



Max M. Kampelman Papers

Copyright Notice:

This material may be protected by copyright law (U.S. Code, Title 17). Researchers are liable for any infringement. For more information, visit www.mnhs.org/copyright.

Workshop on Arms Control and Security in the Middle East II

Delphi, 3-7 January 1994

Sponsored by

The Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation,
University of California

and

The Institute for International Relations, Panteion University

Participants

Note: Titles, positions, and affiliations are listed as provided by participants.

Attorney At Law Ziad Abu Zayyad
Bilateral Advisory Committee
P.O. Box 19839
Jerusalem
Via Israel

Mr. Munther Al-Mantheri
Second Secretary
Embassy of the Sultanate of Oman
2535 Belmont Road NW
Washington, DC 20008

**Brigadier General Mohammad A.F.
Al-Qudah**
Assistant for Chief of the Air Staff
Royal Jordanian Air Force
P.O. Box 110
Tariq
Amman
Jordan

**Ambassador Taleb Bin Meiran Bin
Zaman Al-Raisi**
Embassy Of The Sultanate Of Oman
Dobryninskaia Street 7
Flat 197-198
Moscow 117049
Russian Federation

Mr. Abdulaziz Al-Saqqaf
Professor, Sanaa University
Chief Editor, Yemen Times
C/O Yemen Times
P.O. Box 2579
Sanaa
Republic Of Yemen

Mr. Mohammed Amar
Counselor
Mission To The United Nations
of Morocco
767 Third Avenue
30th Floor
New York, NY 10017

General Yaacov Amidror
Ministry Of Defense
Kaplan Street
Hakirya
Tel Aviv 67659
Israel

Mr. Hassan Aourid
Political Counselor
Embassy of Morocco
1601 21st Street NW
Washington, DC 20009

Dr. Fredrick W. Axelgard
US Department Of State
2201 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20520

Mr. Hanan Bar-On
Vice-president For International
Operation And Public Affairs
Weizman Institute Of Science
P.O. Box 26
Rehovot 76100
Israel

Ambassador Youssef Barkett
Embassy Of Tunisia
91 Ethnikis Antistasseos
152-31 Halandri
Athens
Greece

Mr. Eytan Bentsur
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Hakirya
Romema
Jerusalem 91950
Israel

Ambassador Linton Forrestall Brooks
United States Arms Control and
Disarmament Agency
320 21st Street NW
Washington, DC 20451

Mr. Chen Jiang
The Rockefeller Foundation
1133 Avenue Of The Americas
New York, NY 10036

Dr. Paul L. Chrzanowski
Director
Center For Security And Technology
Studies
Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory
P.O. Box 808, L-19
7000 East Avenue
Livermore, CA 94550

Chancellor Dmitrios Conostas
Institute for International Relations
Panteios University
136 Syngrou Avenue
Athens 17671
Greece

Ambassador Nabil Fahmy
Political Advisor to the Minister of
Foreign Affairs
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Kournish El Nile
Maspero
Cairo
Egypt

Major General Ahmed Fakhr
Director
National Center For Middle East
Studies
1 Kasr El Nile
Second Floor
Cairo
Egypt

**Brigadier General Mokhtar Mohammed
El Fayoumy**
Ministry Of Defense
Cairo
Egypt

Dr. Edward T. Fei
Director
Office Of Nonproliferation Policy
US Department Of Energy
1000 Independence Avenue, SW
Room GA-0117 (FORS)
Washington, DC 20585

Dr. Shai Feldman
Jaffee Center For Strategic Studies
Tel Aviv University
P.O. Box 39012
Ramat Aviv
Tel Aviv 69978
Israel

Admiral Thomas Fox
Senior Director
National Security Directorate
Battelle Pacific Northwest Laboratory
P.O. Box 999/K6-48
Richland, WA 99352

Mr. Shalheveth Freir
Weizman Institute Of Science
Rehovot 76100
P.O. Box 26
Israel

Dr. Shafeeq Ghabra
Kuwait University
College Of Commerce, Economics
and Political Science
Department Of Political Science
P.O. Box 5486
13055 Kuwait
Kuwait

Ambassador Maynard Glitman
US Department of State
2201 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20520

Ambassador Victor Gogitidze
First Deputy Director
Department for the Middle East
and North Africa
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Prospect Vernadsky 76
Smolenskaya Sennajaya 32/34
Moscow
Russian Federation

Ambassador Oleg Grinevsky
Embassy Of The Russian Federation
Gjorwellsgatan 31
112 60 Stockholm
Sweden

Ambassador Lynn Hansen
Political Advisor To The
Commander In Chief
United States Air Forces In Europe
CINCUSAFE/CCB
Unit 3050, Box 1
APO AE 09094-0501

**Brigadier General Mamdouh Ahmed
Abdel Haq**
Ministry Of Defense
Cairo
Egypt

General Wolfgang Heydrich
Stiftung Wissenschaft Und Politik
Zellerweg 27
82067 Ebenhausen
Federal Republic of Germany

General Daviv Ivry
Ministry Of Defense
Kaplan Street
Hakirya
Tel Aviv 67659
Israel

Professor Bruce W. Jentleson
Policy Planning Staff
Room 7330
US Department Of State
2201 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20520

Mr. Othman Jerandi
First Counselor
Mission To The United Nations
of Tunisia
31 Beekman Place
New York, NY 10032

Ambassador Max Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver, & Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20008

Professor David A. Lake
Research Director for International
Relations
Institute on Global Conflict
and Cooperation
University of California, San Diego
La Jolla, CA 92093-0518

Ambassador Ronald Lehman
Assistant to the Director
Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory
P.O. Box 808, L-1
Livermore, CA 94551-9900

Ambassador James Leonard
Director
Washington Council on
Nonproliferation
1601 Connecticut Ave NW
Suite 600
Washington, DC

Dr. Ariel Levite
Jaffee Center for Strategic Affairs
Tel Aviv University
P.O. Box 39012
Ramat Aviv 69978
Israel

Mr. Yassine Mansouri
Advisor to the Minister of the Interior
Rabat
Morocco

Brigadier General Kuti Mor
Director Of Foreign Affairs
Ministry Of Defense
Kaplan Street
Hakirya
Tel Aviv 67659
Israel

Mr. Ahmed Ounaies
Director-General for American
& Asian Affairs
Ministry Of Foreign Affairs
La Kasbah
Tunis
Tunisia

Ms. Jennie L. Pickford
Deputy Chairperson
ACDA Middle East Task Force
United States Arms Control &
Disarmament Agency
320 21st Street NW, Room 5499
Washington, DC 20451

Professor Athanassios Platias
Institute for International Relations
Panteion University
136 Syngrou Avenue
Athens 17671
Greece

Dr. Alan Platt
Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher
1050 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 900
Washington, DC 20036

Dr. Arian Pregoner
Department 9241
Sandia National Laboratories
P.O. Box 5800
Albuquerque, NM 87185-0567

Dr. James Gerard Roche
Corporate Vice President & Chief
Advanced Development & Planning
Officer
Northrop Corporation
1840 Century Park East
Los Angeles, CA 90067

Mr. Stanley Sheinbaum
Publisher
New Perspectives Quarterly
345 North Rockingham Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90049

Dr. Khalil Shikaki
Professor Of Political Science
Al-Najah National University
Director, Center for
Palestine Research And Studies
P.O. Box 10, West Bank
Via Israel

Professor Susan L. Shirk
Director
Institute on Global Conflict
and Cooperation
University of California, San Diego
La Jolla, CA 92093-0518

add to comp + home
Ambassador Oleg Sokolov
Director
Directorate for Disarmament
and Arms Control
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
26/34 Smolenskaya-Sennaya
Moscow
Russia

Professor Etel Solingen
Politics And Society
University Of California, Irvine
Social Science Tower
Irvine, CA 92717

S, C
Professor Steven L. Spiegel
Political Science Department
University Of California, Los Angeles
4289 Bunche Hall
405 Hilgard Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90024-1472

S
General Zvi Stauber
Ministry Of Defense
Kaplan Street
Hakirya
Tel Aviv 67659
Israel

Mr. Shimon Stein
Ministry Of Foreign Affairs
Hakirya
Romema
Jerusalem 91950
Israel

✓ **Dr. Gerald Steinberg** *S*
Research Director
BESA Institute for Strategic Studies
Bar-Ilan University
Ramat-Gan
Israel *✓*

General Adrian St. John
9110 Belvoir Woods #18
Ft. Belvoir, VA 22060

Mr. John M. Taylor *S*
Manager
Verification & Monitoring Analysis
Department
9241 Sandia National Laboratories
P.O. Box 5800 (ms 0469)
Albuquerque, NM 87185

Dr. W. Andrew Terrill
International Security Analyst
Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory
L-387
P.O. Box 808
Livermore, CA 94551-9900

✓ **Major General Dan Tolkowsky** *C, T*
Tolkowsky and Associates
P.O. Box 39460
13 Rozanis Street
Tel Aviv 61393
Israel *✓*

Dr. Abdullah Toukan
Science Advisor To His Majesty King
Hussein I *S*
The Royal Palaces
Amman
Jordan

Mr. Timothy Trevan
Special Advisor
UNSCOM
United Nations Headquarters
S-3120F
44th Street East
New York, NY 10017

Dr. Fred Wehling
Policy Researcher
Institute on Global Conflict
and Cooperation
University of California, San Diego
La Jolla, CA 92093-0518

Professor Mohamed A. Zabarah
Professor of Political Science
Sanaa University
C/O Amideast, Inc.
P.O. Box 22347
Sanaa
Republic Of Yemen

Mr. Fayez Zaidan
Director General
Palestine Airways
P.O. Box 930175
Amman
Jordan

DR. FLORENCE TUCKER PARRISH

STONEHURST

9302 ARLINGTON BOULEVARD

FAIRFAX COUNTY, VIRGINIA 22031

(703) 352-5626

(F)

February 22. 1994

Mr. Max Kampelman
Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver and Jacobson
1001 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004-2505

Dear Mr. Kampelman:

You were very kind to send me a copy of your exceptionally well composed speech, from the recent Arms Control conference in Delphi, Greece. General Adrian St. John and I shared the copy.

Voices, such as yours, are indeed critical to the goal of peaceful agreements among people with national differences.

Thanks for your presentation and for providing a copy. It was a pleasure to meet and talk with you. Adrian and I agreed you added a significant presence to the congress.

Sincerely,

Florence Parrish

Greek Speech Distribution
(As of 1/26/94)

Al-Saqqaf, Abdulaziz
Bar-On, Hanan
Bentsur, Eytan
Birenbaum, David
Constas, Dmitrios
Feldman, Shai
Freir, Shalheveth
Grinevsky, Oleg
Hansen, Lynn
Jastrow, Bob
Jentleson, Bruce
Kampelman, Max (5 for home)
Navoth, Nachik
Parris, Florence Tucker
Sokolov, Oleg
Spiegel, Steve
Stauber, Zvi
Steinberg, Gerald
Taylor, John M.
Toukan, Abdullah

ADDRESS**BY****MAX M. KAMPELMAN****ARMS CONTROL AND SECURITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST II****Delphi, Greece****January 4, 1993**

One day, a few years ago, when I was serving as Counselor in our Department of State, I was talking to Secretary of State George Shultz about the Middle East. In reacting to his disappointment at the inability to move the peace process forward, I said that peace in the Middle East was inevitable. Stopping for a moment, I continued: "one year after the Irish problem is solved." And, of course, that was to be one year after the Cyprus problem is solved. The unrealistic cynicism of that view stands exposed as we see constructive movement on Ireland and difficult but vital negotiation now underway in the Middle East.

Why? How? I'd like to put these and related developments into a broader perspective of historic change and our place in it.

During my early childhood, one lifetime living in the United States, there were no vitamin tablets; no anti-biotics; no television; no dial telephones; no refrigerators; no FM radio; no synthetic fibers; no dishwashers; no electric blankets; no airmail; no transatlantic airlines; no instant coffee; no Xerox; no air-

conditioning; no frozen foods; no contact lenses; no fluorescent lights; no ball-point pens; no transistors. We could go on and on with a list of now commonplace essential elements in the daily lives of a great many in the world -- items that did not exist at all during our early years.

During the lifetime of most in this room, medical knowledge available to physicians has increased perhaps more than ten-fold. More than 80% of all scientists who ever lived, it is said, are alive today. The average life span in the industrial world keeps steadily increasing. Advanced computers, new materials, new biotechnological processes are altering every phase of our lives, deaths, even reproduction. We are living in a period of information power, with the telefax, electronic mail, the super computer, high definition television, the laser printer, the cellular telephone, the optical disk, imaging, the satellite dish, videoconferencing. Combining these instruments produces near miracles.

No generation since the beginning of the human race has experienced and absorbed so much change so rapidly -- and it is only the beginning. As an indication of that, I remind you that more than 100,000 scientific journals annually publish the flood of new knowledge that pours out of the world's laboratories.

These developments are stretching our minds and our grasp of reality to the outermost dimensions of our capacity to understand them. Moreover, as we look ahead, we must agree that we have only the minutest glimpse of what our universe really is. We

barely understand the human brain and its awesome energy; and the horizons of never-ending space as well as the mysteries found in the great depths of our seas are still virtually unknown to us. Our knowledge is indeed a drop, while our ignorance remains an ocean.

I was brought up to believe that necessity is the mother of invention. The corollary is also true: invention is the mother of necessity. Science, technology and communication are necessitating basic changes in our lives. Information has become more accessible to all parts of our globe putting totalitarian governments at a serious disadvantage. The world is very much smaller. There is no escaping the fact that the sound of a whisper or a whimper in one part of the world can immediately be heard in all parts of the world -- and consequences follow.

But the world body politic has not kept pace with those scientific and technological achievements. Just as the individual human body makes a natural effort to keep the growth of its components balanced, and we consider the body disfigured if the growth of one arm or leg is significantly less than the other, so is the world body politic disfigured if its knowledge component opens up broad new vistas for development while its political and social components remain in the Dark Ages. I suggest to you that what we have been observing and experiencing, including the dramatic political disintegration of authoritarianism in the former Soviet Union, and parts of Latin America, Asia and Africa, is a necessary

effort by the body politic to catch up with the worlds of science and technology.

What we have also been unexpectedly observing is a fierce resistance to that change. The resistance is certainly evident in the Middle East. It is as if a part of us is saying: "Not so fast. Stop the world. We want to get off. We are not ready. We are not prepared for this new world we are being dragged into. You are threatening our beliefs and our traditions. We will resist the changes. We will hold on tight and with a determined frenzy to the familiar, the tribal, the traditional." This phenomenon cannot in the short run be ignored as fundamentalism, nationalism, race, and ethnicity make themselves increasingly felt. These factors have deep roots in our history, culture, and patterns of loyalty. But I am convinced that it is a resistance which cannot prevail.

We are surrounded by explosive noises, but much of that is the sound of escaping steam as the lids of repression are being removed from boiling totalitarian kettles. Fingers and faces that are too close get scalded. Our task is to help harness the energy of that boiling water and transform it into a samovar of refreshing tea.

Peoples deprived of dignity for centuries are increasingly coming to appreciate that the advantages of better health, improved sanitation, adequate food and water, economic opportunity, leisure for self-enrichment -- that all these and more can belong to them and their children wherever they may live. The

communication age has opened up the world for all to see. The less fortunate are learning from radio, television and the motion pictures that the constructive changes produced by science, technology and learning are only an hour, or two, or three away. They are now increasingly aware that they can live in societies, including their own, which respect their dignity as human beings. They want that dignity and better living for themselves and their children -- and they don't wish to wait.

Keeping up with economic, scientific and technological opportunities requires openness to information, new ideas, and the freedom which enables ingenuity to germinate and flourish. A closed tightly controlled society cannot compete in a world experiencing an information explosion that knows no national boundaries. Peoples now trapped in the quagmire of ancient ethnic and national grievances and enmities are increasingly coming to recognize that they are thereby dooming themselves, their children and grandchildren to become orphans of history, lost in the caves of the past. There is room for ethnic, national, religious, racial and tribal pride, but if that drive for self-identification is to produce respect and self-realization for the individual and the group, that drive must be peaceful and in harmony with the aspirations of others in our evolving inter-related world community.

Walls, iron gates and troops can sometimes protect a geographic boundary line. Border guards can keep out a vaccine; but fences and borders and declarations of national sovereignty

cannot keep out germs, or ideas, or broadcasts. We also see that they are often unable to keep out terrorists or refugees.

The nations of the world have become ever more interdependent. No society can isolate itself or its people from new ideas and new information anymore than one can escape the winds whose currents affect us all. One essential geo-political consequence of this new reality is that there can be no true security for any one country in isolation. Insecurity and instability are contagious diseases. Neighbors are bound to suffer the consequences of that disease. We must learn to accept in each of our countries a mutual responsibility for the peoples in other countries.

This suggests, among many other implications, the need for us to reappraise our traditional definitions of sovereignty. We learned in the classroom that sovereignty was once lodged in the emperor by divine authority. This personal concept evolved into a territorial one. With the emergence of the nation state in the 17th century, it became identified with a political entity. By the 19th century, "sovereignty," "statehood" and "nation" became intertwined. Today, its meaning is even more difficult to define. Our American Declaration of Independence places sovereignty in the people. Much of our early political theory looked at sovereignty as residing in our states. Yet, our country, like others, is a united sovereign nation. The U.S. lives comfortably with all three rhetorical claims.

The concept of divided and shared sovereignty is now spreading. Nations are by agreement curtailing their sovereign powers over many of their own domestic and security affairs. Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan provides that "the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation." In my role as negotiator on nuclear arms with the Soviet Union, we overcame an early reluctance to invade sovereign rights and agreed in 1988 that observers and on-site inspectors could inspect military facilities and maneuvers to verify agreements made. A commitment to human rights is now, under the United Nations, an international commitment. Bangladesh cannot prevent tragic floods without active cooperation from Nepal and India. Canada cannot solve its problem of acid rain without the cooperation of the United States. The Mediterranean is polluted by 18 -- perhaps 20 -- countries. The requirements of our evolving technology and its consequences are turning national boundaries into patterns of lace through which flow ideas, money, peoples, crime, terrorism, missiles -- none of which respect national boundaries.

Our global economic community is learning the lesson. There is no way adequately to understand the New York Stock Exchange without understanding the Tokyo and London exchanges. An article in a recent issue of The Wall Street Journal had as its theme "So you want to buy an American made automobile, do you?" The article pointed out that such an automobile includes parts made in perhaps 12 to 15 different countries. A dress sold in London might have been woven in Taiwan from cotton grown in the U.S.,

its buttons manufactured in South Korea, and the dress then shipped to Milan for a "Made in Italy" label to be sewn on to it.

We are also learning that it is no longer the size of a country that economically matters. The natural resources of a country today matter less than they once did. The functioning economies of Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea illustrate this change. The pauperization of the former Soviet Union illustrates another aspect of that change. It is the mastery of knowledge in an atmosphere of political stability that increasingly will determine the destiny of peoples and areas. Countries that can find a leading role in this new Age of Knowledge are more likely to prosper and prevail.

The issue of sovereignty merits further attention. The interdependence of the world and the globalization of its economy does not imply or suggest the disappearance of the nation-state, which is showing resilience as an important focus of national pride and ethnic preservation. Nations appear unwilling to renounce the flag, abandon language, or forget history. In a recent analysis of the prospects for confederation between Israel, Gaza, the West Bank, and Jordan, a Palestinian expert on water recently commented to me on the apparent contradiction of a politically fragmented world existing alongside an economically integrated one. He suggested as an economist that regional confederations preserving the integrity of the nation may harmonize the contradiction.

The realities of water, power, trade, communication, and health call for cooperation through regional rather than national solutions. The large question is whether the peoples of the Middle East, particularly those now deprived of the full opportunity to enjoy the tangible benefits of globalization, will be allowed to embrace the high-road of economic growth, political stability and individual opportunity.

At this point, the current common wisdom is to recognize the existence of profound religious differences in the Middle East, put on a long face, and somberly note that the task of achieving reconciliation is nearly impossible. I am not an expert on religion, but if Christianity and Judaism could produce a spirit of harmony and mutual respect, in spite of a bitter and brutal history, there is, I believe, every reason to believe that Islam and Judaism, remembering the cultural richness of the glory days of Granada, and with a less violent historic pattern, can do the same.

The ancient tribes of Abraham made a profound contribution to civilization when they proclaimed that there was only one God. This was at a time when the prevailing view of their neighbors was that there were many gods. If there is only one God, then we are all of us His children and thus brothers and sisters to one another. A scholar in the Middle Ages pointed out that the most important verse in the Old Testament is the one from the Book of Genesis stating that Man was created in the image of God. Why, he also asked, was only one Man created? So that each of us has the same

ancestor and no one can claim superiority over another, was the response.

Here, in this doctrine of human brotherhood, we have the essence of our common religious creed, the spiritual basis of our evolving civilization. Here, too, are the moral roots of political democracy. These values are fundamental if the Middle East, the cradle of our civilization, is to be a full participant in the newly evolving Age of Knowledge, with its accompanying political as well as scientific, technical and economic globalization. That is the aim of the negotiating process of which these session are a part.

There is no doubt that a negotiation process is a risky one. It is something like stepping on slippery stones to cross a rushing stream or river. The danger of falling is real on all sides and its consequences may be disastrous. And yet, it is often the only way to get across. The supreme achievement of statesmanship is patiently, through negotiation, to pursue peace with dignity, always recognizing the threat to that peace and always protecting vital interests and values. We should recall the message of Winston Churchill that diplomatic negotiations "are not a grace to be conferred but a convenience to be used."

The question may well be asked whether or how the views expressed by me this afternoon are relevant to the intricate task of negotiating agreements on reducing, controlling and stabilizing arms in the Middle East. I say to you that they were fundamental

to my government's motivation in our negotiations on nuclear and space arms with the Soviet Union from 1985 to 1989.

We did not proceed on the assumption that the existence of the arms produced the tensions between us. We proceeded on the assumption that the tensions, the political and social problems that led to or exacerbated those tensions stimulated nations to build arms to protect or advance their respective security interests and values. That is why at the same time as we were negotiating on nuclear arms in Geneva, the heads of our states, our foreign ministers, other negotiations were dealing with Afghanistan, human rights, other world trouble spots, economic rivalries. Our success in the arms talks went hand in hand with the internal changes in the Soviet Union and with developing greater trust between our two countries.

This word "trust" deserves to be highlighted. Where stakes are high, nations cannot be expected to depend on their security by trusting a previous adversary. It is a most difficult process to transfer suspicion and mistrust into confidence and trust. The attainment of trust is a process, a gradual movement from lesser to greater trust.

I recall being questioned at a Congressional hearing and asked how I could negotiate an arms agreement with the Soviets in view of the fact that he knew I did not trust the Soviets. My response quickly acknowledged my lack of confidence in the Soviets and said I would never bring a treaty to the Congress or the American

people based on trust. That was why we were spending so much time and effort on the details of verification and inspection. I also acknowledged that it was sometimes difficult to arrive at a foolproof total verification formula. To meet that problem, we had to assume the other side might well cheat, but if they did, we could quickly learn about it and appropriately react without in any way putting our security in danger.

Let me also here point out that this gradual process from less to more trust was very much helped in our negotiation by the whole series of small steps we were taking in Stockholm and elsewhere agreeing on military confidence building measures, beginning with early notification of military maneuvers and moving on to more detailed significant measures. What we saw was that these military agreements helped forge an atmosphere that transferred itself into greater political confidence. It was, in effect, a two-way street. The significance of this approach should not be minimized and we are fortunate to have with us Lynn Hansen and Oleg Grinevsky, who negotiated the Stockholm agreements.

This takes us back to the immediate topic at hand.

Arms reduction negotiations in the Middle East are understandably further clouded by the massive purchases from China and North Korea of arms, missiles, and materials for nuclear, chemical and biological production by Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya. For the negotiating states to ignore this disturbing phenomenon is

unrealistic. They are also clouded by the rhetoric of hate and patterns of violence and terrorism which have permeated the area.

In this age of inter-related globalization, the goal of national security impregnability becomes increasingly difficult to attain. The fundamental challenge is what can a conference such as this propose that is more than a series of pious but irrelevant platitudes, empty of practical application. I have three proposals to make for your consideration.

We are fortunate to have with us at this conference Ambassador Maynard Glitman, who was in charge of the United States intermediate nuclear forces negotiations with the Soviet Union. That negotiation resulted in a treaty which totally eliminated all intermediate-range and shorter range nuclear weapons in both of our arsenals, those with a range of 500 to 5,500 kilometers.

Why not propose that the United States and Russia join with the states of the Middle East in submitting to the United Nations a draft treaty under which the world joins the U.S. and Russia in totally eliminating all intermediate range nuclear weapons? A treaty exists and Ambassador Glitman, with your help, can make those changes and modifications necessary to globalize it. This is not a dream. It can work, and if the world subscribes to it, the Middle East can be a safer place.

My second proposal is to build on an idea which President Ronald Reagan of the United States suggested to President Gorbachev. It was for our two massive nuclear powers to agree to eliminate all nuclear ballistic missiles. Why not have this conference propose to the United Nations a treaty under which all nuclear ballistic missiles will be eliminated?

Again, we are fortunate to have with us at this conference Ambassador Linton Brooks who headed up our government's successful negotiating effort with the Soviet Union designed to reduce long-range nuclear missiles. When he was on the national security staff at the White House, he participated in the studies which President Reagan depended upon when he proposed eliminating all ballistic missiles. He could be of significant assistance to this conference and to the negotiators in developing a plan for the total international elimination of those weapons of mass destruction; and we'd all be the safer for it.

Finally, I suggest that the states of the Middle East propose to the U.S. and Russia a joint program for an effective international defense against ballistic missiles capable of carrying nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons. This would call for joint cooperative research and development among all of us. The United States and Russia are independently on the road toward developing such defenses either at the boost phase, immediately thereafter at the ascent stage, or in the descent phase. At a time when the future of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty is uncertain as new states stretch to join the unholy club, it can be helpful to

international stability for effective defenses to be developed which make the success of nuclear attack uncertain and potentially self-inflicting should attacking missiles be destroyed at the boost or ascending phases while over the territory of the attacker.

I close, my friends, like I began, by reminding you that the changes produced in our day by the dramatic scientific, technological, communication and economic developments that we have noted are awesome and relentless. They are having and will continue to have political consequences that can potentially lead to peace and democracy, as well as to the end of poverty and despair. The Middle East cannot long exempt itself from this development as its men and women seek human dignity for themselves and their children.

Thank you.

MMK SCHEDULE
January 2-7, 1994
Athens and Delphi Greece

Sunday, January 2

7:20 p.m. Depart Dulles TWA #894

Monday, January 3

8:45 a.m. Arrive Paris

10:45 a.m. Depart Paris TWA #810

3:00 p.m. Arrive Athens

After passport control met by Internat'l. Travel & Congress Org.
(ITCO-Delphi Congress)

Transportation to Hotel Amalia in Delphi

T-011-30-265-82101/05; Fax 011-30-1-3238792 (fax to Athens,

Attn: Hotel Amalia

8:00 p.m. Welcoming Session & Dinner

Tuesday, January 4

MMK Deliver Keynote Address

Wednesday, January 5

Thursday, January 6

3:00 p.m. Transfer to Hotel Intercontinental in Athens

T-30-1-902-3666; fax 30-1-924-3000

Friday, January 7

12:10 p.m. Depart Athens TWA #881

3:40 p.m. Arrive JFK

4:59 p.m. Depart JFK TWA 15268536 (commuter)

6:30 p.m. Arrive National

U.S. EMBASSY (Athens)

91 Vasilissis Sophias Blvd

30-1-721-2951/8401; fax 30-1-645-6282

Amb. Tom Niles

Laurel Shea may be Pol/Mil

Alexis Heraclides

Alexandroupoleos 48, Athens

737-7404
637- 4:35



INSTITUTE OF
INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

**WORKSHOP ON ARMS CONTROL AND SECURITY
IN THE MIDDLE EAST II**

Delphi, 3-7 January 1994

Sponsored by

The Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (I.G.C.C.),
University of California

and

The Institute of International Relations (I.I.R.),
Panteion University

AGENDA

MONDAY, 3 JANUARY:

- 07:00 am-08:00 am: Early arrivals to Athens.
- 08:15 am-01:30 pm: Transfer to Hotel Amalia, Delphi
(Pick-up participants at Hotel Grande Bretagne 09:00)
Acropolis tour en route.
- 08:00 am-10:30 am: Midday arrivals to Athens.
- 11:30 am-02:30 pm: Transfer to Hotel Amalia
- 10:30 am-04:00 pm: Late arrivals to Athens
- 05:15 pm-08:00 pm: Transfer to Hotel Amalia
- 08:30 pm-10:00 pm: Welcoming Session, Hotel Amalia
Registration
Reception
- Welcoming remarks:
Dimitri Conostas, I.I.R.
Susan Shirk, I.G.C.C.
- Dinner
- Opening remarks:
Steven Spiegel, UCLA

TUESDAY, 4 JANUARY

08:45 am-08:50 am: Welcoming Remarks, Delphi Center.
Prof. Maria Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, Director, Delphi Center.

08:50 am-12:30 pm: Presentation
"How Are Arms Control Treaties Negotiated?"
Ambassadors Oleg Grinevsky and Lynn Hansen

(Break 10:30 am - 10:45 am)

(Morning tour for spouses: Ossiou Loukas monastery).

12:30 pm-02:30 pm: Lunch, Delphi Center
Keynote address:
Ambassador Max Kampelman

(Spouses lunch at taverna in Delphi)

02:30 pm-05:30 pm: Roundtable Discussion
"Alternative Frameworks for Arms Control Negotiations"
Ambassador Linton Brooks
Ambassador Maynard Glitman
Ambassador Ronald Lehman
Ambassador Oleg Sokolov
Commentators:
Alan Platt, Gibson, Dunn, & Crutcher
James Roche, Northrop Corporation

04:00 pm-04:15 pm: Break

04:15 pm-06:00 pm: Presentation
"Challenges of Arms Control and Nonproliferation"
Ambassador James Leonard
Commentators:
Osama El-Ghazli Harb, Al-Ahram Center for Political
and Strategic Studies.
Shai Feldman, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies

(Afternoon tour for spouses: Parnassos)

07:00 pm-09:30 pm: Dinner & Program, Delphi.

WEDNESDAY, 5 JANUARY

08:30 am-12:00 pm: Tour, Delphi Museum and Archaeological sites.

12:30 pm-02:30 pm: Lunch, Delphi Center.
Keynote address:
Athanassios Platias, Panteion University

02:30 pm-06:30 pm: Presentation
"Peace Monitoring and Regional Security"
Arian Pregenzer, Sandia National Laboratory
John Taylor, Sandia National Laboratory

(Break 04:00 pm - 04:15 pm)

07:30 pm-08:00 pm: Transfer to Arachova

08:00 pm-10:00 pm: Dinner and Program, Arachova

10:00 pm-10:30 pm: Return to Delphi

THURSDAY, 6 JANUARY

08:45 am-12:30 pm: Panel Discussion, Delphi Center
"Arab and Israeli Threat Perceptions"
Ahmed Fakhr, National Center for Middle Eastern
Studies, Cairo.
Shafeeq Ghabra, Kuwait University.
Ariel Levite, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies
Ahmed Ounaies, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tunisia
Abdullah Toukan, Science Advisor to King Hussein of
Jordan
Commentators:
Bruce Jentleson, U.S. Department of State
Viktor Gogitidze, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Russian
Federation.

(Break 10:30 am - 10:45 am)

(Morning tour for spouses: Chrisso, Itea and
Galaxidi)

12:30 pm-02:00 pm: Lunch

(Spouses lunch at Galaxidi).

03:00 pm-06:00 pm: Transfer to Hotel Intercontinental, Athens.

08:30 pm-10:00 pm: Gala Dinner, Hotel Intercontinental

Official Address: Defense Minister Gerassimos Arsenis

Closing Remarks:
Dimitri Conostas, I.I.R.
Steven Spiegel, UCLA

FRIDAY, 7 JANUARY

Conferees depart Athens

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

1. Abu Zayyad Ziad Attorney At Law,
Bilateral Advisory Committee, Jerusalem.
2. Alifantis Stelios Lecturer,
Int'l Relations, Balkan
Studies,
Panteion University, Athens
3. Al-Qudah A.F. Mohammad Brigadier,
Assistant for Chief of the Air Staff,
Royal Jordanian Air Force, Jordan.
4. Al-Saqqaf Abdulaziz Professor, Sanaa University,
Chief Editor, Yemen Times,
Republic of Yemen.
5. Amar Mohammed Counselor,
Mission to the United Nations of Morocco,
U.S.A.
6. Amidror Yaacov General, Ministry of Defense, Israel.
7. Aourid Hassan Political Counselor, Embassy of Morocco,
U.S.A.
8. Arvanitopoulos Constantin Assistant Professor of
Int'l Relations
George Mason University, U.S.A.
9. Axelgard W. Fredrick U.S. Department of State, U.S.A.
10. Bar-On Hanan Vice-President for Int'l Operation
and Public Affairs, Israel.
11. Barkett Youssef Ambassador, Embassy of Tunisia, Athens.
12. Bentsur Eytan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel.
13. Bourantonis Dimitris Lecturer of Int'l Law,
University of Economic Studies, Athens.
14. Brooks Forrestall Linton United States Arms Control and Disarmament
Agency, U.S.A.
15. Cantas Athanassios Admiral (Ret), Hellenic Navy.
16. Capsis John Member of the Greek Parliament
17. Chen Jiang The Rockefeller Foundation, U.S.A.

35. Glitman Maynard Ambassador,
U.S. Department of State, U.S.A.
36. Gogitidze Victor Ambassador, First Deputy Director,
Department for the the Middle East and
North Africa, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Russia.
37. Grinevsky Oleg Ambassador,
Embassy of the Russian Federation, Sweden.
38. Hansen Lynn Ambassador,
Political Advisor to the Commander in
Chief, United States Air Forces in Europe.
39. Harb El Ghazali Osama Al-Ahram Center for Political and
Strategic Studies, Egypt.
40. Haq Mamdouh Ahmed Brigadier General,
Ministry of Defense, Egypt.
41. Heraklides Alexander Assistant Professor of Int'l Relations,
Panteion University, Athens.
42. Heydrich Wolfgang General, Stiftung Wissenschaft Und Politik
Federal Republic of Germany
43. Ifestos Panayiotis Assistant Professor of Int'l Relations,
Panteion University, Athens.
44. Irvy Daviv General, Ministry of Defense, Israel.
45. Jentleson W. Bruce Professor, Policy Planning Staff, U.S.A.
46. Jerandi Othman First Counselor,
Mission to the United Nations of Tunisia,
U.S.A.
47. Kampelman Max Ambassador, U.S.A.
48. Kefala Vivi Graduate Fellow,
Panteion University, Athens.
49. Kolovos Alexander Hellenic Air-Force
50. Lake A. David Research Director for Int'l Relations,
Institute on Global Conflict and Coopera-
tion, University of California, U.S.A.
51. Lehman Ronald Ambassador, Assistant to the Director,
Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory,
U.S.A.

52. Leonard James Ambassador,
Director, Washington Council on Non-
proliferation, U.S.A.
53. Levite Ariel Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies,
Israel.
54. Lydis Maria Head of Administrative Staff,
Institute of Int'l Relations,
Panteion University, Athens.
55. Mamsouri Yassine Advisor to the Minister of the Interior,
Morocco.
56. Mor Kuti Brigadier General,
Director of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of
Defense, Israel.
57. Markoyianni Triada Graduate Fellow,
Institute of Int'l Relations,
Panteion University, Athens.
58. Mourtos George Greek Ministry of Defense.
59. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou Maria Director,
Cultural Center of Delphi, Greece.
60. Ounaies Ahmed Director, General for American and Asian
Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Tunisia
61. Pickford L. Jennie Deputy Chairperson,
ACDA Middle East Task Force,
United States Arms Control & Disarmament
Agency, U.S.A.
62. Platias Athanassios Assistant Professor of Strategic Studies,
Panteion University, Athens.
63. Platt Alan Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher, U.S.A.
64. Poukamissas George Ministry of Foreign Affairs
65. Pregenzer Arian Sandia National Laboratories, U.S.A.
66. Ragies John Graduate Fellow,
Institute of Int'l Relations,
Panteion University, Athens.
67. Rammata Maria Research Assistant,
Institute of Int'l Relations,
Panteion University, Athens.

68. Roche James Corporate Vice President and Chief
Advanced Development & Planning Officer,
Northrop Corporation, U.S.A.
69. Schinas Costas Coordinator,
Institute of Political Studies, Athens.
70. Sheinbaum Stanley Publisher, U.S.A.
71. Shikaki Khalil Professor of Political Science,
Al-Najah National University,
Director, Center for Palestine Research
and Studies, via Israel.
72. Shirk L. Susan Director, Institute on Global Conflict and
Cooperation, University of California,
U.S.A.
73. Sokolov Oleg Ambassador,
Director, Directorate for Disarmament and
Arms Control, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Russia
74. Solingen Etel Professor, Politics and Society,
University of California, U.S.A.
75. Spiegel L. Steven Professor, Political Science Department,
University of California, U.S.A.
76. Stauber Zvi General, Ministry of Defense, Israel.
77. Stefanou Constantin Associate Professor of Int'l Law,
Panteion University, Athens.
78. Stein Shimon Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel.
79. Steinberg Gerald Research Director,
BESA Institute for Strategic Studies,
Israel.
80. St. John Adrian General, U.S.A.
81. Taylor M. John Manager,
Verification & Monitoring Analysis Depar-
tment, U.S.A.
82. Terrill Andrew International Security Analyst,
U.S.A.
83. Tolkowsky Dan Major General, Tolkowsky and Associates,
Israel.

84. Toukan Abdullah Dr., Science Advisor To His Majesty King Hussein I,
Jordan
85. Trevan Timothy Special Advisor, UNSCOM,
United Nations Headquarters, U.S.A.
86. Tsakonas Panayiotis Graduate Fellow,
Institute of International Relations,
Panteion University, Athens.
87. Tsouderou Virginia Former Deputy of Foreign Affairs,
Greece
88. Varouxakis Sotiris Head of Middle Eastern Section,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens.
89. Wehling Fred Policy Researcher,
Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation,
University of California, U.S.A.
90. Zabarah A.Mohamed Professor of Political Science,
Sanaa University, Republic of Yemen.
91. Zahari Kyrasta Graduate Fellow,
Panteion University, Athens.
92. Zacharis Evangelos General, Ministry of Defense
Section of Disarmament, Athens.
93. Zaidan Fayez Director General,
Palestine Airways, Jordan
94. Taleb Bin Meiran Bin Ambassador,
Zaman Al-Raisi Embassy of the Sultanate of Oman
95. Munther Al-Mantheri Second Secretary
Embassy of the Sultanate of Oman



Omitted Material

This item has not been digitized due to copyright considerations. The original can be viewed at the Minnesota Historical Society's Gale Family Library in Saint Paul, Minnesota. For more information, visit

www.mnhs.org/library/.