

# Table of Contents

	Page
Preface .....	ix
List of Acronyms .....	xi
<b>Opening Addresses</b> .....	<b>xiii</b>
<i>Sverre Lodgaard</i> .....	xiii
<i>Amiral Lanxade</i> .....	xv
<b>Part I      The Future of Nuclear Deterrence</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter 1      Nuclear Deterrence Revisited</b>	
<i>Serge Sur</i> .....	3
<b>Chapter 2      Recent and Prospective Developments in Nuclear Arsenals</b>	
<i>Michael Brown</i> .....	17
<b>Chapter 3      Responses</b> .....	45
<i>Vicente Berasategui</i> .....	45
<i>David Fischer</i> .....	47
<i>Alexei Arbatov</i> .....	47
<i>Sverre Lodgaard</i> .....	48
<i>Morton H. Halperin</i> .....	49
<i>Miljan Komatina</i> .....	50
<i>Regina Cowen Karp</i> .....	55
<i>John Simpson</i> .....	55
<i>Tibor Tóth</i> .....	56
<i>Mahmoud Karem</i> .....	57
<i>Gérard Errera</i> .....	58
<i>Serge Sur</i> .....	58
<i>Michael Brown</i> .....	59
<b>Part II      Proliferation and Non-Proliferation</b> .....	<b>61</b>
<b>Chapter 4      Prospects for Nuclear Proliferation</b>	
<i>Jasjit Singh</i> .....	63
<b>Chapter 5      The Future of the Multilateral Non-Proliferation Regime</b>	
<i>David Fischer</i> .....	77

))

<b>Chapter 6</b>	<b>Threshold States and Regional Non-Proliferation</b> . . . . .	83
	Section I - Nuclear Threshold States: Consequences for Deterrence <i>Shai Feldman</i> . . . . .	83
	Section II - Middle East <i>Mahmoud Karem</i> . . . . .	86
<b>Chapter 7</b>	<b>Responses</b> . . . . .	89
	<i>Gérard Errera</i> . . . . .	89
	<i>Miguel Marin-Bosch</i> . . . . .	89
	<i>Morton H. Halperin</i> . . . . .	90
	<i>Ronald F. Lehman</i> . . . . .	91
	<i>Emeka Ayo Azikiwe</i> . . . . .	93
	<i>Michael Brown</i> . . . . .	93
	<i>Yong-Sup Han</i> . . . . .	94
	<i>Walter Gehr</i> . . . . .	95
	<i>John Simpson</i> . . . . .	95
	<i>Mahmoud Karem</i> . . . . .	96
	<i>Jasjit Singh</i> . . . . .	96
	<i>David Fischer</i> . . . . .	97
<b>Part III</b>	<b>Conditions for Minimal Deterrence</b> . . . . .	99
<b>Chapter 8</b>	<b>Questioning Minimal Deterrence</b> <i>Yves Boyer</i> . . . . .	101
<b>Chapter 9</b>	<b>Outer Space and Nuclear Deterrence: Problems and Prospects</b> <i>Péricles Gasparini Alves</i> . . . . .	105
<b>Chapter 10</b>	<b>The Debate on Minimal Deterrence</b> . . . . .	117
	Section I - <i>Alexei Arbatov</i> . . . . .	117
	Section II - <i>Regina Cowen Karp</i> . . . . .	122
	Section III - <i>Tibor Tóth</i> . . . . .	124
<b>Chapter 11</b>	<b>Responses</b> . . . . .	127
	<i>Hou Zhitong</i> . . . . .	127
	<i>Michael Brown</i> . . . . .	128
	<i>André Dumoulin</i> . . . . .	131
	<i>Morton H. Halperin</i> . . . . .	133
	<i>Dieter Boden</i> . . . . .	134
	<i>Gérard Errera</i> . . . . .	135
	<i>Hendrik Wagenmakers</i> . . . . .	136
	<i>John Simpson</i> . . . . .	136
	<i>Raimundo Gonzales</i> . . . . .	137

))

<i>Tibor Tóth</i> .....	138
<i>Regina Cowen Karp</i> .....	138
<i>Alexei Arbatov</i> .....	138
<i>Yves Boyer</i> .....	140

<b>Part IV</b>	<b>Minimal Deterrence, Stabilisation or Transition</b> .....	143
<b>Chapter 12</b>	<b>Minimal Deterrence and Regional Security</b> .....	145
Section I - Europe: <i>Nicole Gnesotto</i> .....		145
Section II - Other Regions: <i>Emeka Ayo Azikiwe</i> .....		148
<b>Chapter 13</b>	<b>Ways and Means of Attaining Minimal Deterrence</b>	
	<i>Dieter Boden</i> .....	151
<b>Chapter 14</b>	<b>Responses</b> .....	155
	<i>Hendrik Wagenmakers</i> .....	155
	<i>Yoshitomo Tanaka</i> .....	155
	<i>David Fischer</i> .....	156
	<i>Jasjit Singh</i> .....	156
	<i>Pierre Hassner</i> .....	157
	<i>G�rard Errera</i> .....	158
	<i>Walter Gehr</i> .....	159
	<i>Mahmoud Kareem</i> .....	159
	<i>Vicente Berasategui</i> .....	160
	<i>John Simpson</i> .....	161
	<i>Alexei Arbatov</i> .....	161
	<i>Dieter Boden</i> .....	162
	<i>Emeka Ayo Azikiwe</i> .....	162
	<i>Nicole Gnesotto</i> .....	162
<b>Concluding Remarks:</b> <i>Ronald F. Lehman</i> .....		165