# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Message of the Foreign Minister of Egypt - Amre Moussa</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening Statement - Sverre Lodgaard</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening Statement - Ihab Sorour</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction - Chantal de Jonge Oudraat</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part I Security and Disarmament in the Middle East:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Parameters</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1 The Middle East: The System and Power Configurations</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali Fuat Borovali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2 Security Impossible to Achieve, a Region Impossible to Define</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghassan Salamé</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3 Conflict in the Middle East and Displaced Persons</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karim Atassi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part II Regional Arms Build-up and Arms Control</strong></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4 The Regional Approach</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mounir Zahran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5 The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and of Ballistic Missiles - Mahmoud Karem</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6 Conventional Weapons and Arms Transfers in the Middle East</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saleh Al-Mani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 A Realistic Approach to Arms Control: An Israeli Perspective</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerald Steinberg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 8 Discussion</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shafeeq Ghabra</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hassan Ghalvechi Mashhadi</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roberto Aliboni</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ariel Levite</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mounir Zahran</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Süha Umar</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part III Security and Disarmament in the Middle East: Perspectives

Chapter 9 Strengthening and Creation of Institutional Mechanisms for Middle Eastern Security and Disarmament
Abdullah Toukan

Chapter 10 Confidence- and Security-Building Measures in the Middle East
Ariel Levite

Chapter 11 Discussion
Nabil Fahmy
Süha Umar
Sverre Lodgaard
Saleh Al-Mani
Shafiq Ghabra
Mounir Zahran
Nabil Fahmy
Gerald Steinberg
Serge Sur
Ariel Levite
Nabil Fahmy

Annexes

Annex I: Enhancing Information Exchange Between Research Institutes in the Middle East - Péricles Gasparini Alves

Annex II: List of Participants
Preface

Since 1990, UNIDIR has organized one regional conference of research institutes every year. The aim of these regional conferences has been to stimulate and promote thinking and research on questions of disarmament and international security. Thus far, four such conferences have been organized: in Africa, 1990; in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1991; in Asia and the Pacific, 1992; and in the Middle East, 1993.

This volume reproduces the reports and the main sequences of the discussions at the fourth Regional Conference of Research Institutes held in Cairo (Egypt) on 18 and 19 April 1993. This conference was organized by UNIDIR in co-operation with the Egyptian Institute for Diplomatic Studies.

Since the convening of the Conference, important political developments have taken place. Of special significance is the Oslo Accord between Israel and the PLO signed in September 1993. These developments make this publication all the more topical: we hope that by publishing these conference proceedings, we will stimulate further research on the region’s security questions at a time of great opportunities as well as severe problems.

For its part, following the Cairo Conference UNIDIR has started a research project on Confidence-Building in the Middle East. The project will build on the work of the multilateral arms control group of the Madrid peace process, which has had CSBMs uppermost on its agenda. However, while the arms control group is an exercise in diplomacy and politics, UNIDIR’s work will follow the ground rules of independent scholarship. The project will examine a broad range of security policies including CSBMs, arms control, non-offensive defence and disarmament issues.

Thus, it is with a special feeling of gratitude that we are thanking all the participants of the Cairo Conference, and the report writers in particular. Their contributions have been of great help in developing our own thinking on the subject.

UNIDIR is grateful to the Government of Egypt and the Institute for Diplomatic Studies whose generous contributions made the Cairo Conference possible. Special thanks are due to the Ford Foundation which provided the necessary financial support.

This publication was edited by Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, Senior Research Associate at UNIDIR, and prepared for printing by Anita Blétry, also on the staff of UNIDIR. The Institute takes no position on the views and conclusions expressed in the papers, which are those of their authors. Nevertheless, UNIDIR considers that such papers merit publication and recommends them to the attention of its readers.

Sverre Lodgaard
Director
March 1994
Message of the Foreign Minister of Egypt

Amr Moussa

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

Director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research,
Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to begin by welcoming you to Egypt at your scientific and academic Conference of Research Institutes in the Middle East, which is being organized by UNIDIR, Geneva, in collaboration with the Institute for Diplomatic Studies of the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

At the outset, I also wish to emphasize Egypt's great interest in the scientific subjects to be discussed at the Conference and which relate to various aspects of disarmament issues in general and regional disarmament endeavours in particular. We have no doubt that the Conference will fully assume its responsibilities in view of the participation of an élite group of negotiators and specialized academics working in the field of disarmament to which they have made outstanding contributions.

The international community has recently witnessed numerous historic changes at the global and regional levels. At the global level, the East-West conflict has abated, the Cold War between the two Super-Powers has ended, their ideological struggle has become less intense and there is now less competition between them for zones of influence which, at various times in the past, faced the world with serious challenges and crises that sometimes pushed it to the edge of the abyss. At the regional level, we witnessed an important turning-point and a positive development in the Middle Eastern question, namely the holding of the Madrid Peace Conference which led to negotiations in various fields, including arms limitation in the region. Accordingly, as one of the principal participants in these negotiations, Egypt must develop, in collaboration with the Arab States and all the other Parties, a joint and comprehensive concept of regional security arrangements, confidence-building measures and stages of arms limitation.

On this basis, in our view, regional disarmament constitutes one of the kingpins of the international community's endeavours to consolidate and promote international peace and security. In particular, Egypt welcomed the increased concern and support that was shown for regional endeavours. In fact, in this field our records are full of initiatives and constructive approaches, the most recent of which was President Muhammad Hosni Mubarak's proposal made in April 1990 to turn the Middle East into a region free of all weapons of mass destruction, in addition to the proposal made in 1974 to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East.

The world is currently witnessing a significant trend towards disarmament and tangible progress towards agreement on its mechanisms and the achievement of its goals, which have long been advocated by developed and developing countries alike. The countries of the Third World, represented by the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77, clearly and categorically insisted on according priority to disarmament, and particularly nuclear disarmament, issues and using the consequent financial savings for purposes of development and the achievement of socio-economic progress.

As part of the international arms limitation endeavours, preparations have begun for the NPT review and extension conference to be held in 1995. That is a treaty to which some States in the Middle East are still refusing to accede. Egypt, being conscious of its moral and historic responsibilities, is endeavouring...
to preserve the equilibrium, security and interests of the region and will spare no effort to promote concerted international endeavours to achieve universal accession to the treaty.

In conclusion, I wish to refer to our positive approach aimed at the achievement of the goals and objectives of complete and full disarmament and practical implementation of the constructive disarmament initiatives, particularly those seeking to achieve the following:

(a) Increased security for the States of our region at lower levels of armament, particularly since security can be achieved only through peaceful relations, dialogue and political arrangements far removed from the logic of force.

(b) Quantitative and qualitative equality between the military capabilities of each State of the region in view of the fact that a continuation of the present imbalance is unacceptable in a region that is striving for a just and comprehensive peace.

(c) The conclusion of arms limitation and disarmament agreements applicable to all the States of the region, which would be supplemented by effective verification measures and which would ensure equal rights and responsibilities for all the States Parties, and through which the States of the region would cooperate with the international community with a view to formulating arms limitation and disarmament arrangements so that the problem can be dealt with in an integrated and comprehensive manner consistent with the security needs of the States.

(d) The granting of priority to ridding the region of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, consideration being given to conventional arms limitation measures whenever the political situation is conducive thereto after the achievement of peace in the region or, at the very least, when the peace process has made substantial progress towards the achievement of that goal.

In conclusion, I wish your Conference every success. Thank you.
Opening Statement

Sverre Lodgaard

Distinguished participants,

In the wake of every previous Middle East war, the arms race intensified. Once again, in the aftermath of the Gulf war, there is substantial arms build-up in the area. However, this time there is also a growing interest in arms control. The end of the Cold War made it possible for the USA and Russia to co-sponsor a peace process where arms control is an explicit, integral part; the principal West European countries are more supportive of multilateral arms control efforts now than before; and there is a growing realization in the area itself that arms control can enhance regional security. It is therefore in a spirit of encouragement and pursuit of new opportunities that I wish you welcome to this conference on security, arms control and disarmament in the Middle East.

UNIDIR is charged with the task of conducting applied research on questions relating to disarmament and international security. In exercising our duties we are drawing on the expertise, insight and experience of a variety of professions. In preparing this conference, we have been keen to secure high-level participation from research institutes throughout the region. However, our subject is interdisciplinary, and the expertise on it extends far beyond the academic domain. Applied research means that politicians, diplomats and military officers are indispensable in our efforts to promote a better understanding of the problems and prospects of international security. I am pleased and honoured, therefore, to see the range of high-level expertise assembled here today.

UNIDIR is a United Nations Institute. Consequently, there is a penchant for multilateral approaches and global perspectives in reference to the principles of the United Nations Charter. As regional politics is gaining momentum, we are increasingly interested also in regional approaches to security, independent of the United Nations as well as pursuant to Chapter VIII of the Charter: this conference is the fourth in a series of UNIDIR regional conferences. Under the UN umbrella, we enjoy a fair degree of independence and autonomy, safeguarded in our statutes. We have the freedom of expression without the constraints of having to negotiate consensus documents among national representatives. I hope that you will feel free at this Conference to air your views and opinions, it being understood that you are all speaking in your personal capacities and that you will not be quoted without permission.

Arms races do not necessarily end in war. Fortunately for mankind, the most formidable of all arms races - that of the Cold War - did not. However, throughout human history, most arms races went hot. No doubt, rapid growth of armed forces is a bad omen. In particular, recent research suggests that if a crisis is preceded by an arms race, it is more likely to end in war. Another important factor is the ratio of offensive to defensive capabilities. If the offensive capabilities on both sides of a conflict clearly outweigh the defensive ones on the other, there will be strong military incentives to strike first if and when decision-makers begin to think that war is unavoidable. Finally, there is something to say for the old balance-of-power type of reasoning. Even a small deviation from a predominantly defensive posture on the part of a powerful State may present a serious security problem for a much weaker neighbour. Today and tomorrow, we shall examine these and other dimensions of the military security problem at greater length.

We shall do so in a broader context involving non-military threats to security as well. Here, the ongoing peace process is an important frame of reference. In regional politics, there is always the option of treating arms control and disarmament issues in a wider setting of inter-State relations. Alternatively,
some issues may be singled out for special treatment. The choice of approach is often a matter of contention.

The European CSCE and CFE experiences are often cited as sources of inspiration for security endeavours in other regions. I believe that European solutions have considerable heuristic value: for regions such as the Middle East, they are quite helpful in formulating the right questions. Hence I am sure that tomorrow, when we are turning to institutional mechanisms and CSBMs, references will be made to Europe. However, I believe we are all mindful of the need to discuss Middle Eastern issues on Middle Eastern premises. To say that European experiences have heuristic value is not to say that they have model value. In recruiting participants to this conference, UNIDIR has devoted time and effort first and foremost to securing the best possible participation from the region. Then, we shall benefit from the presence of external expertise as well. In view of the interests that big and small powers take in Middle Eastern affairs, we would have been dangerously incomplete without.

The peace process has an American-Russian co-chairmanship. The United States is by far the most important external player in Middle Eastern affairs. Representing an institution of the United Nations, I should also like to emphasize the growing role of the United Nations in mitigating and solving regional conflicts. Never before have so many countries acted together to confront regional and domestic problems. At the same time, greater United Nations involvement sometimes puts the reputation of the Organization at risk. Representing an autonomous research institute in the United Nations family, I would welcome a frank and open exchange of views on all issues on our agenda, the functions of the United Nations included. UNIDIR wants to facilitate talks among those regional parties who have a limited tradition of dialogue, and those of us who come from other parts of the world may provide guidance on the more technical lessons of arms control experiences of relevance for the Middle East. We have not come to Cairo to preach arms control ideology to Middle Eastern colleagues and representatives.

I am deeply indebted to the Institute of Diplomatic Studies, its Director Ihab Sorour and its Counsellor Laila Eleish for receiving us so generously here in Cairo. My gratitude furthermore goes to Egypt’s ambassador in Geneva, Mounir Zahran, and to Director Mahmoud Karem of the Department of Disarmament Affairs of the Foreign Ministry of Egypt. You have all assisted us in a great many ways, and no question has been too difficult or too small for you to help us sort them out. Last not least, my thanks go to the Ford Foundation for its financial support: without it, this conference would not have taken place.

I look forward to the presentations and to the discussions that will follow, and I wish for all of us a fruitful and inspiring meeting.
Opening Statement

Ihab Sorour*

Your Excellency, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt, Ambassador Rahman Marei, your excellencies, dear guests and colleagues, my dear friend Mr Sverre Lodgaard, it is my pleasure to welcome you to Egypt, the land of the Pharaoh’s, the cradle of civilization.

I am glad that the Institute for Diplomatic Studies of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Egypt has the privilege to co-sponsor this important regional conference of research institutes in the Middle East in collaboration with UNIDIR. We are specially honoured to be chosen for the second time by the United Nations to organize a joint seminar on disarmament and security in Africa and the Middle East. We are really proud therefore to host this distinguished galaxy of politicians, diplomats, academicians, directors and members of research institutes from various parts of the world.

We are all gathered here with the ultimate goal of reaching a common understanding, and hopefully some solutions, to certain security questions which are still unanswered. We consider this conference, held in Cairo, a further evidence and a special tribute to the peaceful role played by Egypt a role which is deeply rooted in our history.

All of you are aware of President Mubarak’s initiative on freeing our area of all weapons of mass destruction. We hope to realize this aspiration which is widely shared by the whole world and that your work here will help promoting this goal. It is the duty of our gathering to spearhead the search for peace and security and point out the most feasible, the most logical and the most practical methods to establish that evasive peace.

The discussion will tackle in turn the geo-politics and other aspects of security of the region, then move on to the main issues of security and disarmament, to the dangers of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and finally we will examine possible regional and global arrangements. We in Egypt consider this conference as a special recognition of the merit of our orientations and a confirmation of our efforts calling for a just and lasting peace in the area and for an organic relationship between peace and genuine security for all mankind.

I welcome you and wish you an enjoyable stay in Egypt and the conference all success.

* Director, IDS.
Introduction

Chantal de Jonge Oudraat*

The United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research organized, with the co-operation, of the Cairo-based Institute for Diplomatic Studies on 18-19 April 1993 an international conference on security, arms control and disarmament in the Middle East.

The Conference was attended by some thirty experts and scholars from the region, as well as a limited number of experts from other parts of the world. In convening the conference, UNIDIR endeavoured not only to examine the current security situation in the region, but also to come up with suggestions for further applied policy research in the field and to facilitate and develop contacts and dialogue among experts and research institutes in the region.

Security in the Middle East: The Parameters

While the conference programme focused on the military dimension of the security equations in the Middle East, i.e. the proliferation of both conventional and non-conventional weapons, as well as possibilities for regional arms control and security-building initiatives, some non-military and epistemological aspects of the regions security equations were tackled in the first session of the conference and were highlighted in two introductory background papers. Particularly interesting in this regard was the discussion around the question of how security and threat perceptions were influenced by: (a) the geographical definition of the region; (b) the notion of territory; and (c) the nature of the State.

Concerning the geographical framework of analysis, the question was raised whether the Middle East should encompass all States from Morocco in the West to Bangladesh in the East; Somalia in the South and the Caucasian and Central Asian Republics in the North? Or whether a definition of the region based on more flexible, diffuse, uncertain, incremental, and/or functional boundaries should be adopted? The definition of the spatial dimension of the region is not just a question of delimitation and identification of possible actors, it will also suggest and, indeed, feed different sets of threat and security perceptions.

It was pointed out by some of the participants that when examining security and threat perceptions in the region one should keep in mind that, due to the region's history, notably its tribal and nomadic traditions, the notion of territory as a base for national solidarity is quite alien to the region. It was argued that the different territorial conflicts in the region (e.g. those between Egypt and Sudan; Yemen and Saudi Arabia; Saudi Arabia and Qatar; UAE and Kuwait; and the ones between Israel and its neighbours) are but temporary geographical cristallisations of a deeper political, religious, and/or tribal, conflictuality. Threat and security perceptions in the Middle East can hence not be reduced to territorial claims, and are often as much of an internal, as external, nature. It also entails that territorial compromises alone will not be able to bring about durable peace in the region.

In this connection it was recalled that the formation of the State was of quite recent origin. The frontiers of the majority of States, notably those in the Gulf region, had largely been determined by external oil interests prevalent at the beginning of the 20th century. The power base of the States in the region is hence to be understood not so much in terms of fixed national territories as in terms of lineage and dynastic solidarities. As was pointed out: The State in the Middle Eastern region is often but an external and

---

* Senior Research Associate, UNIDIR.
formal skeleton, a geographical limit, of a power, a regime (Cf. Chapter 2 by Ghassan Salamé). In large measure, we are dealing with powers, or regimes, which first and foremost find their legitimization in transborder political myths, ideologies, or past times (e.g. panarabism, islamism, the Holocaust), and which remain very much dependent upon oil revenues, extra-regional intervention and protection, including external aid.

In a more long-term perspective, regional stability, or the territorial status quo, is hence also threatened by the structural weakness of the State. The end of the Cold War, and in particular the falling apart of the Soviet Union and the dismemberment of Yugoslavia, signal not just the end of US-Soviet rivalry but also the fragility of the State and the permissive nature of its boundaries. The destabilizing long-term effects of current humanitarian interventions were, in this regard, also referred to.

**Regional Arms Build up and Arms Control**

The more immediate factors shaping security and threat perceptions and contributing to a general sense of insecurity in the region were identified as having to do with, on the one hand, its extra-regional strategic importance, i.e. the regions huge oil reserves, and, on the other hand, with the after the Gulf war reinvigorated regional arms built up. While some argued that the end of the Cold War had devaluated the strategic importance of the region, it was also pointed out that, for example, for a country like the United States, the importance of the region had greatly increased, since the US became in the early 1980s an importer of oil. Its active involvement and interventions in the region could to some extent be directly correlated to the above.

As to the main armament and arms control issues in the region, a great deal of attention was devoted to the problem of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction as well as the proliferation of ballistic missile technologies. The possibilities of a conventional High Tech arms race was referred to as a source of concern. Most participants were, however, of the opinion that these issues could only be dealt with within the more general regional security framework, and more in particular the peace process. Indeed, many participants took a critical view of the utility of existing global disarmament agreements, such as the Biological Weapons Convention, the recently signed Chemical Weapons Convention, or still the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Nonetheless, as was pointed out by one participant, what would have been the situation had these universal agreements not existed? Moreover, while the weaknesses and flaws of the NPT were stressed, at the same time adherence of Israel to that treaty would remain on the list of desiderata. In this respect it was also recalled that the majority of Arab States continue to make their adherence to the Chemical Weapons Convention dependent upon Israeli adherence to the NPT. Frequent reference was also made to the Egyptian proposal for the establishment of a zone free of weapons of mass destruction as a long term objective for the multilateral arms control talks.

Considerable critique was voiced with respect to the different existing export control regimes (e.g. the London group, the MTCR regime, the Australia group, etc.). Their discriminatory nature, and the possibilities that such regimes would hamper the technological, economic and social development of some of the countries concerned were put forward. A dialogue between recipients and supplier countries was called for in this respect. It was also suggested that these type of regimes are often but a guilt-trip for suppliers and arms producers and that the problem was not so much the arms transfers, but the level of armaments concerned.
The Peace Process - CSBMs

In the discussion on the peace process, and more particularly its multilateral arms control component, great emphasis was put on the idea that this was a multi-step process. In the first instance, States would develop both knowledge and familiarity with the different arms control mechanisms and procedures. The European experience in the field of Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (CSBMs) was referred to as having heuristic value. At the same time, though, it was also stressed that the European CSCE experience could not simply be transposed. The importance of defining a general and final objective for the arms control talks, i.e. a blueprint of the end result, was also emphasized by some.

A great deal of discussion developed with respect to CSBMs and the relation between greater political stability, on the one hand, and arms control measures on the other. It was pointed out that there is a crisis of confidence in the region. Crisis which was fed by the huge amount of arms purchases in the region, the majority of which could not be justified in terms of real security needs. The desirability of CSBMs needed hence little illustration. It was argued that only two conditions needed to be met for CSBMs to work i.e. (a) minimum convergence of interests, and (b) political will to make them work.

The importance of reciprocal unilateral CSBMs was stressed several times. An Egyptian move on the CWC in return for an Israeli move on the NPT was cited as a possible example of such a reciprocal unilateral CSBM. Amongst other possible CSBMs, reference was made to those CSBMs mentioned in the UN Secretary General's report on the establishment of a nuclear weapon free zone (e.g. unilateral declarations on activities in the nuclear field, no-test commitment, placing all nuclear facilities under safeguards, etc.). Extra-territorial CBMs, such as those dealing with Outer Space, (e.g. prior notification of launches, payload, trajectories, etc.) were singled out as another area in which CSBMs could play a useful function.

References were also made to the instrumentality of the more classical type of CSBMs, such as for instance pre-notification of military exercises. However, in this context it was retorted, by some, that initiatives of this kind have little meaning as long as not all core players of the region were participating in the talks.

Research Priorities

The last session of the conference was devoted to academic co-operation and research priorities. Many participants stressed, in this respect, the importance of research in creating a public opinion receptive to and interested in security and disarmament issues. It was stressed that the peace process could only succeed if, on a more basic societal level, support for this process was created. The representative of the Ford Foundation also stressed this issue and outlined the Foundations activities in the region in this field. In this respect, it was stressed that more research needed to be undertaken concerning the fundamental and regional specific factors shaping the conflictuality of the region. The importance of using in this context a broader, not just military, concept of security was underlined by some.

Regarding more immediate and operational research topics, great emphasis was put on the importance of elaborating projects relating to national security doctrines in the region. It was pointed out that relatively little knowledge existed about the different security policies and doctrines of the States in the region and that information on these issues had great difficulty circulating in the region. The question of CSBMs, including a variety of transparency and crisis prevention measures, was also named a high
priority by most participants. Verification as well as compliance and enforcement issues were also mentioned as being of great importance if any serious disarmament process is to be set in motion in the region. Finally, the importance of regional seminars and workshops, with the participation of academics, military and policy makers, was stressed. It permits for much needed informal exchanges of ideas and opinions, and could have a laboratory function for the official peace process.