Affairs*  

1:00 p.m. – 2:00 p.m.  
**Atrium Ballroom**  
Lunch  

**Afternoon Concurrent Sessions**  

2:00 p.m. – 3:30 p.m.  
**Horizon**  
I: Is There an “Emerging Power” Agenda?  
**Moderator**  
Togzhan Kassenova, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*  

**Speakers**  
Matias Spektor, *Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Brazil*  
Sinan Ülgen, *Carnegie Europe*  
Nirupama Rao, *Ambassador of India to the United States*  

**Amphitheater**  
II: Extended Deterrence: Defining the U.S. Reassurance Requirement  
**Moderator**  
Bradley Roberts, former Deputy Assistant Secretary, *U.S. Department of Defense*  

**Speakers**  
Łukasz Kulesa, *Polish Institute of International Affairs*  
Jiří Šedivý, Permanent Representative of the Czech Republic to NATO  
Koji Tomita, *Embassy of Japan to the United States*  

**Polaris**  
III: Proliferation and Regime Change  
**Moderator**  
Ellen Laipson, *Stimson Center*  

**Speakers**
Antonio Guerriero, *Permanent Representative of Brazil to the Conference on Disarmament*
Bijan Khajehpour, *Atieh International, Austria*
Danielle Pletka, *American Enterprise Institute*
Bruno Tertrais, *Fondation Pour la Recherche Stratégique*

3:30 p.m. – 3:50 p.m.  **Break**

**Afternoon Plenary**

3:50 p.m. – 5:00 p.m.  **Assessing the Efficacy of Sanctions for Nonproliferation**
Carl Bildt, *Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sweden*

**Discussion:** Meghan O’Sullivan, *Harvard University*

5:00 p.m. – 5:05 p.m.  **Closing Remarks**

5:05 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.  **Closing Reception**
MAINTAINING PROGRESS ON NUCLEAR SECURITY:
THE 2016 NSS AND BEYOND
Hosted by the Fissile Material Working Group

The fourth and final Nuclear Security Summit (NSS) will take place in the United States in 2016. What are the expectations for the 2016 NSS and what would make it successful? How can the international community maintain momentum and continue to strengthen nuclear security in the post-NSS environment?

Moderator
John Bernhard, Nuclear Security Governance Experts Group

Panelists
Nilsu Goren, University of Maryland
Laura Holgate, U.S. National Security Council staff
Miles Pomper, Fissile Material Working Group/James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies

John Bernhard served in the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs as an adviser on international law (1979–1989), under secretary for administrative and consular affairs (1991–1994), ambassador and permanent representative of Denmark to the IAEA (2005–2011), member of the IAEA Board of Governors (2009–2011), vice chairman of the IAEA Board (2010–2011), and an agent of the Danish government in cases before the International Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights. He has held ambassadorial posts in Venezuela, Spain, the Netherlands, and Austria and has been involved in the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
(OSCE), the European Union, and the Council of Europe. Bernhard has also taught international law and EU law at the University of Copenhagen and has written textbooks for the university on international law and human rights. He holds a BS in Spanish and an MS in Law. After a thirty-seven-year diplomatic career in the Danish Foreign Service (1974–2011), Bernhard retired and is now an international adviser on a freelance basis.

Nilsu Goren is a Turkish PhD candidate at the University of Maryland’s School of Public Policy. Her dissertation focuses on Turkish security policymaking and cooperative security strategies to formulate a coherent Turkish nuclear posture between NATO membership and regional engagement on issues such as tactical nuclear weapons, air and missile defense, and the Iranian nuclear program. She previously conducted research at the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), the Federation of American Scientists, and the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, and taught at Koc University, Istanbul. She holds a BA in economics and an MA in political science from Sabanci University, Istanbul, Turkey.

Laura Holgate is special assistant to the president and senior director for weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and threat reduction on the U.S. National Security Council staff. She serves as the U.S. Sherpa for the Nuclear Security Summit. From 2001 to 2009, Holgate was the vice president for Russia/Newly Independent States Programs at the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI). Prior to joining NTI, Holgate directed the Department of Energy's Office of Fissile Materials Disposition from 1998 to 2001. She was special coordinator for cooperative threat reduction at the Department for Defense from 1995 to 1998, where she provided policy oversight of the “Nunn-Lugar” Cooperative Threat Reduction program. She has a BA from Princeton University in politics, an MS from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in political science, and spent two years on the research staff at Harvard University's Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations, she was awarded a CFR International Affairs Fellowship in 1999.

Miles Pomper is a co-chair of the Fissile Material Working Group (FMWG) and a senior research associate in the Washington, DC office of the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies. His work focuses on nuclear energy, nuclear nonproliferation, nuclear security, and nuclear arms control. He holds an MA in international affairs from Columbia University and an MA in journalism from Northwestern University.
WOMEN OF MASS DESTRUCTION: A ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION
LED BY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE ROSE GOTTEMÖELLER

Hosted by the U.S. Department of State and Carnegie Nuclear Policy Program

With more and more women entering careers in international security, how do women already in the field pass along lessons learned, provide support both intellectually and personally, and create new opportunities for leadership? Under Secretary Gottemöeller, joined by other women leaders in the field, will offer some opening remarks and facilitate a group discussion.

Rose Gottemöeller is the U.S. under secretary for arms control and international security. Previously she served as assistant secretary of state for the Bureau of Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance. She was the chief U.S. negotiator of the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START) with the Russian Federation. Prior to joining the Department of State, she was a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, also serving as the director of the Carnegie Moscow Center. As deputy undersecretary of energy and before that, assistant secretary and director for nonproliferation and national security, she was responsible for all nonproliferation cooperation issues. Gottemöeller also served on the National Security Council staff as director for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia affairs, with responsibility for denuclearization in Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. Gottemöeller received a BS from Georgetown University and an MA from the George Washington University.
A CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL KHALID KIDWAI

Khalid Kidwai, Strategic Plans Division

Discussion
Peter Lavoy, Monitor 360

Khalid Kidwai is adviser to Pakistan’s National Command Authority and pioneer director general of Pakistan’s Strategic Plans Division, which he headed for an unprecedented fifteen years. Lt. Gen. (retired) Kidwai is one of the most decorated generals in Pakistan and was awarded the highest civilian award Nishan-i-Imtiaz, as well as Hilal-i-Imtiaz and Hilal-i-Imtiaz (military). Winner of the Sword of Honor at Pakistan’s military academy, he later saw frontline combat action in erstwhile East Pakistan and was a prisoner of war in Pakistan’s 1971 war with India. Kidwai conceived, articulated, and executed Pakistan’s nuclear policy and deterrence doctrines into a tangible and robust nuclear force structure. Kidwai is also the architect of Pakistan’s civilian nuclear energy program and national space program.

Peter Lavoy is a partner at Monitor 360. A recognized thought leader in national security strategy, and Asian politics and security, he helps clients solve complex analytic, strategic, and organizational challenges. Prior to joining Monitor 360 in January 2014, he was acting assistant secretary of defense for Asian and Pacific security affairs. Previously he served in the Office of the Director of National Intelligence as deputy director of national intelligence for analysis, chairman of the National Intelligence Council, and national intelligence officer for South Asia. Earlier, Lavoy taught at the Naval Postgraduate School. Lavoy has numerous publications on Asian security and weapons proliferation, including Over the Horizon Proliferation Threats and Asymmetric Warfare in South Asia: The Causes and Consequences of the Kargil Conflict. He received an MA and a PhD in political science from the University of California, Berkeley, and a BA in government from Oberlin College.
REASSURANCE: WHAT DO ALLIES WANT?

Against the backdrop of modest reductions in the U.S. nuclear arsenal, growing threats from North Korea and Russia, and greater Chinese assertiveness, questions about U.S. security guarantees to its allies are receiving new and critical attention. What kind of commitments do U.S. allies want? What practical steps do they believe would help to address perceived threats? And to what extent should these commitments and steps involve U.S. nuclear weapons as opposed to conventional or non-military capabilities?

Moderator
Sinan Ülgen, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Panelists
Chun Yung-woo, Korean Peninsula Future Forum
Jürgen Schulz, German Federal Foreign Office
Jane Hardy, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Australia

Sinan Ülgen is a visiting scholar at Carnegie Europe, where his research focuses on the implications of Turkish foreign policy for Europe and the United States, nuclear policy, and the security and economic aspects of transatlantic relations. He is also the chairman of EDAM, an independent think tank in Istanbul. Ülgen has served in the Turkish Foreign Service in several capacities: in Ankara at the United Nations desk (1990–1992); in Brussels at the Turkish Permanent Delegation to the European Union (1992–1996); and at the Turkish embassy in Tripoli (1996). He is a regular contributor to Turkish dailies, and his opinion pieces have been published in the International New York Times, the Financial Times, the Wall Street Journal, European Voice, and Le Figaro. He was a member of the international security experts group set up by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and tasked with preparing a report on the transatlantic relationship in advance of NATO’s September 2014 summit.

Chun Yung-woo is chairman and founder of the Korean Peninsula Future Forum (KPFF), and also senior adviser at the Asan Institute for Policy Studies. Previously, Chun served as national security adviser to President Lee Myung-Bak from 2010 to 2013. In his thirty-three years of service in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chun served as second vice foreign minister (2009–2010), special representative for Korean Peninsula Peace and Security Affairs and head of the ROK delegation to the six-party talks (2006–2008), and deputy foreign minister for Policy Planning and International Organizations (2005–2006). Chun was also the Korean ambassador to the United Kingdom (2008–2009), ambassador and deputy permanent representative to the United Nations (2003–2005), and held earlier diplomatic postings in France, Morocco, and Austria. Chun received an MA in international affairs from the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University.
Jürgen Schulz is deputy political director in the German Federal Foreign Office. Prior to assuming this position in 2013, he served as head of the Division for Security and Disarmament Policy, Bilateral Relations with USA, Canada, Northern, Western, and Southern Europe as well as Turkey in the Federal Chancellery in Berlin. He also has held the position of head of the Division for Central, Southeastern and Eastern Europe, Southern Caucasus, Central Asia and deputy head of the European Security and Defense Division in the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin. He also worked in the Balkan Division and Iraq Division, served on the NATO International Staff Political Directorate (NATO-Russia, NATO-Ukraine), and was posted to the German Embassy in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.

Jane Hardy is currently assistant secretary, arms control and counter-proliferation branch in the International Security Division of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT), Canberra. Prior to this, Hardy served as Australia’s ambassador to Spain, Andorra, and Equatorial Guinea. Hardy has also previously served as assistant secretary of DFAT’s Strategic Issues and Intelligence Branch (2011-2012), as well as director of DFAT’s Nuclear Policy Section (2009-2010).
Yukiya Amano is director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Amano served as chair of the Agency’s Board of Governors from September 2005 to September 2006 and was Japan’s resident representative to the agency from 2005 to his election as director general in July 2009. At the Japanese Foreign Ministry, Amano was director general for the Disarmament, Non-Proliferation, and Science Department from 2002 to 2005. He previously served as a governmental expert on the UN Panel on Missiles and on the UN Expert Group on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education. A graduate of the Tokyo University Faculty of Law, Amano joined the Japanese Foreign Ministry in April 1972, when he began a series of international postings in Belgium, France, Laos, Switzerland, and the United States.

Natalie Nougayrède is a columnist, lead writer, and foreign affairs commentator for the Guardian. She previously was executive editor and managing editor of Le Monde, for which she also served as a Paris-based diplomatic correspondent since 2005. Nougayrède began her career reporting on the war in South Ossetia and the breakup of Czechoslovakia in the early 1990s, and covered Russian politics since 1997. Nougayrède has received two major French journalism prizes for her coverage of the Chechen conflict and the Beslan school attack: the Prix de la Presse Diplomatique in 2004 and the Albert Londres award in 2005.
RESTORING FOCUS ON THE NUCLEAR MISSION

Following a series of nuclear-weapon handling mistakes and personnel problems, senior U.S. officials have acknowledged that the United States has lost focus on the nuclear mission. The U.S. Department of Defense is now engaged in a comprehensive effort to restore standards. What were the underlying problems? How is the Department of Defense planning to solve them? Are there lessons from the U.S. experience that are relevant to other states seeking to ensure the security of their nuclear enterprises, whether civilian or military?

Deborah Lee James, U.S. Secretary of the Air Force

Discussion
Kevin Baron, Defense One

Deborah Lee James is the 23rd Secretary of the Air Force and is responsible for the affairs of the Department of the Air Force, including the organizing, training, equipping, and providing for the welfare of its more than 690,000 active duty, Guard, Reserve, and civilian airmen and their families. She also oversees the Air Force’s annual budget of more than $110 billion. James has thirty years of senior homeland and national security experience in the federal government and the private sector. Prior to her current position, James served as president of Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC)’s (SAIC) technical and engineering sector. For nearly a decade, James held a variety of positions with SAIC, including senior vice president and director of Homeland Security. From 2000 to 2001, she was executive vice president and chief operating officer at Business Executives for National Security, and from 1998 to 2000 she was vice president of international operations and marketing at United Technologies. During the Clinton administration, from 1993 to 1998, James served in the Pentagon as the assistant secretary of defense for reserve affairs. From 1983 to 1993, she worked as a professional staff member on the House Armed Services Committee. James earned a BA in comparative area studies from Duke University and an MA in international affairs from Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs.

Kevin Baron is executive editor of Defense One. For more than a decade Baron has covered the military, Pentagon, Congress, and politics for Foreign Policy, National Journal, Stars and Stripes, the Boston Globe, and the Center for Public Integrity. Baron is vice president of the Pentagon Press Association. He is twice a recipient of the George Polk Award, among others. Baron earned an MA from the George Washington University and a BA from the University of Richmond. Raised in Florida, he lives in Northern Virginia with his three sons.
REASSURANCE: WHAT SHOULD ALLIES EXPECT?

American allies in Europe and Asia perceive growing threats that challenge the credibility of U.S. extended deterrence commitments. In an era of fiscal limitations, however, Washington will have to make some important choices about how to develop and deploy capabilities that will best reassure allies. What commitments should the United States be prepared to offer? Should there be limitations on these commitments? What practical steps should be taken to address perceived threats? How central should U.S. nuclear weapons, as opposed to conventional or non-military capabilities, be in extended deterrence planning?

Moderator
James Miller, the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory

Panelists
Brad Glosserman, Pacific Forum CSIS
Catherine Kelleher, University of Maryland
Kori Schake, Hoover Institution

James Miller is president of Adaptive Strategies, LLC. He is a senior fellow at the Johns Hopkins University’s Applied Physics Lab, and Harvard University’s Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. He is on the Atlantic Council’s board of directors, and the Center for a New American Security’s board of advisers. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and the Defense Science board. Miller has held many previous senior-level government, private sector, and nonprofit sector positions, most recently serving as under secretary of defense for policy from 2012 to 2014, and as principal deputy under secretary of defense from 2009 to 2012. Miller received a BA with honors in economics from Stanford University, and an MA and PhD in public policy from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He has been awarded the Medal for Distinguished Public Service four times.

Brad Glosserman is executive director of the Pacific Forum CSIS in Honolulu. In that capacity, he has run three strategic dialogues on extended deterrence—one with Japan for seven years, one with Korea for six, and a trilateral U.S.-Japan-ROK dialogue that has occurred twice. The Japan-South Korea Identity Clash, his study (with Scott Snyder) of national identity in Japan and South Korea and its impact on U.S. alliances will be published by Columbia University Press in spring 2015, and he recently completed a study (with Carl Baker) on the future of U.S. alliances in Asia. He is also wrapping up a manuscript on the impact of the March 11, 2011, “triple catastrophe” on Japan. He is the editor (with Tae-hyo Kim) of The Future of U.S.-Korea-Japan Relations: Balancing Values and Interests (CSIS Press, 2004). Glosserman has a JD from the George Washington University, an MA from the Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), and a BA from Reed College.
Catherine Kelleher is a senior fellow at the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University, College Park Professor of Public Policy at the University of Maryland, and professor emeritus at the Naval War College. In the Clinton administration, she was the personal representative of the secretary of defense in Europe and deputy assistant secretary of defense for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia, and served on President Carter’s National Security Council staff. She has been honored by the United States and German governments for her official and personal contributions to post-Cold War security in Europe. Kelleher has taught at several universities and war colleges in the United States and Europe, and published widely in the fields of international security and on the triangle of American, European, and Russian strategic relations.

Kori Schake is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution. During the 2008 presidential election, she was senior policy adviser to the McCain–Palin campaign, responsible for policy development and outreach in the areas of foreign and defense policy. From 2007 to 2008, she was the deputy director for policy planning in the State Department. During President Bush’s first term, she was the director for Defense Strategy and Requirements on the National Security Council. She has held the Distinguished Chair of International Security Studies at West Point, and also served on the faculties of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, the University of Maryland’s School of Public Affairs, and the National Defense University. She is on the boards of the journal Orbis and the Center for European Reform, and blogs for Foreign Policy’s Shadow Government. Her publications include State of Disrepair: Fixing the Culture and Practices of the State Department (Hoover Institution Press, 2012), Managing American Hegemony: Essays on Power in a Time of Dominance (Hoover Institution Press, 2009), and “Choices for the Quadrennial Defense Review” (Orbis, 2009). From 1990 to 1996, she worked in Pentagon staff jobs, first in the Joint Staff’s Strategy and Policy Directorate (J-5) and then in the Office of the Secretary of Defense.
2015 NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE: TRAGEDY, FARCE, OR UNEXPECTED SUCCESS?

The 2015 NPT Review Conference promises to be highly contentious. Disagreements among NPT parties regarding the approach and pace of nuclear disarmament have been growing, especially since consultations among the P5 states have been slow to produce results. The initiative focusing on the humanitarian impacts of nuclear weapons has entered the stage, creating new pressures on the weapon states. A lack of progress on organizing a conference to discuss the Middle East WMD-Free Zone is very likely to prove divisive. The outcome of negotiations with Iran over its nuclear program will also color views on the vitality of the regime. Meanwhile, states party to the NPT will have to decide whether and how to address events in Ukraine, including Russia’s violation of the Budapest Memorandum. How are these issues likely to play out in New York when the Review Conference convenes in April 2015 and what is the probable outcome?

Moderator
Elena Chernenko, Kommersant

Panelists
Jacek Bylica, European External Action Service
Nilevna Darama, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey
Takeshi Hikihara, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan
Jaako Laajava, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Finland
Adam Scheinman, U.S. Department of State

Elena Chernenko has been special correspondent of Kommersant since 2010. She covers foreign affairs issues, with interests in Russian foreign policy (as a member of the press pool of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs), nuclear policy, and cybersecurity. She previously worked for the Russian edition of Newsweek magazine, Radio Voice of Russia, and the Moskauer Deutsche Zeitung. She holds a PhD in history from Moscow Lomonossov State University and was given an award by the PIR Center “For Professional Coverage of the Issues of Nonproliferation, Regional and Global Security.” She is also a participant of the Munich Young Leaders program of the Munich Security Conference.

Jacek Bylica took up the newly created position of EEAS principal adviser and special envoy for Nonproliferation and Disarmament in 2013. Prior to this appointment, Bylica headed the WMD Nonproliferation Center at NATO (2008–2013). In this capacity he also co-chaired the NATO-Russia Council Working Group on Arms Control, Disarmament, and Nonproliferation. For over two decades in Poland’s Foreign Service, Bylica divided his professional activities between Asia and multilateral affairs, with postings as a secretary of the embassy in Beijing (1990–1995) and ambassador to the OSCE, the UN Office, and other international organizations in Vienna (2004–2008). He held a number of senior positions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw, including head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Division (1998–1999), and director of the Security Policy Department (2003-2004). Born in 1963, he studied in Warsaw, Moscow, Beijing, and Boston, with degrees in international relations, law, and diplomacy.
Nilvana Darama is deputy director general for the OSCE, Arms Control, and Disarmament, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey. She joined the Turkish Foreign Service in 1990 after graduating from Ankara University. Before becoming deputy director general in 2012, she served as head of the Department of Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament (2010–2012) and was Turkey’s sous-Sherpa in the Nuclear Security Summit process. She served as permanent representative of Turkey to the UN agencies in Vienna (2008–2010), and before that to the Council of Europe (2006–2008). She also served previously at Turkey’s mission to the OSCE, and at the embassies in Kuwait and Wellington.

Takeshi Hikihara is ambassador and director general in the Disarmament, Nonproliferation, and Science Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan since July 2014. He joined the diplomatic service in 1982 and served abroad in Korea (1996–1999), Russia (2006–2009), and Boston (2010–2012). He also held a number of positions in Tokyo, including director, Administrative Reform Division in the Minister’s Secretariat, and director, Office for the Parliamentary Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was appointed director, Southwest Asia Division in 2000; director, First Western Europe Division in 2002; and counselor in the Cabinet Secretariat in 2004. He also served as ambassador and director general of the Secretariat for the APEC Meeting in Japan in 2010. He was appointed deputy director general, European Affairs Bureau in 2012, and assistant vice minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2013. Hikihara was born in 1959, and graduated from the Faculty of Law of Tokyo University in 1982.

Jaako Laajava is the under secretary of state for foreign and security policy in the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In 2011, he was designated the facilitator for the 2012 conference on the establishment of a Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction. His career in the Finnish Foreign Service began in 1971, and during his career he has served in Poland, Spain, and the former Yugoslavia. From 1996 to 2001, he held the position of ambassador to the United States. Before assuming his current post, he was Finland’s ambassador to the United Kingdom.

Adam Scheinman was sworn in as special representative of the president for nuclear nonproliferation, with the rank of ambassador, on September 22, 2014. Prior to this assignment, Scheinman served as senior adviser to the assistant secretary for international security and nonproliferation at the U.S. Department of State. From 2009 to 2013, he served as director for nonproliferation on the White House National Security Staff, where he oversaw all aspects of U.S. multilateral nuclear policy. From 1999 to 2009, he held a number of positions in the Department of Energy’s National Nuclear Security Administration, including assistant deputy administrator in the Office of Nonproliferation and International Security; director in the Office of Export Control Policy and Cooperation in the Office of Arms Control and Nonproliferation; and senior adviser to the assistant secretary for nonproliferation and national security. From 1995 to 1999, he served as a foreign affairs analyst in the Office of International Policy and Analysis Division at the Department of Energy. From 1990 to 1995, he was a policy analyst and program coordinator for several nongovernmental organizations that focus on arms control and nonproliferation matters. He received a BA (1987) from Cornell University and an MA (1990) from the George Washington University’s Elliott School of International Affairs.
CAN NUCLEAR REGULATION BE CREDIBLE?

Since the Fukushima accident, nuclear regulatory agencies have been under increasing pressure to demonstrate credibility in their oversight of the nuclear energy sector. This challenge is common to almost all regulators, from countries with nascent nuclear power programs to those with an established fleet of reactors. What are the challenges in ensuring credible regulation? How important is independence and how should it be achieved? Are there risks that too much regulation could strangle the development of new technologies? And how can public confidence in nuclear power be improved?

Moderator
Ariel (Eli) Levite, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Panelists
Jason Cameron, Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission
Jukka Laaksonen, Rosatom Overseas
Allison Macfarlane, George Washington University

Ariel (Eli) Levite is a nonresident senior associate in the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment. Prior to joining the Carnegie Endowment, Levite was the principal deputy director general for policy at the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission from 2002 to 2007. He also served as the deputy national security adviser for defense policy and was head of the Bureau of International Security and Arms Control in the Israeli Ministry of Defense. Before his government service, Levite worked for five years as a senior research associate and head of the project on Israeli security at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University. He has taught courses on security studies and political science at Tel Aviv University, Cornell University, and the University of California, Davis.

Jason Cameron is vice president and chief communications officer, Regulatory Affairs Branch, of the Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission (CNSC), where he leads the CNSC’s functions related to strategic policy, communications, and the regulatory framework. He joined the Atomic Energy Control Board of Canada (the CNSC’s predecessor) in 1998 as a safeguards officer to support the implementation of the Additional Protocol to Canada’s Safeguards Agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency. He remained with the organization over the next fifteen years, assuming progressively senior roles that included chief of staff, secretary to the management committee, head of evaluation, and most recently director general of strategic planning. In this capacity, he led the CNSC’s planning and reporting processes and managed the coordination of intergovernmental, international, and Aboriginal relations. Before joining the government of Canada, he was a visiting information officer with the
World Nuclear Association (then known as the Uranium Institute), based in London, England. He studied at the University of Calgary, where he completed his MA in international relations and his BA in political science.

**Jukka Laaksonen** was director general of STUK, the nuclear regulatory body of Finland, from 1997 to 2012. While employed with STUK since 1974, he served as visiting expert at the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission (1981-1982) and at the IAEA (1987-1989). Since April 2012, he served as vice president of Rosatom Overseas, tasked to manage licensing of exported Russian NPPs. He has been actively involved in international cooperation in nuclear safety and safeguards and has held several chairmanships in international groups, among them Western European Nuclear Regulators’ Association WENRA (2009-2011) and OECD/NEA Committee for Nuclear Regulatory Activities (1998-2007). He has provided service to the IAEA, for instance as team leader on missions to review Russia’s nuclear regulator (2009) and the NRC (2010). From 2003 to 2013, he was vice chair of IAEA’s International Nuclear Safety Group and a member of the Commission on Safety Standards from 2008 to 2011. Since 2009, he has served as a member of an international advisory board that advises the UAE on its nuclear power program.

**Allison Macfarlane** is professor of public policy and international affairs at the George Washington University and director of the Center for International Science and Technology Policy at the Elliott School of International Affairs. She recently served as chairman of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission from July 2012 to December 2014. Macfarlane holds a PhD in geology from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and a BSc in geology from the University of Rochester. She has held fellowships at Radcliffe College, MIT, Stanford, and Harvard Universities. She has been on the faculty at Georgia Tech in earth science and international affairs and at George Mason University in environmental science and policy. From 2010 to 2012, she served on President Obama’s Blue Ribbon Commission on America’s Nuclear Future. She has served on National Academy of Sciences panels and has chaired the Science and Security Board of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. 
CTBT: WHAT’S NEW AND WHAT’S NEXT?

For several years, efforts to strengthen the norm against nuclear testing and to advance the entry into force of Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty have seemed to stall. Various narratives purport to explain the perceived lack of progress: obstructionism by several key states in troubled regions, doubts about the viability of the international verification regime, and concerns, within the United States particularly, about the continued reliability of nuclear arsenals. But do these narratives stand up to scrutiny? What is standing in the way of ratification of the treaty by states in the Middle East and elsewhere? How robust is the international monitoring system? Can the United States (and other nuclear weapon states) maintain the reliability of their arsenals under the CTBT? What is next for the global nuclear test ban?

Moderator
Brian Finlay, Stimson Center

Panelists
Rose Gottemoeller, U.S. Department of State
Frank Klotz, U.S. National Nuclear Security Administration
Merav Zafary-Odiz, Mission of Israel to the IAEA and the CTBTO
Lassina Zerbo, Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization

Brian Finlay is vice president at the Stimson Center and also directs the center’s Managing Across Boundaries initiative. His areas of expertise include nonproliferation, transnational crime, counterterrorism, supply chain security, and private sector engagement. Finlay is also an adjunct instructor in the School of International Service at American University. Prior to joining Stimson, Finlay served as executive director of a Washington-based lobbying and media campaign focused on counterterrorism, a researcher at the Brookings Institution, and a program officer at the Century Foundation. He was a project manager for the Laboratory Center for Disease Control, and worked with the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs. He chairs the board of directors of iMMAP, a humanitarian relief and development nonprofit. He also sits on the advisory board of Black Market Watch, a Geneva-based NGO that works to raise awareness around illicit global trade.

Rose Gottemoeller is the U.S. under secretary for arms control and international security. Previously she served as assistant secretary of state for the Bureau of Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance. She was the chief U.S. negotiator of the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START) with the Russian Federation. Prior to joining the Department of State, she was a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, also serving as the director of the Carnegie Moscow Center. As deputy undersecretary of energy and before that, assistant secretary and director for nonproliferation and national security, she was responsible for all
CONFERECE PANELS AND PANELIST BIOGRAPHIES

nonproliferation cooperation issues, Gottemoeller also served on the National Security Council staff as director for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia affairs, with responsibility for denuclearization in Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. Gottemoeller received a BS from Georgetown University and an MA from the George Washington University.

Frank Klotz is the U.S. Department of Energy’s under secretary for nuclear security and administrator for the National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA). Klotz previously served as commander of Air Force Global Strike Command, a position he held from 2009 to 2011. He established and then led a brand new 23,000-person organization that merged responsibility for all U.S. nuclear-capable bombers and land-based missiles under a single chain of command. Prior to 2009, Klotz was the assistant vice chief of staff and director of the Air Staff, vice commander of Air Force Space Command, and commander of the Twentieth Air Force. Klotz served at the White House from 2001 to 2003 as the director for nuclear policy and arms control on the National Security Council, where he represented the White House in the talks that led to the 2002 Moscow Treaty to reduce strategic nuclear weapons. Earlier in his career, he served as defense attaché at the U.S. embassy, Moscow. A distinguished graduate of the U.S. Air Force Academy, Klotz attended Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar, where he earned an MPhil in international relations and a DPhil in politics. He is also a graduate of the National War College in Washington, DC.

Merav Zafary-Odiz has been Israel’s permanent representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Organization Preparatory Commission (CTBTO PrepCom) in Vienna since October 2013. Zafary-Odiz joined the Israel Atomic Energy Commission in 2001, where she served in multiple positions, the last of which as the director of the Policy and Arms Control Department. She spent one year at the Israel National Defense College (2012–2013) and holds an MPP from the Goldman School of Public Policy from the University of California, Berkeley, and a BA in international relations and political science from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in Israel.

Lassina Zerbo is executive secretary of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Organization Preparatory Commission. Prior to assuming this post in 2014, Zerbo served as director of the CTBTO International Data Center, where he spearheaded the responses to the 2006, 2009, and 2013 DPRK nuclear tests, and the 2011 triple disaster in Japan. He led the 2011 and 2013 CTBT Science and Technology Conferences, and initiated the deployment of the virtual Data Exploitation Center—an innovative framework for interacting with the wider scientific community. He initiated the Group of Eminent Persons to reinvigorate efforts to achieve CTBT entry into force. In 2013, he was named the Arms Control Person of the Year, and this year received the title Commander of the National Order of Burkina Faso for the preservation of peace and international security. He is a member of the WEF Global Agenda Council on Nuclear Security, as well as several think tanks on energy, science, technology, development, and peace and security. Zerbo has a PhD in geophysics and worked previously in senior positions at BHP-Billiton and Anglo American Plc.
OPENING RECEPTION

Made possible by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs

PRESENTATION OF THE NUNN-LUGAR AWARD FOR PROMOTING NUCLEAR SECURITY

The Nunn-Lugar Award was established in 2012 in honor of U.S. Senators Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar, who were also the award’s first recipients. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Carnegie Corporation of New York created the award to recognize an individual or institution whose work has helped strengthen global security and further peaceful coexistence among nations by preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and reducing the risk of their use. The award is a tribute to Andrew Carnegie, who dedicated much of his philanthropy to the goal of achieving world peace.
THE MIDDLE EAST WMD FREE ZONE: WHAT IS NEXT?

Hosted by the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies

The idea to free the Middle East from all weapons of mass destruction and to establish a WMD free zone originated many decades ago. Nevertheless, little to no progress has been made so far. The event will discuss the current status of the diplomatic work to hold a Middle East WMDFZ conference, review potential implications of current regional challenges on the prospects of such a zone, and offer creative yet realistic proposals for what can be achieved before, during, and following the 2015 NPT Review Conference.

Moderator

Chen Kane, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies

Panelists

Karim Kamel, Social Science Research Council
Ariane Tabatabai, Georgetown University

Chen Kane is the Middle East projects manager and senior research associate at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS). She focuses on projects related to reducing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the projected expansion of nuclear energy with a particular focus on the Middle East. Kane also serves as an adviser to the National Nuclear Security Administration. She is the founder of the Middle East Next Generation Arms Control Network and co-editor of the website Arms Control and Regional Security for the Middle East. Prior to joining CNS, Kane served as a fellow in the nonproliferation program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and worked for the Israel Atomic Energy Commission (IAEC), eventually becoming director of external relations. Kane held research positions at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University, and the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Kane was an adviser to both the Jebsen Center for Counter-Terrorism at Tufts University and the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University, as well as an adjunct professor with the National Defense University. Kane served as an officer in the Israeli Defense Forces. She holds a PhD from Tufts University’s Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and an MA and a BA from Tel Aviv University.
Karim Kamel is a program associate at the Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum of the Social Science Research Council in New York. Kamel currently sits on the steering committee of the Middle East Next Generation of Arms Control Specialists Network. Prior to his current position, he served as a consultant to the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization. Most recently, he co-authored a chapter with Chatham House Research Director Patricia Lewis in the book *Regional Security Dialogue in the Middle East: Changes, Challenges and Opportunities*, titled: “A Helsinki Process for the Middle East?”

Ariane Tabatabai is a visiting assistant professor in the Security Studies Program at the Georgetown University Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, an associate at the Harvard Kennedy School’s Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, and a columnist for the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. Previously, she was a nonresident research associate with the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies. She was a Stanton Nuclear Security Fellow at the Belfer Center in 2013–2014. Her work has appeared in the *Financial Times*, the *Boston Globe*, the *National Interest*, *Haaretz*, and Al-Monitor. Her commentary can be found on NPR, BBC, Al-Jazeera, and Bloomberg News. She is expected to receive her PhD in war studies from King’s College London in winter 2015.
BOOK LAUNCH: TURKEY’S NUCLEAR FUTURE

Hosted by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and EDAM

In the past decade, Turkey has emerged as an influential and ambitious regional player. Ankara’s joint efforts with Brazil to make a positive contribution to the Iranian nuclear issue in 2010 clearly illustrate this trend. Turkey has been transformed from a reliable North Atlantic Treaty Organization partner into an emerging power intent on advancing a more independent foreign policy agenda. This evolution has consequences not only for Ankara’s foreign policy but also for its national security strategy and energy policy. Turkey’s Nuclear Future provides a comprehensive and unique examination of the interdependent dynamics of nuclear policymaking in Turkey. It details Turkey’s ongoing efforts to develop a national infrastructure for nuclear power in the context of its quest to enhance its energy security. It provides insightful analysis of the country’s emerging role in the governance of the nuclear order, as well as on Turkey’s perspective on and concerns regarding the evolution of the nonproliferation regime. Finally, the volume offers some iconoclastic thinking on the possibility of Turkey developing its own nuclear deterrent.

Moderator
Sinan Ülgen, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and EDAM

Panelists
Mustafa Kibaroğlu, MEF University and EDAM
George Perkovich, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Jessica Varnum, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies

Sinan Ülgen is a visiting scholar at Carnegie Europe, where his research focuses on the implications of Turkish foreign policy for Europe and the United States, nuclear policy, and the security and economic aspects of transatlantic relations. He is also the chairman of EDAM, an independent think tank in Istanbul. Ülgen has served in the Turkish Foreign Service in several capacities: in Ankara at the United Nations desk (1990–1992); in Brussels at the Turkish Permanent Delegation to the European Union (1992–1996); and at the Turkish embassy in Tripoli (1996). He is a regular contributor to Turkish dailies, and his opinion pieces have been published in the International New York Times, the Financial Times, the Wall Street Journal, European Voice, and Le Figaro. He was a member of the international security experts group set up by NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen and tasked with preparing a report on the transatlantic relationship in advance of NATO’s September 2014 summit.
**Mustafa Kibaroğlu** has been the chair of the department of political science and international Relations at the newly established MEF University in Istanbul since July 1, 2014. Previously he served as chair of the department of international relations at Okan University in Istanbul and vice chair of the department of international relations at Bilkent University in Ankara. He also was a research fellow at the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research in Geneva, a postdoctoral fellow at the Monterey Institute of International Studies, and a fellow at the Belfer Center at Harvard University.

**George Perkovich** is vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His research focuses on nuclear strategy and nonproliferation, with a concentration on South Asia, Iran, and the problem of justice in the international political economy. Perkovich is the author of the award-winning book *India's Nuclear Bomb* (University of California Press, 2001) and co-author of the Adelphi Paper “Abolishing Nuclear Weapons” (International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2008). He also co-wrote a major Carnegie report entitled *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 Joe Biden from 1989 to 1990. Perkovich is an adviser 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.

**Jessica Varnum** is a research associate with the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS). She manages all CNS work for the Nuclear Threat Initiative website, including extensive nonproliferation resource collections, country profiles, and analytical reports. Varnum is an expert on Turkey, and she regularly lectures, writes, and contributes to both research and dialogue projects focusing on Turkish foreign and national security policies, and challenges and opportunities for U.S.-NATO-Turkey relations. Varnum also specializes in the nonproliferation challenges associated with the spread of nuclear energy and other civil nuclear technologies. She is also an adjunct professor at the Monterey Institute of International Studies.
NUCLEAR SECURITY: EVOLVING CHALLENGES, EMERGING THREATS

Hosted by the Nuclear Threat Initiative

7:30 a.m. breakfast included for participants

A roundtable discussion with former senator Sam Nunn, Congressman Jeff Fortenberry, and Laura Holgate (invited) on nuclear security issues and the implications of our changing relationship with Russia, the evolving nuclear terrorism threat, and the growing cyber threat to nuclear facilities. The discussion will address how to successfully meet the challenges of this changing nuclear security landscape. Reducing the threat of the use of a nuclear weapon must continue to be a top global priority and needs to be met with innovative policies.

Moderator
Lori Esposito Murray, Nuclear Threat Initiative

Panelists
Jeff Fortenberry, U.S. Congress
Laura Holgate, U.S. National Security Council staff
Sam Nunn, Nuclear Threat Initiative

Lori Esposito Murray is vice president, Nuclear Security Project, at the Nuclear Threat Initiative. Murray also holds the Distinguished National Security Chair at the U.S. Naval Academy sponsored by the Class of 1960, and is president emeritus of the World Affairs Councils of America (WACA). Murray served as special adviser to the president on the Chemical Weapons Convention during the Clinton administration, as assistant director for multilateral affairs of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and as executive director of the Federal Advisory Committee on Gender-Integrated Training and Related Issues, established by Secretary of Defense William Cohen. Murray served as senior legislative assistant, national security policy, for Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-KS), and as executive director and senior adviser to the U.S.-China Security Review Commission. She is a contributor to the Huffington Post on global security issues, an active member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission, and is a member of the board of directors of Partners for Democratic Change in Washington, DC. Murray received her BA from Yale University and her PhD from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

Jeff Fortenberry represents the first district of Nebraska in the United States House of Representatives and is a co-founder of the Congressional Nuclear Security Working Group. He is a member of the House Appropriations Committee, and serves on three subcommittees with importance for Nebraska: Agriculture, Energy and Water, and Military Construction and Veterans Affairs. Fortenberry previously served on the House Foreign Affairs Committee,
where he placed particular focus on human rights concerns, Middle Eastern affairs, and nuclear weapons nonproliferation. Prior to serving in Congress, Fortenberry worked as a publishing industry executive in Lincoln, and also served on the Lincoln City Council from 1997 to 2001. He earned a BA in economics and two MA degrees, one in public policy. He and his wife, Celeste, live in Lincoln and have five daughters.

Laura Holgate is special assistant to the president and senior director for weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and threat reduction on the U.S. National Security Council staff. She serves as the U.S. Sherpa for the Nuclear Security Summit. From 2001 to 2009, Holgate was the vice president for Russia/New Independent States Programs at the Nuclear Threat Initiative. Prior to joining NTI, Holgate directed the Department of Energy’s Office of Fissile Materials Disposition from 1998 to 2001. She was special coordinator for cooperative threat reduction at the Department for Defense from 1995 to 1998, where she provided policy oversight of the “Nunn-Lugar” Cooperative Threat Reduction program. She has a BA from Princeton University in politics, an MS from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in political science, and spent two years on the research staff at Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations, she was awarded a CFR International Affairs Fellowship in 1999.

Sam Nunn is co-chairman and chief executive officer of the Nuclear Threat Initiative. He served as a U.S. Senator from Georgia for twenty-four years, from 1972 to 1996. Nunn is also a distinguished professor in the Sam Nunn School of International Affairs at Georgia Tech and served as chairman of the board of the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Nunn attended Georgia Tech, Emory University, and Emory Law School, where he graduated with honors in 1962. After active duty service in the U.S. Coast Guard, he served six years in the U.S. Coast Guard Reserve. He first entered politics as a member of the Georgia House of Representatives in 1968. During his tenure in the U.S. Senate, Nunn served as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. He also served on the Intelligence and Small Business Committees. His legislative achievements include the landmark Department of Defense Reorganization Act, drafted with the late Senator Barry Goldwater, and the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program.
MANAGING STRATEGIC FRICTION ON CHINA’S PERIPHERY

China’s emergence as a global power—one that is beginning to project not just economic but also military power—poses serious security challenges to states on its periphery. These challenges create dilemmas for Washington, too, which enjoys alliance relations with many of the states in East and Southeast Asia that are experiencing increasing friction with Beijing. How should the United States and its allies interpret China’s military capabilities as well as its policies toward its neighbors? How should these states respond to Beijing’s rise? Which sources of tension could potentially escalate to direct confrontation and consequently are most in need of active management? What opportunities are there to build trust?

Moderator
Michael Swaine, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Panelists
Dennis Blair, Sasakawa Peace Foundation, USA
Kevin Rudd, Asia Society Policy Initiative
Zhu Chenghu, National Defense University, China

Michael Swaine is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and one of the most prominent American analysts in Chinese security studies. Formerly a senior policy analyst at the RAND Corporation, Swaine is a specialist in Chinese defense and foreign policy, U.S.-China relations, and East Asian international relations. He has authored and edited more than a dozen books and monographs and many journal articles and book chapters in these areas, directs several security-related projects with Chinese partners, and advises the U.S. government on Asian security issues. He received his doctorate in government from Harvard University.

Dennis Blair is chairman of the board and CEO of Sasakawa Peace Foundation, USA. He is an expert on Asia Pacific policy and serves on the Energy Security Leadership Council, the Aspen Homeland Security Council, and the boards of Freedom House, the National Bureau of Asian Research, and the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. As director of national intelligence, Blair led sixteen national intelligence agencies and provided intelligence support to the president, Congress, and operations in the field. Blair has also served as president and chief executive officer of the Institute for Defense Analyses. During his Navy career, Blair served on guided missile destroyers in the Atlantic and Pacific fleets and commanded the Kitty Hawk Battle Group. He also served as director of the Joint Staff and held budget and policy positions on the National Security Council and several Navy staffs. Prior to retiring from the Navy in 2002, Blair served as commander in chief of U.S. Pacific Command.
Kevin Rudd served as Australia’s twenty-sixth prime minister (2007–2010, 2013) and as foreign minister (2010–2012). He led Australia’s response during the global financial crisis, reviewed by the IMF as the most effective stimulus strategy of all member states. He also helped found the G20, which drove the global response to the crisis, and which in 2009 helped prevent the crisis from spiraling into a second global depression. A senior fellow with Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government, Rudd is undertaking a major research project on U.S.-China relations. Rudd is also a distinguished visiting fellow at Chatham House, a distinguished statesman with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a distinguished fellow at the Paulson Institute, a visiting professor at Tsinghua University, and was appointed to the Concordia Leadership Council. Rudd is also the president of the Asia Society Policy Institute. He is proficient in Mandarin Chinese.

Zhu Chenghu is a professor at the academic department of strategic studies, National Defense University, China. Zhu served as deputy director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the National Defense University, deputy director and director of the overseas students department at the National Defense University, deputy chief of staff of the Headquarters of the Air Force at Guangzhou Military Command, commandant of the College of Defense Studies at the National Defense University, and director general of the academic department of strategic studies at the National Defense University. Zhu also holds a series of titles in different academic institutions in China, including as vice president of the Chinese Association of American Studies and as senior consultant of the China Association of Arms Control and Disarmament. His current research focuses on major power relations, Asian-Pacific security, and China’s national security.
WHY IS CHINA MODERNIZING ITS NUCLEAR ARSENAL?

China is slowly modernizing its nuclear arsenal, in particular by deploying new mobile, land-based missiles and by building a fleet of submarines to carry a newly developed sea-launched ballistic missile. It has also tested various long-range, high-precision conventional weapons and appears to have tested multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle technologies. What are the drivers—technical, bureaucratic, doctrinal—of these developments? What strategic end-state is China seeking? And what do these developments mean for stability in the region?

Moderator
Li Bin, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Panelists
Sun Xiangli, China Academy of Engineering Physics
Sugio Takahashi, National Institute for Defense Studies, Japan
Christopher Twomey, U.S. Naval Postgraduate School
Wu Riqiang, Renmin University

Li Bin is a senior associate working jointly in the Nuclear Policy Program and the Asia Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. A physicist and expert on nuclear disarmament, his research focuses on China’s nuclear and arms control policy and on U.S.-Chinese nuclear relations. Li is also a professor of international relations at Tsinghua University. He previously directed the arms control division at the Institute of Applied Physics and Computational Mathematics, where he also served as executive director of the Program for Science and National Security Studies. Li was a Social Science Research Council-MacArthur Foundation Peace and Security Fellow at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Princeton University. In 1996, Li joined the Chinese delegation on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty negotiations.

Sun Xiangli is director of the Arms Control Research Division of the Center for Strategic Studies (CSS), China Academy of Engineering Physics (CAEP). Before joining CSS in 2008, she worked at the Beijing Institute of Applied Physics and Computational Mathematics (IAPCM). She received her BS in nuclear physics from Peking University in 1990, an MS in nuclear physics from the graduate school of the CAEP in 1993, and a PhD in international politics from Peking University in 2001. Her research focuses on arms control and international security, including nuclear strategy, nuclear nonproliferation, and verification technologies for nuclear disarmament. She is the author of many papers and the book Strategic Choice in the Nuclear Age: On China’s Nuclear Strategy.
Sugio Takahashi is a senior fellow at the National Institute for Defense Studies and currently the deputy director of the Office of Strategic Planning of the Ministry of Defense in Tokyo, Japan. In that capacity, he contributed to the drafting process of the National Defense Program Guidelines released by the government of Japan in December 2010 and December 2013. He received an MA and a BA from Waseda University and an MA from the George Washington University. Takahashi has published extensively in the areas of nuclear strategy, the Japan-U.S. alliance, and East Asian regional security, including “Counter A2/AD in Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation: Toward Allied Air-Sea Battle,” Futuregram 12-3 (Project 2049, 2012).

Christopher Twomey is an associate professor of the department of national security affairs at the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California. In 2004, he received his PhD from MIT in political science and joined the NPS faculty, later serving as associate chair for research and as director of the Center for Contemporary Conflict from 2007 to 2009. Today, he works closely with the Office of the Secretary of Defense (Policy) and the State Department on a range of diplomatic engagements across Asia and regularly advises PACOM, STRATCOM, and the Office of Net Assessment. He has been the lead organizer of the U.S.-China Strategic Dialogue, a track 1.5 diplomatic meeting on strategic nuclear issues, since its inception in 2005. He is currently a member of the Institute of International Strategic Studies, a member of the adjunct staff at RAND, and has consulted for the National Bureau of Asia Research (NBR) since 2009. He is author of The Military Lens: Doctrinal Differences and Deterrence Failure in Sino-American Relations (Cornell, 2010), editor of Perspectives on Sino-American Strategic Nuclear Issues (2008), and his work has appeared in numerous journals and edited volumes. He has previously taught or researched at Harvard, Boston College, RAND, and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. He has lived in China, speaks and reads Chinese, and regularly travels to Asia.

Wu Riqiang is an associate professor at the School of International Studies at Renmin University of China, where his research focuses on missile defense, strategic stability, and Sino-U.S. crisis escalation. He is also a visiting fellow at Dartmouth College’s Dickey Center for International Understanding. From 2000 to 2006, he was a missile designer at the China Aerospace Science and Industry Corporation. In 2012, he received a PhD in political science from Tsinghua University, and he also holds an MA in general mechanics from Harbin Institute of Technology.
THE INF TREATY AND BEYOND:
WHERE DOES ARMS CONTROL GO FROM HERE?

The last fifteen months have witnessed a precipitous decline in Russia’s relations with the West. In July, the United States formally accused Russia of violating the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty—sparking counter-accusations from Moscow. Against this background, what is the future for the INF Treaty and other existing bilateral security agreements? Are there any opportunities for moving the U.S.-Russia arms control agenda forward in the next two years? To what extent is there value in trying to expand the agenda to bilateral agreements with others states, multilateral treaties, or agreements covering non-nuclear weapons?

Moderator
Susan Koch, Missouri State University

Panelists
Alexei Arbatov, Carnegie Moscow Center
Christoph Eichhorn, Federal Foreign Office, Germany
Jon Wolfsthal, U.S. National Security Council staff

Susan Koch is an independent consultant, specializing in arms reduction and proliferation policy issues. She is a Distinguished Research Fellow at the National Defense University Center for the Study of Weapons of Mass Destruction, an associate faculty member in the Department of Defense and Strategic Studies at Missouri State University, and a senior scholar at the National Institute for Public Policy. From 1982 to 2007, Koch held a series of senior positions in the White House National Security Council Staff, the Department of Defense, the Department of State, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Koch began her government career in the Directorate of Intelligence of the Central Intelligence Agency. Koch received a BA from Mount Holyoke College and an MA and PhD in political science from Harvard University.

Alexei Arbatov is a scholar in residence with the Carnegie Moscow Center’s Nonproliferation Program. Formerly, he was a member of the State Duma, vice chairman of the Russian United Democratic Party (Yabloko), and deputy chairman of the Duma Defense Committee. Arbatov is a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences. He leads the academy’s Center for International Security at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, where he was once a department head and a research fellow. He is a member of numerous boards and councils, including the research council of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute, and the Russian Council for Foreign and Defense Policy.
**Christoph Eichhorn** is Germany’s deputy federal government commissioner for disarmament and arms control. Eichhorn has twenty-eight years of experience in the senior diplomatic service. From 2008 to 2011, he was minister and head of the political department at the German embassy in Washington, DC. Before that, from 2004 to 2008, he was office director for the United States and Canada in the Germany Foreign Office. From 1998 to 2004, he served in Washington as an exchange diplomat at the U.S. Department of State, and later as political counselor for congressional U.S. domestic affairs and deputy head of the political department at the German embassy. Between 1992 and 1998, he worked in the foreign minister’s personal staff on German Bundestag (parliament) and cabinet affairs, and as a speechwriter.

**Jon Wolfsthal** is senior director for arms control and nonproliferation at the National Security Council. He served previously as deputy director for the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute for International Studies, as special adviser to Vice President Joseph Biden, as a senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and deputy director of the Carnegie Nonproliferation Project.
THE INDIA DEAL: A TEN-YEAR ASSESSMENT

From its announcement in 2005 to today, the U.S.-India civil nuclear deal has been controversial. Proponents of the deal argued that it would allow both states to forge a strategic partnership; that it would facilitate an expansion of nuclear energy in India; and that it would bring India into the nonproliferation “mainstream.” Opponents argued that the structure of U.S and Indian interests are sufficiently divergent that a strategic partnership would prove impossible; that India would not be able to adopt nuclear power on the scale described by the deal’s advocates; and that it would undermine the nonproliferation regime by institutionalizing a double standard, when NPT universality had long been a consensus objective. A decade after the fact, how should we assess the impact of the deal?

Moderator
George Perkovich, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Panelists
John Carlson, Nuclear Threat Initiative
Robert Einhorn, Brookings Institution
Rakesh Sood, former special envoy of India for Disarmament and Nonproliferation

George Perkovich is vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His research focuses on nuclear strategy and nonproliferation, with a concentration on South Asia, Iran, and the problem of justice in the international political economy. Perkovich is author of the award-winning book India’s Nuclear Bomb (University of California Press, 2001) and co-author of the Adelphi Paper “Abolishing Nuclear Weapons” (International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2008). He also co-wrote a major Carnegie report entitled “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 Joe Biden from 1989 to 1990. Perkovich is an adviser 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.

John Carlson is counselor to the Nuclear Threat Initiative, Washington. Other appointments include: member, advisory council, International Luxembourg Forum; associate, Project on Managing the Atom, Belfer Center, Harvard University; adviser to Asia Pacific Leadership Network on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament; member, International Verification Consultants Network, VERTIC; and nonresident fellow, Lowy Institute, Sydney. Previous appointments included director general of the Australian Safeguards and Non-Proliferation Office (1989–2010), chairman of the IAEA’s Standing Advisory Group on Safeguards Implementation (2001-2006), and founding chair of the Asia-Pacific Safeguards Network (2009–2012).
**Robert Einhorn** is a senior fellow with the Brookings Institution’s Arms Control and Nonproliferation Initiative. Before coming to Brookings in May 2013, Einhorn served as the State Department’s special adviser for nonproliferation and arms control, a position created by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in 2009. Between 2001 and 2009, Einhorn was a senior adviser at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), where he directed the CSIS Proliferation Prevention Program. Before coming to CSIS, he was assistant secretary of state for nonproliferation (1999–2001), deputy assistant secretary of state for political-military affairs (1992–1999), and a member of the State Department Policy Planning Staff (1986–1992). Between 1972 and 1986, he held various positions at the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), including ACDA’s representative to the strategic arms reduction talks with the Soviet Union.

**Rakesh Sood** joined the diplomatic service in 1976 and served in the Indian missions in Brussels, Dakar, Geneva, and Islamabad in different capacities, and as deputy chief of mission in Washington. In Delhi, Sood served as director (disarmament) and set up the Disarmament and International Security Affairs Division in the Foreign Ministry, which he led for eight years until 2000 as Joint Secretary. Subsequently, he served as ambassador and permanent representative to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, and ambassador to Afghanistan, Nepal, and France. In September 2013, Sood was appointed special envoy of the prime minister for disarmament and non-proliferation issues; he held this position until May 2014, when he retired from government.

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**PRESENTATION OF THE THÉRÈSE DELPECH MEMORIAL AWARD**

The Thérèse Delpech Memorial Award is presented to an individual who has rendered exceptional service to the nongovernmental nuclear policy community. Exceptional service includes major intellectual contributions to critical debates, but it also encompasses the time-consuming and often unrecognized work needed to sustain and strengthen our community: mentoring young women and men, constructively critiquing the work of others, creating fora for discussion, and building expert networks. Such activities benefit the community as a whole in its efforts to reduce nuclear dangers. Importantly, the award is also intended to recognize individuals who, through friendship, collegiality, and respect, help mold a collection of individual researchers into a community worthy of the name. In short, the award recognizes exceptional creativity, integrity, humanity, and amity—four qualities embodied by Thérèse Delpech, a long-time strategic adviser to the French Atomic Energy Commission, an author, and a distinguished public intellectual. The award was presented for the first time at the 2013 Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference to Ambassador Linton F. Brooks.
THE POLITICS OF SAFEGUARDS

Over the course of the last decade, debates on IAEA safeguards have become increasingly politicized. Several states with significant nuclear programs have refused to adopt the Additional Protocol. Others object to the IAEA’s development of a so-called State Level safeguards concept and to its use of information obtained by member states’ intelligence agencies. What are the causes of the political tensions surrounding the development and application of IAEA safeguards? What steps should member states take to mitigate political tensions? And what steps should the agency take in order to strengthen global confidence in the safeguards system?

Moderator
Rafael Grossi, Embassy of Argentina, Austria

Panelists
Anton Khlopkov, Center for Energy and Security Studies, Russia
Mosa Rasweswe, South Africa Nuclear Energy Corporation
Laura Rockwood, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs

Rafael Grossi is ambassador of the Argentine Republic to Austria and permanent representative to the International Organizations in Vienna. In January 2010, Grossi was appointed chief of cabinet in the Office of the Director General of the IAEA and from 2011 to June 2013 he served as the assistant director general for policy of the IAEA. Before joining the IAEA, Grossi was the director general for political coordination at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Argentina from 2008 to 2009. From 2002 to 2007, he served as chief of cabinet in the Office of the Director General of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons in The Hague. At present he is the chairman of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) for the period of 2014–2015 and he is also the chairman of the preparatory process for the Diplomatic Conference to amend the Convention on Nuclear Safety, which he led as president in February 2015.

Anton Khlopkov is director of the Moscow-based Center for Energy and Security Studies (CENESS) and editor-in-chief of the Nuclear Club journal. He is a member of the Advisory Board of the Security Council of the Russian Federation and Chairman of the Moscow Nonproliferation Conference. Previously, he worked for the Center for Policy Studies in Russia (PIR Center, 2000–2009), including as executive director (2007–2009), and was a visiting fellow at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (2000). He graduated from the National Research Nuclear University (MEPhI). He is the editor-in-chief of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Encyclopedia (2009) and author of Iran’s Nuclear Program in Russian-American Relations (2001). He also co-authored the monographs Nuclear Reset: Reduction and Nonproliferation of Nuclear Arms (2011) and At the Nuclear Threshold: The Lessons of North Korea and Iran for the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime (2007).
**Mosa Rasweswe** is head of the South African Nuclear Energy Corporation’s Safeguards Office, a position she has held since 2008, with responsibility for ensuring that national nuclear facilities comply with South Africa’s IAEA Safeguards Agreement and National Nuclear Energy Legislation. She is also responsible for advising the government on technical safeguards implementation and international safeguards developments. She is a former national safeguards inspector with twelve years of experience in nuclear safeguards implementation. Rasweswe is a member of the South African Council for Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and a member of the IAEA Safeguards Advisory Group for Safeguards Implementation.

**Laura Rockwood** is a senior research fellow at Harvard University’s Kennedy School Belfer Center. In June 2015, she will assume the position of executive director of the Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation in Vienna, Austria. Rockwood retired from the IAEA in 2013 as section head for nonproliferation and policymaking in the Office of Legal Affairs, where she had served since 1985 and had been involved in all aspects of IAEA safeguards, including in the high-level negotiations on Iraq, Iran, and the DPRK. She was also the principal author of the document that became the Model Additional Protocol. In July 2012, Rockwood received the Distinguished Service Award from the Institute of Nuclear Materials Management. Rockwood received her BA from the University of California, Berkeley, and her JD from the University of California’s Hastings College of Law in San Francisco. She is a member of the State Bar of California and the Washington, DC Bar Association.
A GLOBAL STANDARD FOR NUCLEAR COOPERATION?

Seven states are now commercial suppliers of nuclear power plants to the international market—and this list is only likely to grow. What implications does this multinationalization of nuclear industry have for bilateral nuclear cooperation agreements? Should suppliers agree to use such agreements to establish minimum international standards for nuclear energy cooperation, and specifically to bolster nonproliferation, nuclear security, and nuclear safety? More pointedly, with the UAE having signed up to a “gold standard” by declaring it will forgo enrichment and reprocessing on a unilateral basis, should other states be encouraged to do so too?

Moderator
Mary Beth Nikitin, Congressional Research Service

Panelists
Hamad Alkaabi, Permanent Mission of the UAE to the IAEA
Cécile Maisonneuve, French Institute for International Relations
Henk Cor van der Kwast, Mission of the Netherlands to the Conference on Disarmament

Mary Beth Nikitin is a specialist in nonproliferation in the Foreign Affairs, Defense and Trade Division at the Congressional Research Service (CRS), Library of Congress. She has worked at CRS since September 2007, where her research covers nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons nonproliferation issues including nuclear security, nonproliferation/threat reduction assistance, and civilian nuclear cooperation agreements. Before joining CRS, she was a fellow in the International Security Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Previously, she was a research associate at the Center for Nonproliferation Studies in Monterey, California, and an intern at the Department for Disarmament Affairs at the United Nations in New York. She earned a BA in government from Dartmouth College, and an MA in international policy studies and a certificate in nonproliferation studies from the Monterey Institute of International Studies.

Hamad Alkaabi is currently the permanent representative of the UAE to the IAEA and was named in 2008 as a special representative for international nuclear cooperation. He has been personally involved in all key milestones of the UAE nuclear energy program. Alkaabi helped lead the initial assessment of nuclear power in the UAE, and since then serves as a primary interlocutor on matters relating to nuclear energy and nonproliferation between the UAE government and international organizations and other governments, including the IAEA. Alkaabi was trained as a nuclear engineer, receiving his BA and MA from Purdue University.
Cécile Maisonneuve is a senior adviser to the Center for Energy at the French Institute for International Relations (IFRI). Her field of expertise covers the geopolitics of energy, European energy policy, and nuclear energy. From 2007 to 2012, she worked at AREVA where she was in charge of the CEO’s international affairs, then of international and European public affairs. She started her career at the French Parliament, where she worked for the Defense Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee. Maisonneuve studied at Ecole Normale Supérieure Ulm-Sèvres (1991-1995), graduated from Sciences Po (summa cum laude, 1994), and holds an MA in history from the Sorbonne University Paris-IV (1995). Formerly an international visitor (2001) through the U.S. Department of State, she wrote a biography of Benjamin Franklin (2008). She is a member of the Expert Committee of the Alcen Foundation for a Better Knowledge of Energy Issues, and a member of the editorial board of Planète Energies, an initiative of TOTAL.

Henk Cor van der Kwast is permanent representative of the Netherlands to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva and disarmament ambassador at large. From 2011 to 2013, he was deputy head of mission in Bangkok. From 2006 to 2011, he was head of the Non-Proliferation, Disarmament, Arms Control, and Export Control Policy Unit at the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He advised both the Dutch minister of foreign affairs and the prime minister on nonproliferation issues. In 2010 he served as sous-Sherpa for the Nuclear Security Summit. He has represented the Netherlands as head of delegation or alternative at a number of international meetings, including the UN General Assembly, the NPT Preparatory Committee and Review Conference, the General Conference and Board of Governors of the IAEA, the Nuclear Suppliers Group, and the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism. He holds a degree in contemporary history and studied international law at Groningen University, and holds a degree from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.
NUCLEAR USE:
LAW, MORALITY, AND HUMANITARIAN CONSEQUENCES

Concern about the humanitarian consequences of the use of nuclear weapons has provided one of the sharpest intellectual challenges to nuclear deterrence in recent decades. Although the United Kingdom and the United States sent representatives to the most recent international conference on the subject, the nuclear-weapon states have generally been reluctant to respond. Do nuclear-weapon states fail to appreciate the consequences of nuclear use? Moreover, what implications do these consequences have for policy? Specifically, are there circumstances under which the use of nuclear weapons could still be consistent with both international law and morality in spite of the consequences?

Moderator
James M. Acton, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Panelists
Justin Anderson, Science Applications International Corporation
Taous Feroukhi, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Algeria
John Gower, formerly UK Ministry of Defense
Richard Pates, Diocese of Des Moines


Justin Anderson is a senior policy analyst at Science Applications International Corporation. He has provided research and analytic support to a range of national security clients, including the U.S. Air Force, STRATCOM, Defense Threat Reduction Agency, Department of Defense Office of the General Counsel/International Affairs, and the OSD Office of Treaty Compliance. From 2009 to 2010, he served as editor of the Department of Defense’s Law of War Manual. He has also co-authored a number of analyses appearing in open source publications, including “International Space Negotiations, Emerging Space Powers, and U.S. Efforts to Protect the Military Use of Space” (with Walt
Conrad and Sarah Gamberini) in the winter 2014 edition of *Space and Defense* journal. He is a 2003 Marshall Scholar and received his MA and PhD in war studies from King’s College London. He began his professional career as a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace junior fellow for the Nonproliferation Project.

**Taous Feroukh** is director general for political affairs and international security at the Algerian Ministry for Foreign Affairs and will serve as president of the ninth NPT Review Conference. She previously served as ambassador of Algeria to Austria and to the International Organizations, during which time she chaired the IAEA Board of Governors from 2008 to 2009, and was chairman of the G-77 Vienna chapter in 2004. Feroukh obtained a degree in human sciences from the Université d’ Alger, a diploma from the Institute of Political Sciences Studies, and holds a post-graduate degree in international relations. Born in Algeria, Feroukh started her diplomatic career in 1977 at the Algerian Foreign Ministry. From 1996 to 2001, she held the position of Chargée d’ Etudes et de Synthèse in the Cabinet of the Minister for Foreign Affairs and chargée de mission in the Cabinet of the President of the Republic of Algeria, where she was in charge of a wide range of international issues. She has also served in the embassies of Algeria in Ottawa, Madrid, and Geneva.

**John Gower** joined the Royal Navy in 1978 and after university and initial training volunteered for submarines in 1983. Some fourteen years of sea service globally culminated in five years in command of two submarines. Moving ashore to Whitehall in 1997, he remained there until retiring in 2014, escaping only for three years as the assistant naval attaché in Washington. In the last six years, Gower has focused on all aspects of countering WMD, BMD, and UK nuclear deterrence policy and operations, and has contributed to NATO as well as detailed work with the United States and increasingly, since 2010, France. He was closely involved in the destruction of the Syrian chemical weapons program. He has spoken twice at the USSTRATCOM Deterrence Symposium, has been a regular at CSIS trilateral dialogues and PS meetings, and lectured UK and French senior staff courses on nuclear deterrence. He is now addressing the challenge of maintaining nuclear deterrence in the new communication paradigm: Web2, Twitter, and the rolling info war.

**Richard Pates** was ordained to the priesthood on December 18, 1968, in St. Peter’s Basilica, Vatican City. He was awarded a Licentiate in Sacred Theology (STL) in dogmatic theology, Gregorian University, Rome, in the summer of 1969. After serving as a priest for five years in the Archdiocese of St. Paul and Minneapolis, he was appointed secretary of the apostolic delegation in Washington. Pates was rector, St. John Vianney Seminary, affiliated with the University of St. Thomas (1981-1987), and archdiocesan vicar for seminaries (1987-1991). He was pastor of Our Lady of Peace Parish in Minneapolis (a merged parish) and Saint Ambrose of Woodbury Parish (a new parish) from 1991 to 2001. Pates was named auxiliary bishop of St. Paul and Minneapolis in 2000 and became bishop of Des Moines in 2008. He is currently a member of the International Justice and Peace Committee of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops.
PROLIFERATION PROGNOSTICATION

Forecasting future events is fraught with obvious difficulties but also essential for effective policymaking. So how can it be improved? Specifically, do large groups make better predictions than individual experts? At this session, audience members will have the opportunity to answer a series of yes/no questions about future events. The results will be discussed by a panel of experts, who will compare the audience’s answers to their own. We plan to assess these predictions against reality at the 2017 Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference. To participate in this year’s exercise, please download the conference smartphone application or borrow a Carnegie-supplied iPad.

Moderator
**Sarah MacIntosh**, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Panelists
- **Gareth Evans**, Australian National University
- **Emily Landau**, Institute for National Security Studies, Israel
- **Zia Mian**, Princeton University
- **William Potter**, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies

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**Sarah MacIntosh** is the director general of defense and intelligence at the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO). She was appointed to the job in May 2014. MacIntosh joined the FCO in 1991. Most recently she has worked as director for defense and international security (2011-2014). Previous appointments include director for strategic finance (2009-2010), Her Majesty’s high commissioner to Sierra Leone, and Her Majesty’s ambassador to Liberia (2006-2008), and strategy coordinator for the UN Mission in Kosovo (2004-2005). MacIntosh has also been posted to the UK Mission to the United Nations in New York, the UK Mission to the IAEA in Vienna, and the British Embassy, Madrid.

**Gareth Evans** is chancellor, honorary professorial fellow, and chair of the International Advisory Board of the Center for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament at the Australian National University. He was a cabinet minister in the Hawke and Keating labor governments for thirteen years, including nine as foreign minister, when he initiated the Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons. Subsequently, he was president of the Brussels-based International Crisis Group from 2000 to 2009, a member of the Blix Commission on Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Zedillo Commission on the Role of the IAEA to 2020 and Beyond, and co-chaired with Yoriko Kawaguchi the International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament. He has written or edited eleven books, including Cooperating for Peace (Allen & Unwin, 1993), Australia’s Foreign Relations (Melbourne University Press 1991, 1995), and The Responsibility to Protect (Brookings Institution Press, 2008, 2009).
**Emily Landau** is a senior research fellow and head of the arms control program at the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS). Her areas of expertise include nuclear proliferation, regional security, and arms control efforts in the Middle East; proliferation challenges posed by Iran and North Korea; Israel’s nuclear image and policy; and developments in U.S. and global arms control thinking regarding weapons of mass destruction. Landau teaches nuclear strategy, negotiations, and arms control in the executive MA program in diplomacy and security at Tel Aviv University, in the International School at the University of Haifa, and in the Lauder School of Government, IDC Herzliya. She is a frequent commentator in Israeli and leading international media, and an active participant in Track II initiatives on regional security. She has served on the steering committee of EuroMeSCo, serves on the board of advisory editors of *Fathom*, and is a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London. Landau holds a PhD from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

**Zia Mian** directs the Project on Peace and Security in South Asia at the Program on Science and Global Security, Princeton University. His research and teaching focus on nuclear weapons and nuclear energy policy, especially in Pakistan and India, and on issues of nuclear disarmament and peace. Previously, he has taught at Yale University and Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, and worked at the Union of Concerned Scientists, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and the Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad. He is co-editor of *Science & Global Security*, an international journal of technical analysis for arms control, disarmament, and nonproliferation policy. He is a member of the International Panel on Fissile Materials (IPFM). He has a PhD in physics from the University of Newcastle upon Tyne. Mian received the 2014 Linus Pauling Legacy Award for “his accomplishments as a scientist and as a peace activist in contributing to the global effort for nuclear disarmament and for a more peaceful world.”

**William Potter** is Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar Professor of Nonproliferation Studies and founding director of the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies. He is the author or editor of over 20 books, the most recent of which are *Forecasting Nuclear Proliferation in the 21st Century* (Stanford University Press, 2010), *The Global Politics of Combating Nuclear Terrorism* (Routledge, 2010), and *Nuclear Politics and the Non-Aligned Movement* (Routledge, 2012). Potter has served on numerous committees of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and for five years was a member of the UN secretary general’s Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters. He has been an adviser to the delegation of Kyrgyzstan at every NPT Review Conference and Preparatory Committee meeting since 1995.
IRAN: ASSESSING PROSPECTS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT

After several years of negotiations, an interim agreement, and two extensions, where are talks between Iran, China, France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States heading? Is there an intersection between what negotiators can agree and what domestic politics in Tehran and Washington can bear? If a comprehensive agreement is possible, can it be insulated against future political shocks and with incentives for compliance by all sides?
Conference Panels and Panelists

Monday, March 20, 2017

Side Meeting I | Horizon

A Nuclear Firewall?
Hosted by Carnegie’s Nuclear Policy Program

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty does not define the term “nuclear weapon” or identify the evidence that would determine whether a state is seeking to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons. For six years, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has been developing an analytic framework for demarcating activities and programs that are exclusively nuclear-weapons-related from others, in accordance with NPT obligations. This approach—a nuclear firewall—utilizes pertinent indicators relating to materials, equipment, activities, and contextual factors that delineate peaceful from nuclear weapons activities. Carnegie’s aim with the firewall concept is to broaden the understanding of technical and policy boundaries for peaceful applications and thereby enhance civil nuclear technology cooperation; to develop a more comprehensive understanding of risk associated with nuclear activity; to provide timely warning of proliferation concerns in order to facilitate diplomacy; and to indicate steps states could take to reassure others about the peaceful nature of a program. At this session, Carnegie will release a paper on the nuclear firewall concept, and experts will discuss its potential contribution to the implementation of all three pillars of the NPT.

Moderator
George Perkovich, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Panelists
Jim Casterton, Independent Consultant
Ariel (Eli) Levite, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Sonia Fernández Moreno, Brazilian-Argentine Agency for Accounting and Control of Nuclear Materials*

* Moreno is participating in a personal capacity
Bridging the Gap: Policy-Relevant Nuclear Education

*Hosted by the Center for Science and Security Studies, King’s College London*

The teaching of both theory and empirics can contribute to policymaking and, hopefully, to cultivating future policymakers. The previous decade, in particular, has seen a rise in postgraduate academic programs focused on nuclear issues, which include activities such as crisis simulations and policy analysis. This session will provide an overview of such programs, and explore how new approaches to nuclear education can help address specific policy challenges. Former and current students of nuclear education programs are particularly welcome to attend to discuss and draw lessons from their experiences. Policy experts and practitioners are also encouraged to participate to identify gaps between theory and policymaking and suggest how education programs can help to fill them.

Moderator

*Angela Schlater,* John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Panelists

*Jennie Gromoll,* Office of Multilateral Nuclear and Security Affairs, U.S. Department of State

*William Potter,* James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey

*Kenan Ünlü,* Radiation Science and Engineering Center and College of Engineering, Penn State

*Heather Williams,* King’s College London
Beyond the Nuclear Threshold: Causes and Consequences of First Use

What are the most likely scenarios for the first use of nuclear weapons in the next five years on the NATO-Russia periphery, in South Asia, and in Northeast Asia? What is the likelihood that nuclear first use in these scenarios would result in humanitarian disaster? And, what are the key drivers that could increase or decrease the likelihood of first use? Assumptions about the answers to these questions underlie every debate about deterrence and disarmament—yet, analysts rarely make those answers explicit, let alone debate them. This session aims to fill that gap and clarify some of the conceptual confusion that impedes consensus on how best to reduce nuclear risks.

**Moderator**
Scott Sagan, Center for International Security and Cooperation and the Freeman Spogli Institute, Stanford University

**Panelists**
Alexei Arbatov, Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences
Jüri Luik, International Center for Defense and Security
Vipin Narang, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Caitlin Talmadge, George Washington University

Cyber Weapons and Strategic Stability

Cyber operations, particularly against critical civilian infrastructure, military forces, or strategic command-and-control systems, are widely assumed to pose new escalation risks, which may, in extreme situations, include nuclear use. How might the proliferation of offensive cyber capabilities be strategically destabilizing? How might these risks be mitigated? More specifically, what are the implications of cyber threats to strategic command-and-control systems? What are the best ways to prevent and deter such threats? Finally, how relevant are nuclear-derived theories of deterrence to the challenges of using cyber means to influence adversaries’ conduct—not only in cyberspace, but also in the realms of terrorism, political repression, nuclear proliferation, or interference in elections?

**Moderator**
Michèle Flournoy, Center for a New American Security

**Panelists**
Emily Goldman, U.S. Cyber Command/National Security Agency Combined Action Group
Sir David Omand, King’s College London
Xu Manshu, National Defense University of the People’s Liberation Army
Uncovering the Undeclared: NPT Article III

Under article III of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, non-nuclear-weapon states are required to accept IAEA safeguards to prevent the diversion of nuclear materials from peaceful to non-peaceful uses. Since the 1990s, the IAEA has become increasingly focused on the detection of non-declared activities, including in states without an additional protocol in force. How far should the IAEA go in this regard? Should non-nuclear-weapon states provide greater access to their nuclear activities, particularly fuel-cycle activities, in the future? Will they? How should the IAEA and member states respond to concerns that safeguards judgments might be influenced by high politics and become more subjective and perhaps even discriminatory?

**Moderator**

**Mark Hibbs**, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

**Panelists**

- **Jill Cooley**, Y-12 National Security Complex
- **Sonia Fernández Moreno**, Brazilian-Argentine Agency for Accounting and Control of Nuclear Materials*
- **Gennady Pshakin**, Institute of Physics and Power Engineering

* Moreno is participating in a personal capacity

Mainstreamed or Sidelined? Non-NPT States in the Nuclear Order

Three nuclear-armed states never signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty—India, Israel, and Pakistan. In recent years, they have enhanced their participation in international nuclear governance efforts in ways that blur the distinction between treaty members and non-members. In areas such as export control and nuclear security, these states now implement policies and practices largely consistent with the nonproliferation “mainstream.” In 2016, India and Pakistan applied for membership in the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), which has required prospective members to be signatories to the NPT, raising further questions about the practical significance of treaty membership. Does such “mainstreaming” strengthen or weaken the global nuclear order? Should non-NPT states be invited to join the NSG and similar multilateral arrangements, and if so, on what basis? If not, what incentives exist for non-NPT states to strengthen their nuclear security, safety, and export control practices?

**Moderator**

**Magnus Hellgren**, Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

**Panelists**

- **Federico Merke**, Universidad de San Andrés
- **Gil Reich**, Israel Atomic Energy Commission
- **Manpreet Sethi**, Center for Air Power Studies
- **Sadia Tasleem**, Quaid-i-Azam University
Defining Peaceful Uses: NPT Articles I and II

Articles I and II of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty contain states’ fundamental nonproliferation obligations and are intended to outlaw the further spread of nuclear weapons without impeding the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Despite a remarkable track record of success, however, these articles do not explicitly demarcate the boundary between peaceful and military uses. Has this omission actually been a problem? If so, is it possible to demarcate that boundary more clearly? Might new technologies, such as additive manufacturing, further blur it?

Moderator
Tristan Volpe, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Panelists
Patricia Flor, German Federal Foreign Office
Kazuko Hikawa, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Li Bin, Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy

Nuclear Security and Nonproliferation for Nuclear Newcomers

Countries planning to build their first nuclear power reactors face the challenge of developing domestic regulatory regimes for nuclear security and nonproliferation. Compounding this challenge, there are no universally accepted standards for nuclear security. Furthermore, in terms of nonproliferation, the additional protocol is optional even while there are significant variations in domestic material accountancy and control systems. What measures should nuclear newcomers take to mitigate nuclear security and proliferation risks? What nuclear security and nonproliferation standards should they follow? Can or should the governments of vendors that export reactors to nuclear newcomers—particularly Russia, South Korea, and, perhaps in the future, China—do more to encourage newcomers to adopt high standards? Should recipients’ adherence to stringent safeguards and security practices be a condition of supply?

Moderator
Togzhan Kassenova, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Panelists
Niils Gøren, Center for International and Security Studies, University of Maryland School of Public Policy
Francesca Giovannini, American Academy of Arts and Sciences
Laura Holgate, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School
Ta Minh Tuan, Vietnam Fatherland Front
Wars of Words? Media and Conflict in South Asia

Cross-border terrorism and low-intensity conflict between India and Pakistan along the Line of Control in Kashmir continue to create the risk of a crisis. While warfare in South Asia that could escalate to nuclear use is obviously risky, is making peace between India and Pakistan also too risky for political leaders? How do media organizations in India and Pakistan amplify or ameliorate the propensity for conflict escalation? Which actors in both countries successfully utilize media to mobilize political movements, either for bellicosity or for peacemaking? And what do political trends indicate about the potential for military conflict in the near future?

Moderator
Toby Dalton, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Panelists
Shashank Joshi, Royal United Services Institute
Smita Sharma, India Today TV
Huma Yusuf, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

The Iran Deal: The International Perspective

The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action—aka the Iran Nuclear Deal—represented the most consequential development in nuclear diplomacy in decades. While its implementation has proceeded smoothly to date, its future is uncertain. As a candidate, U.S. President Donald Trump described the deal as “disastrous,” and variously threatened to “dismantle” it, “renegotiate” it, and “police [it] so tough that they don’t have a chance.” Moreover, the new Congress might impose additional sanctions on Iran. Even if nominally unrelated to its nuclear program, these sanctions would be claimed a violation of the deal by Tehran. The possibility of noncompliance by Iran, not to mention its own domestic politics and regional policies, creates further risks to the deal. What are the deal’s prospects? What is the best way to manage its implementation and the pressures facing it?

Moderator
Kim Ghattas, BBC

Panelists
Yukiya Amano, International Atomic Energy Agency
Baroness Catherine Ashton, University of Warwick
Ariel (Eli) Levite, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Women of Mass Destruction: Empowering Peers and Breaking Barriers

Hosted by Alexandra Bell and Heather Williams

Despite great advances, women are still underrepresented in the field of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) policy. In this session, participants will break into small groups and discuss the challenges facing women in this area. The groups will then try to identify concrete actions to advance gender parity. These suggestions will be collated by Women in International Security with the goal of facilitating an ongoing, long-term discussion. This session, to which men are welcome, is intended to provide a forum where experts from across the WMD-policy community at all career levels can work collaboratively to address a shared challenge.

Moderator
Alexandra Bell, Independent Consultant
Chantal De Jonge Oudraat, Women in International Security
Heather Williams, King’s College London
Nonproliferation Review Special Section: Twenty Years of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty

Hosted by the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey

The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) marked its twentieth anniversary in 2016. The Vienna Center for Disarmament and Nonproliferation invited current and former diplomats, practitioners, and nongovernmental experts to provide authoritative and critical assessments of the history, evolution, and implementation of the treaty. The purpose of these essays is to stimulate discussion about creative and pragmatic ways for overcoming the existing hurdles to the CTBT’s entry into force. These contributions appear as a special section of the latest issue of the Nonproliferation Review, a peer-reviewed journal produced by the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies of the Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey.

Moderator

Joshua H. Pollack, Nonproliferation Review

Panelists

Jenifer Mackby, Federation of American Scientists
Laura Rockwood, Vienna Center for Disarmament and Nonproliferation
Proliferation Prognostication: Predicting the Nuclear Future

Forecasting the future is a notoriously difficult but necessary part of policymaking. Using our conference app, this session will harness both expert judgment and the wisdom of crowds to gather opinions in real time about the global nuclear future. Topics will likely include the fate of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action and the future of the putative nuclear ban treaty. The results of a similar forecasting exercise at the 2015 conference will also be revealed.

Moderator
James M. Acton, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Panelists
Angela Kane, Vienna Center for Disarmament and Nonproliferation
Laura Kennedy, World Affairs Council
Bruno Tertrais, Foundation for Strategic Research
Ramesh Thakur, Center for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament, Australian National University

Running Out of (Strategic) Patience: Rethinking U.S. Policy Toward North Korea

The administrations of former U.S. presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama failed to stop North Korean efforts to develop nuclear warheads and long-range missiles. While it is easy to criticize both administrations’ approaches, it is much harder to articulate an effective policy for the future. Are there any credible diplomatic approaches to containing North Korea’s nuclear and missile programs? Should the United States pursue a peace treaty with North Korea in return for denuclearization as part of a grand bargain? Would a more limited approach—such as a moratorium on nuclear and missile tests in exchange for aid—be achievable? Should the United States and its partners try to squeeze North Korea further financially, and if so, how? Finally, should the United States and the Republic of Korea further bolster their defenses and alter their military strategy?

Moderator
Joshua H. Pollack, Nonproliferation Review

Panelists
Andrea Berger, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey
Jina Kim, Korea Institute for Defense Analyses
Andrei Lankov, Kookmin University
“The Fullest Possible Exchange”? NPT Article IV

Article IV of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty requires “the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.” Many technology holders believe that in enacting this provision they are entitled—indeed, are required—to balance the benefits of cooperation against the risks of proliferation. Would-be recipients, by contrast, often argue that restrictions on cooperation are excessive and contravene both the spirit and the letter of the treaty. What trade restrictions are reasonable for technology holders to impose? Are existing national and multilateral export control policies too restrictive, or not restrictive enough? Can suppliers and recipients cooperate to enable fuller nuclear exchange in ways that do not exacerbate proliferation risks?

Moderator
Caroline Jorant, SDRI Consulting

Panelists
Layla Dawood, State University of Rio de Janeiro
Ariel (Eli) Levite, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Tom Moore, Independent Consultant

Deterrence Challenges:
New Tensions, New Leaders, and New Technologies

A rapidly changing world continues to challenge existing notions of nuclear deterrence. Newly exacerbated territorial disputes are increasing geopolitical tensions involving nuclear-armed powers and their allies, as well as sparking new debate about the role of nuclear weapons in preventing these tensions from spilling over into war. Many leaders, some newly minted, are increasingly assertive but have never experienced nuclear crises. Meanwhile, new technologies—nuclear and non-nuclear, kinetic and non-kinetic, manned and unmanned, currently deployed and under development—could have significant implications for nuclear operations. How best can these trends be managed to prevent crisis escalation, nuclear use, and large-scale war?

Moderator
Elaine Bunn, Independent Consultant

Panelists
Kadri Liik, European Council on Foreign Relations
Charles Glaser, George Washington University
Tong Zhao, Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy
Small Steps or a Giant Leap for Disarmament? NPT Article VI

Two different approaches for pursuing the nuclear disarmament goal enshrined in article VI of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty are currently being advanced. A step-by-step approach has historically received broad support, but some non-nuclear-weapon states are increasingly unsatisfied with what they view as a lack of progress. Some of these states see an alternative approach—seeking a legal prohibition on nuclear weapons—as an increasingly necessary step to break the logjam. Negotiations on such a ban will begin in 2017. What are the consequences of these developments for the nuclear order? Is there any way to bridge the gap between these seemingly contradictory visions? What role can and should non-nuclear-weapon states play in disarmament?

Moderator
Marjolijn van Deelen, Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Panelists
Susan Burk, Independent Consultant
Beatrice Fihn, International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons
Dell Higbie, New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
George Perkovich, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
2019
CARNEGIE INTERNATIONAL
NUCLEAR POLICY CONFERENCE

Panel times, titles, and speakers are subject to change. Download the app to stay up to date.

MONDAY, MARCH 11, 2019

7:00 a.m.–9:00 a.m.
Atrium
Registration and Continental Breakfast

9:00 a.m.–9:15 a.m.
Atrium Hall
Welcome and Introduction

9:15 a.m.–10:30 a.m.
Atrium Hall
Keynote
Andrea Thompson, U.S. Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security
Moderated by Mark Fitzpatrick, International Institute for Strategic Studies

10:30 a.m.–11:00 a.m.
Atrium
Break

11:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.
Atrium Hall
Keynote
Stephen Biegun, U.S. Special Representative for North Korea
Moderated by Helene Cooper, Pentagon Correspondent, New York Times

12:00 p.m.–1:30 p.m.
Atrium Ballroom
Lunch

1:30 p.m.–2:45 p.m.
Polaris
Command-and-Control Vulnerability: Are There Solutions to a Growing Problem?
Lyu Jinghua, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Sergey Rogov, Russian Academy of Sciences
Heather Williams, King’s College London
Moderated by Erin Simpson, Northrop Grumman

1:30 p.m.–2:45 p.m.
Horizon
What Are the Lessons and Implications of Implementing the JCPOA?
Suzanne DiMaggio, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Caroline Hurndall, Head, Iran Department, UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office
Ariel (Elia) Levite, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Moderated by Corey Hinderstein, Nuclear Threat Initiative

SIDE SESSIONS
7:45 a.m.–8:45 a.m.
Ballroom
When More Really Is Better: Three (Role) Models in Search of Diversity
Bonnie Jenkins, Women of Color Advancing Peace, Security, and Conflict Transformation
Mareena Robinson Snowden, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Renee Sondorman, Director, Office of Weapons of Mass Destruction Terrorism, U.S. Department of State
Lovely Umayam, Stimson Center and Bombshelltoe

Polaris
More Eyes on More Data: Public Technical Means for Monitoring Nonproliferation Agreements
Chris Bidwell, Federation of American Scientists
Catherine Dill, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies
John Lauder, former director, CIA’s Nonproliferation Center
Valerie Lincy, Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control
Varun Vira, C4ADS

Horizon
Follow the Money: Using Financial Tools to Fight Proliferation Networks
Jessica Bartlett, Barclays Hong Kong
Emil Dall, Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies
Elizabeth Rosenberg, Center for a New American Security
Justine Walker, Director of Sanctions Policy, UK Finance
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tr>
<td>1:30 p.m.–2:45 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Nuclear Crises in South Asia: Underrated or Overstated?</strong>&lt;br&gt; <em>Atrium Hall</em>&lt;br&gt;Moderated by Scott Sagan, Stanford University</td>
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<td>2:45 p.m.–3:15 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Break</strong>&lt;br&gt; <em>Atrium</em></td>
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<td>3:15 p.m.–4:30 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>CONCURRENT SESSION II</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>The End of Proliferation?</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Polaris</em>&lt;br&gt;Sarah Bidgood, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies&lt;br&gt;Máifrid Braut-Hegghammer, University of Oslo&lt;br&gt;Etel Solingen, University of California, Irvine&lt;br&gt;Moderated by Matthew Bunn, Harvard Kennedy School</td>
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<td>3:15 p.m.–4:30 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Is Nuclear Deterrence Against Non-Nuclear Threats Necessary and Proportionate?</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Horizon</em>&lt;br&gt;Austin Long, Joint Staff&lt;br&gt;Lu Yin, PLA National Defense University&lt;br&gt;Harald Müller, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt&lt;br&gt;Moderated by Matthew Harries, House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee</td>
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<td>3:15 p.m.–4:30 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Nuclear Endgames on the Korean Peninsula</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Atrium Hall</em>&lt;br&gt;Chung Min Lee, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace&lt;br&gt;Jung Pak, Brookings Institution&lt;br&gt;Kathleen Stephens, Korea Economic Institute of America&lt;br&gt;Zhang Yan, China Arms Control and Disarmament Association&lt;br&gt;Moderated by Toby Dalton, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</td>
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<td>4:30 p.m.–4:45 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Break</strong>&lt;br&gt; <em>Atrium</em></td>
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<td>4:45 p.m.–6:00 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>PLENARY</strong>&lt;br&gt;<strong>The Future of U.S.-Russia Arms Control</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Atrium Hall</em>&lt;br&gt;Anatoly Antonov, Russian Ambassador to the United States&lt;br&gt;James Miller, Adaptive Strategies, LLC&lt;br&gt;Moderated by Olga Oliker, International Crisis Group</td>
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<td>6:00 p.m.–8:00 p.m.</td>
<td><strong>Reception</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Atrium Ballroom</em></td>
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TUESDAY, MARCH 12, 2019

7:00 a.m.–8:45 a.m.
Registration and Continental Breakfast
Atrium

8:45 a.m.–9:30 a.m.
Keynote
Atrium Hall
Adam Smith, Chairman, U.S. House of Representatives Armed Services Committee
Moderated by Jen Psaki, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

9:30 a.m.–10:45 a.m.
What Effects Will the Ban Treaty Have Between Now and 2030?
Atrium Hall
Maria Antonieta Jáquez, Political Coordinator, Mission of Mexico to the United Nations in New York
Rebecca Johnson, Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy
George Perkovich, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Nicolas Roche, Director, Strategic Affairs, Security and Disarmament, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Moderated by Steven Miller, Beifler Center for Science and International Affairs

10:45 a.m.–11:15 a.m.
Break
Atrium

11:15 a.m.–12:30 p.m.
Proliferation Prognostication: Predicting the Nuclear Future
Atrium Hall
Laura Holgate, Nuclear Threat Initiative
Togzhan Kassenova, University at Albany
Yasuyoshi Komizo, Hiroshima Peace Culture Foundation
Manpreet Sethi, Centre for Air Power Studies
Moderated by Jeffrey Lewis, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies

12:30 p.m.–1:45 p.m.
Lunch
Atrium Ballroom
Young Professionals Mentorship
Thérèse Delpech Memorial Award Presentation
CONCURRENT SESSION I

1:45 p.m.–3:00 p.m.  
Polaris

**Powering the NPT: Does a Decline in Nuclear Power Affect the Grand Bargain?**

Rafael Mariano Grossi, Ambassador of Argentina and Permanent Representative to International Organisations in Vienna  
Rumina Velshi, President and Chief Executive Officer, Canadian Nuclear Safety Commission  
Djarot Wisnubroto, former chairman, National Nuclear Energy Agency of Indonesia  
Moderated by Joyce Connery, Board Member, Defense Nuclear Facilities Board

1:45 p.m.–3:00 p.m.  
Atrium Hall

**Can a Rules-Based Nuclear Order Be Enforced?**

Susanne Baumann, German Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control  
Christopher Ford, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for International Security and Nonproliferation  
Elayne Whyte Gómez, Permanent Representative of Costa Rica to the United Nations Office in Geneva  
Moderated by James Acton, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

1:45 p.m.–3:00 p.m.  
Horizon

**Could a Nuclear War Remain Limited?**

Elbridge Colby, Center for a New American Security  
Jessica Cox, Director, Nuclear Policy Directorate, NATO International Staff  
Li Bin, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace  
Polina Sinovets, Odessa I.I. Mechnikov National University  
Moderated by Rebecca Hersman, Center for Strategic and International Studies

3:00 p.m.–3:30 p.m.  
Atrium

Break

PLENARY

3:30 p.m.–4:45 p.m.  
Atrium Hall

**U.S.-Russian Strategic Relations: The Big Picture**

Emily Haber, German Ambassador to the United States  
Igor Ivanov, Russian International Affairs Council  
Sam Nunn, Nuclear Threat Initiative  
Moderated by Ernest Moniz, Nuclear Threat Initiative

4:45 p.m.–5:00 p.m.  
Atrium Hall

Closing Remarks

5:00 p.m.–7:00 p.m.  
Atrium

Reception