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ACADEMY OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

EXECUTIVE TRAINING SEMINAR SERIES

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE PROGRAMME

GLOBAL, REGIONAL AND NATIONAL ACTORS IN THE GOVERNANCE OF THE ATOM: A FOCUS ON EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Scientific Coordinator: Grégoire Mallard | Northwestern University

**Villa Schifanoia – Sala Europa
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European University Institute**

WHAT IS THE ACADEMY OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE?

11-13 June 2013

The Academy of Global Governance (AGG) is a unique executive training programme, where theory and “real world” experience meet. Trainers at the AGG are leading academics, former ministers, heads of international organizations and top executives. AGG trainees – young executives, policy makers, diplomats, international organisations and public sector officials, private sector professionals, and junior academics - have diverse backgrounds, operate in a wide range of contexts, and come from the different corners of the world, to share views and debate in the vibrant academic environment of the European University Institute. The AGG’s trainees benefit from a network of academics and international top-level officials, and from an extremely stimulating discussion on topical issues relating to governance.

INTRODUCTION

This Executive Training Seminar brings together scholars, practitioners and diplomats from the United States, the European Union and the Middle East to assess the role of global, regional and national actors in the regulation of nuclear trade and production. Trainees are engaged in a debate which aims to investigate whether and how regional actors can complement the work of global agencies (like the International Atomic Energy Agency) as norm-producers, innovators and diffusers of best practices and whether regional actors can close the gap between rules-adoption and rules-enforcement often observed at the state level. Topics covered extend to the role of the EU in nuclear non-proliferation, nuclear safety, nuclear materials security and economic security related to the nuclear fuel cycle. The executive training analyses also the role of the EU a leading actor in the creation, adaptation and enforcement of global rules affecting nuclear trade (in Europe and beyond) the lessons that can be drawn from the EU experience for other regions, particularly, the Middle East.

The Executive Training Seminar includes the simulation exercise *Special United Nations Session on the Middle East Nuclear Free Zone* (session leader: Dr. Sameh Aboul Enein). The simulation is in the form of a conference called by the UN Secretary-General. The aim is to prepare the ground for the formal talks planned for 2013 on elimination of nuclear weapons in the Middle East. The simulation exercise is open only to the selected participants of the Executive Training Seminar.

PROGRAMME

JUNE 11

First Session - The Governance of the Atom: the Role of National and International Organizations

Etel Solingen | University of California Irvine: *Conditions for Regional Non-proliferation Arrangements: Comparative Perspectives*

This session discusses the conditions that are conducive to arriving at different regional non-proliferation arrangements. It builds on theoretical and empirical lessons derived from experiences in Latin America, the Association of Southeast Asian States (ASEAN), and Northeast Asia among others. It distills some implications for the Middle East. The emphasis is on key domestic drivers of regional arrangements (democracy and political-economy), but it also discusses the depth of security dilemmas, the nature of polarity, and military capabilities and doctrines across regions.

Etel Solingen is President of the International Studies Association (2012-2013) and Chancellor's Professor at the University of California Irvine. Her book *Nuclear Logics: Contrasting Paths in East Asia and the Middle East* (Princeton U. Press) received the American Political Science Association's 2008 Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award for best book on government, politics, or international affairs, and the APSA's 2008 Robert Jervis and Paul Schroeder Award for the Best Book on International History and Politics. She also authored *Regional Orders at Century's Dawn: Global and Domestic Influences on Grand Strategy and Industrial Policy* (Princeton U. P.), *Technology, and International Bargaining: Designing Nuclear Industries in Argentina and Brazil* (Stanford UP), and edited *Sanctions, Statecraft, and Nuclear Proliferation* (Cambridge U. P.), and *Scientists and the State: Domestic Structures and the International Context* (U. Michigan P.). She received a MacArthur Foundation Research Award on Peace and International Cooperation, a Social Science Research Council-Mac Arthur Foundation Fellowship on Peace and Security, an Academic Senate Distinguished Teaching Award and an APSA Excellence in Mentorship Award, among others.

Igor Khripunov | University of Georgia: *Nuclear Security Culture: Concept, Assessment and Enhancement*

Nuclear security culture is intrinsic to high standards of professionalism in the nuclear sector. Culture is designed to improve the professional performance of the human component by making its role in the security regime as well as in its interface with safety requirements more effective and smooth. Security culture denotes not only the technical proficiency of the people but also their awareness of proliferation risks and motivation to follow established security procedures as well as take the initiative when unforeseen circumstances arise. As nuclear power programs expand worldwide – albeit at a much slower pace than originally expected – there is need to develop a variety of more efficient tools for achieving sustainable nuclear security culture tailored to specific risks and to the prevailing national culture in individual countries. First and foremost, these tools must include a universally applicable methodology for self-assessment of nuclear security culture.

Igor Khripunov is distinguished fellow and adjunct professor at the Center for International Trade and Security. After being employed for six years at the U.N. Secretariat in New York, he joined in 1977 the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1983, he received a Ph.D. in international relations from the Moscow-based Diplomatic Academy and resumed his diplomatic career as an arms control expert. In this capacity, he took part in a number of arms control fora and talks, including Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC), Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty (INF), Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). In 1987, he was posted as a first secretary of the political and military section at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, DC. His areas of expertise include arms control and disarmament,

WMD proliferation and terrorism, nuclear security and physical protection, safety and security culture, risk communication, export control, conventional weapons trade, arms control compliance and verification. After resigning from the Russian Foreign Service in 1992, Igor Khripunov joined the Center for International Trade and Security at the University of Georgia and is now its Distinguished Fellow. He is also Adjunct Professor at the University of Georgia's School of Public and International Affairs and a consultant to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Dr Khripunov has contributed to a number of books and book chapters on international relations and is author of several articles including those in recent issues of *Arms Control Today*, *Comparative Strategy*, *Security Dialogue*, *Jane's Intelligence Review*, *Nonproliferation Review*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, and *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*.

Second Session – Transparency and Opacity in Global Nuclear Governance

Avner Cohen | James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies: *Israel's Nuclear Opacity Policy and Democratic Governance*

Israel is the sixth state in the world—and the first in the Middle East—to develop, acquire and ultimately possess nuclear weapons. However, it has established itself as a nuclear weapons state in a radically different manner than the first five (i.e. the official members of the nuclear club under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons), or even than the other two, India and Pakistan, that acquired nuclear weapons later. Unlike those seven states, Israel has never acknowledged its nuclear status, nor has it denied it. For nearly half a century Israel has subscribed to a policy of nuclear non-acknowledgement, what some analysts refer to as “nuclear opacity.” This code of conduct has profound and negative impact on the type of nuclear governance which Israel has created. This session explores in some details the oddities and paradoxes involved in the relation between Israel's policy of nuclear opacity policy and the principles of liberal democracy.

Avner Cohen is Director of the Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS) Nonproliferation Education Program, a CNS Senior Fellow, and a Professor in the Graduate School of International Policy and Management. Dr. Cohen, widely known for his path-breaking history of the Israeli nuclear program, is an internationally recognized author and expert on nonproliferation issues, focusing on the Middle East. A consultant to a range of NGOs and governmental agencies, Dr. Cohen joins CNS after serving as a Public Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (2009-2010) and following a ten-year affiliation with the Center for International and Security Studies (CISSM) at the University of Maryland. Dr. Cohen is a two-time winner of prestigious MacArthur Foundation research and writing awards, in 1990 and 2004, and in 1997-98 and 2007-08, was a Senior Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace (USIP). In addition, Dr. Cohen was co-director of the Project on Nuclear Arms Control in the Middle East at the Security Studies Program at MIT from 1990 to 1995. His most acclaimed book, *Israel and the Bomb*, was published by Columbia University Press. His latest work, *The Worst Kept Secret: Israel's Bargain with the Bomb*, was published in October 2010 by Columbia University Press.

Grégoire Mallard | Northwestern University: *Ending Euratom's Nuclear Opacity: Lessons for the Middle East*

Scholars and experts generally believe that nuclear opacity allows nations to maintain the status quo: if a country secretly develops a nuclear weapons program and if it pledges to never acknowledge its existence, in many ways, its strategic value is diminished. Nuclear opacity thus works in the interest of the states threatened by such a covert nuclear weapons program as well as in the interest of the international community, as both can avoid that a limited problem can escalate into a full-blown crisis threatening a region's stability and/or the global nuclear nonproliferation legal framework. This belief has long been held to be true in the case of Israel's opaque nuclear status. However, based on the observation that Iran might be emulating Israel's nuclear opacity, and that others in the region might

follow suit, new voices have recently challenged this idea that nuclear opacity could be a good thing in the long term. This session reviews the pros and cons of nuclear opacity by analyzing three cases of nuclear opacity, which all lead to different outcomes: 1) the European Community of Atomic Energy (Euratom); 2) Israel's nuclear program; 3) Pakistan's opaque nuclear program and its internationalization in the 1990s.

Grégoire Mallard is Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology at Northwestern University and he obtained his Ph.D. at Princeton University in 2008. He is completing his book *Fallout: Nuclear Diplomacy in an Age of Global Fracture* awaiting contract from the University of Chicago Press, and he is starting a new project on the politics of sovereign debt cancellation. He co-edited *Global Science and National Sovereignty: Studies in Historical Sociology of Science* (Routledge, 2009), and published articles mostly on the hermeneutics of treaties and other legal and literary texts.

JUNE 12

Third Session - The Nuclear Fuel Cycle in the Middle East

Mohamed Ibrahim Shaker | Egyptian Council for Foreign Relations: *A Nuclear Fuel Cycle in the Middle East: What for?*

This session explores the regionalization of the nuclear fuel cycle as a mean of integration and non-proliferation in the Arab world and in the Middle East at large. The advantages as well as the hurdles are analysed. In this framework, the experience of EURATOM and ABAAC in Argentina and Brazil are highlighted. Possible reactions from the leading supplier countries, especially the Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG), are assessed.

Mohamed Ibrahim Shaker is Chairman of the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA). In 2006, he was chosen Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the National Center for Middle East Studies. In 2009, Ambassador Shaker was designated member of the Board of The Diplomatic Institute, Egyptian Foreign Ministry. He is also a member of the Egyptian International Law Society. Since June 2009, he is a member of the Board of the Nuclear Power Plants Authority. Shaker held the position of Egypt's Ambassador to the United Kingdom (1988-1997); to Austria and Egypt's Governor on the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (1986-1988); and to the United Nations in New York as Deputy Permanent Representative of Egypt (1984-1986) and Deputy Representative of Egypt to the United Nations Security Council (1984-1985). He was the President of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1985). He was also President of the UN Conference for the Promotion of International Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy (1987). Ambassador Shaker was a member of the UN Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters from January 1993 to December 1998, Chairman of the Board for 1995, and member of the UN Expert Group on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education (2001-2002).

Hossein Mousavian | Princeton University: *Iran and its Uranium Enrichment Program: Its future in the Zone?*

The focus of this session is on Iran's nuclear program and the policies adopted by the country to address the crisis since it began more than a decade ago. In addition, past and present initiatives to bring a resolution to the issue are discussed. Finally, the regional implications of the Iranian nuclear dossier is touched upon and the prospects for establishing a Weapons of Mass Destruction Free Zone in the Middle East.

Hossein Mousavian is an associate research scholar at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson

School of Public and International Affairs. From 1997 to 2005, he was the Head of the Foreign Relations Committee of Iran's National Security Council; from 2003 to 2005, he served as spokesman for Iran in its nuclear negotiations with the European Union. He is author of *The Iranian Nuclear Crisis: A Memoir*, published by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in June 2012.

Fourth Session - The Role of Regional Organizations in Supporting a Sustainable Nuclear Development: Complementary Views from the Industries and Regulators?

Caroline Jorant | Stratégie de Développement et Réglementations Internationales Consulting: *Implementation of the Euratom Treaty: an Additional Burden or a Support to the Industry?*

On the occasion of each major discussion about the EU Institutions, the issue of the Euratom Treaty has been brought into light. Many criticisms have been voiced against this Treaty as being too promotional for nuclear industry, as being out dated, as being un-democratic. Some have proposed to suppress it, others to amend it and/or to have it folded into the EU Treaty. This session reviews the way European nuclear industry is impacted or involved by the Euratom Treaty's different provisions nowadays, and how the model could be updated, adapted or even improved to support a sustainable development of nuclear energy in the Middle East.

Caroline Jorant currently works as a consultant in international relations in the energy sector, with a special emphasis in nuclear energy. Until June 2010, she was Director of Non-proliferation and International Institutions at AREVA. She spent 13 years in the French nuclear industry, first with COGEMA and then with AREVA, overseeing international institutional affairs and intergovernmental agreements. From 1992 to 1997, she was the French representative to the Atomic Questions Group in the EU Council and worked at the French Permanent representation to the EU. From 1981 to 1992 she worked with the Commissariat à l'Énergie Atomique International Department. Jorant graduated from the Political Sciences Institute in Paris, and from the National School for Oriental Languages and Civilizations in Paris (Chinese), and she received a Master Degree in International Relations, from SAIS Johns Hopkins.

JUNE 13

Stamatios Tsalas | European Supply Agency: *Security of Supply: the Euratom Treaty approach and its implementation*

The Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) was signed by the founding States of the European Communities on March 25, 1957. It was intended to create the necessary conditions for the speedy development of nuclear industries as a contribution to the raising of the standard of living in the signatory States. To that end, the Community was assigned, inter alia, the task to ensure a regular and equitable supply of ores and nuclear fuels for all users in its territory. The Treaty establishes the "Euratom Supply Agency", endowed with legal personality and financial autonomy, to which it conferred exclusive rights in connection with the supply of nuclear materials. The current Statutes, as updated in 2008, further entrust the Agency, inter alia, with a market-monitoring mission and the responsibility to identify (and warn the stakeholders about) market trends likely to affect security of the EU's supply of nuclear materials and services. Since 1960s, the evolution of the nuclear markets and of the overall political context has challenged several times the powers of the Agency. However, through a flexible approach developed in continuous interaction with its stakeholders, the institution proved that it has a role to play, more so in areas where a shortage of nuclear materials is anticipated.

Stamatios Tsalas is a Chemical Engineer with a Ph.D. in Nuclear Chemistry from the Technical University of Darmstadt, in Germany. He worked in Nuclear Safeguards since 1980, when he joined

the European Commission as an inspector. He was Head of an Inspection Unit from 1997 to 2002. From 2002 to 2011 he was Head of the Unit for Nuclear Material Accountancy and the Implementation of the Additional Protocol in the EU. From July 2008 to September 2009 he was ad-interim Director for Nuclear Safeguards in the EU. A focal point of his work in Safeguards was the cooperation of Euratom with the IAEA in implementing international Safeguards in the EU. He is a member of the EU team for the Nuclear Security Summit. In July 2011 he was entrusted with the role of the Director General of the Euratom Supply Agency.

Fifth Session - Nuclear Materials Security: Global and Regional Endeavors

Ken Luongo | Partnership for Global Security: *Improving the Governance of Nuclear Security*

Nuclear security has evolved from an issue primarily focused on the physical security of fissile materials to one that includes the security and safety of nuclear materials, radioactive sources, and nuclear facilities - including protection from terrorism, cyber-attacks, or other malicious acts. However, the current nuclear security regime is not robust, adaptable, or coherent enough to adequately protect against the intensifying and evolving threats of the 21st century. The governance system for nuclear security is in need of significant improvement in three areas: greater coherence and confirmed effectiveness, enhanced transparency, and increased international confidence, including through shared assessments of performance and cooperation. To make improvements in this system it will require the integration of key domestic and international stakeholders (including governments, industry and civil society), a readiness to explore new regional and international mechanisms, and the political willingness of nation states to accept intrusions into their sovereignty in support of greater international responsibility and security.

Ken Luongo is the President and founder of the Partnership for Global Security (PGS) and the Center for a Secure Nuclear Future (CSNF). From 1997- 2004 he also was a Senior Visiting Fellow and Visiting Research Collaborator with Princeton University's Program on Science and Global Security. Prior to these positions, from 1994-1997, Mr. Luongo served as the Senior Advisor to the Secretary of Energy for Nonproliferation Policy and the Director of the Office of Arms Control and Nonproliferation at the U.S. Department of Energy.

Finlay Maclean | European Commission, DG Energy: *Euratom and Nuclear Materials Security: Complementarity between Regional and Global Regulatory Regimes*

The Euratom Treaty transferred certain powers in respect of civil uses of nuclear energy from its member states to the supra-national Euratom Community. However, the Euratom Treaty is very much a product of the 1950s and thus an understanding of its historical context is still very helpful when it comes to understanding the Euratom Treaty's scope today. The most important substantial provisions on nuclear security controls are to be found the Euratom Treaty's chapter on Euratom Safeguards, where the European Commission has a particular role to play. The Euratom Treaty also contains substantial chapters addressing other fields whose primary aim is not security, but which nonetheless overlap significantly with the area of security control. Complementing Euratom, the European Union also possesses powers of an inter-governmental nature which can be used to strengthen both the international nuclear security regime as well as nuclear security within the EU. Although the European Union and Euratom have distinct legal personalities, their common institutional structures shape the European approach.

Finlay Maclean has twenty-five years of experience in the nuclear sector, beginning in the fuel fabrication sector in the UK, followed by consultancy work in the area of nuclear safety, also in the UK. He then moved to the European Commission in Luxembourg, where he worked for a number of years in the area of international safeguards, focusing mainly upon logistical and analytical support to the European Commission's corps of safeguards inspectors. Presently he is the DG-ENERGY's desk

officer for nuclear non-proliferation in the Nuclear Energy Directorate, where amongst other activities he works on the area of nuclear export controls and the Euratom nuclear cooperation agreements. He represents DG-ENERGY at the Nuclear Suppliers Group. Mr. Maclean deals with issues related to nuclear security, particularly with the implementation of the radio-nuclear aspects of the European Union's Chemical Biological Radiological and Nuclear Action Plan and are co-chair of the working group on radiological and nuclear issues. He is also secretary of the European Nuclear Energy Forum's sub-Working Group on Non-Proliferation.

Sixth Session - Regional Actors in Nuclear Diplomacy

Stephan Klement | European External Action Service: *The EU's Role in Relation to the Iranian Nuclear Issue and the Objective to Establish a WMDFZ in the Middle East: Challenges and Opportunities*

Over the past decade, the EU has been a key actor in the efforts aimed at developing a diplomatic solution to the Iranian nuclear issue, including through the leading role of the EU High Representative on behalf of the E3+3. In addition, based on its history of more than 50 years of integration, including in the realm of nuclear energy in the framework of the Euratom treaty, the EU's expertise and experience in building confidence can be a valuable contribution to wider reflections aimed at establishing a WMDFZ in the region of the Middle East.

Stephan Klement is working as Senior Advisor in the European External Action Service, where his focus is on the Iranian nuclear issue. He also deals with nuclear safety and security issues. Prior to this assignment, he worked on nuclear non-proliferation matters in the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union and held previous posts in the field of non-proliferation in the External Relations Division of the IAEA and in several services of the European Commission, including as an assistant to the Euratom safeguards director. He holds a Ph.D. in physics and international law from the University of Vienna, Austria.

Sameh Aboul-Enein | American University in Cairo: *The Way Forward: the Nuclear Weapon Free Zone in the Middle East*

This session focuses on the possible essential elements for any nuclear weapons free zone in the Middle East, which are: I) dismantling and destroying existing or remaining nuclear weapons capabilities, facilities, and devices under international verification mechanisms. II) Renouncing nuclear weapons through refraining from conducting indigenous development and activities. III) Prohibiting stationing of any nuclear explosive devices on the zone. IV) Prohibiting nuclear explosive testing in the zone. V) Using nuclear materials for peaceful purposes only. VI) Placing all nuclear facilities under comprehensive IAEA safeguards. VII) Establishing the necessary institutions and mechanisms to uphold such a free zone free and address the issue of verification to identify the role of the IAEA and other relevant organizations within such a zone.

Sameh Aboul-Enein is assistant professor for international security, conflict resolution and disarmament at the American University in Cairo, visiting professor at the Diplomatic Academy, University of East Anglia, visiting lecturer and course instructor at the NATO Defense College in Rome and at the British Military Academy in Swindon. Prior to this, Ambassador Aboul-Enein was Minister Plenipotentiary and Deputy Head of Mission of Egypt to the UK. Earlier he was Director of United Nations Affairs Department as well as Director of Specialized Agencies and International Organizations Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cairo. From 2002-2006 he was Alternate Representative to the Conference on Disarmament and to United Nations offices, Permanent Mission of Egypt, Geneva. He was Counselor for Arab and Middle East Affairs, Cabinet of the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Cairo (2000-2002). From 1994-1996 he was the Political Officer for Middle East-Israeli/Palestinian Affairs, Cabinet of the Egyptian Foreign Minister. He commenced his diplomatic

career in 1987 and has served in numerous posts in his diplomatic role, among them, in addition to the above, the Soviet Union and Turkey.

Register on the Academy webpage: <http://globalgovernanceprogramme.eui.eu/academy/>

The Global Governance Programme (GGP) of the European University Institute (EUI) does not charge a participation fee for the Academy of Global Governance Executive Training Seminars. Accommodation and travel costs, to and from Florence (Italy), and transport within Florence are at the expense of the participant or his/her institution. The GGP will provide transport information and directions to reach the European University Institute. A welcome dinner and lunches included in the programme of the Executive Training Seminar will be organized and offered by the GGP.

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The Academy of Global Governance is the training dimension of the Global Governance Programme (GGP), Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute. The GGP is articulated in three main dimensions: research, policy and training. Diverse global governance issues are investigated through the research strands, coordinated by senior scholars, both from the EUI and from other internationally recognised top institutions. The policy dimension is developed throughout the programme and is channeled into the High-Level Policy Seminars, which bring together top politicians, policy-makers and academics to discuss the current challenges of global governance.