

**Presentation (Outline)**  
**MG. Pan Zhenqiang (retired), China Reform Forum**

**On “Need for Changes in Nuclear Doctrines of Nuclear Weapons States”**

**At the first session**

**The 3rd Panel on Peace and Security of Northeast Asia (PSNA) Workshop**

**Moscow, May 31, 2018**

1. This workshop is supposed to focus on the responsibility and role of nuclear powers in promoting international peace and security. I appreciate the wisdom of the organizing hosts for choosing this topic as the central theme of our discussion. Countries, big or small, nuclear or non-nuclear, have equal rights to maintain international peace and security. But unmistakably, leading powers, who all happen to be the nuclear weapon powers, have a greater commitment in that respect. Their special obligations also include the need to change their nuclear doctrines so as to give new momentum to the progress of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.
2. Today, the world has seen rapid development of multipolarity, globalization, and scientific and technological advancement. Although these powerful trends helped major powers more interdependent for their security and development, they have also brought about a shift of force balance worldwide, and change of the world security structure. In this process, major powers are readjusting their threat perceptions, security strategies, and force deployments in an attempt to stand at the high ground in the security architecture in the future. The world enters into a transitional period, characterized with greater uncertainty and chaos. Often, uncertainty and chaos breed suspicion, exaggerated fear, misguided judgement, and over-reaction.
3. Against the backdrop, nuclear weapons seem to come back again as a definitive element in the world situation. When the Cold War ended in early 1990s, people had a wish that nuclear weapons may recede as the central piece in affecting the world situation. It didn't happen. Instead, nuclear weapons are now increasingly tangled with the major power competition, and regional tensions than ever before.
4. Evidently, nuclear weapon states have a special role and responsibility in arresting this worrying prospect. But to do so, they have to start with a new vision about the role of nuclear weapons, getting rid of the inertia of the Cold War mentality, and the past obsolete nuclear thinking. They must realize that possessing nuclear weapons may serve them for the short-term advantages, but in a long run, would also undermine their own interests, let alone the world peace and security.

5. Once a consensus is built up on the new vision on nuclear weapons, change of nuclear doctrines in the security strategies of nuclear weapon states would be a logical outcome, which may lead further concrete steps towards the progress of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.
6. No one expects that nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation can be done by one stroke. There must be a step-by-step way in line with the current situation. The success of this incremental approach, however, must be built, first of all, on the determination of the nuclear weapon states to part with their ambivalence towards nuclear weapons. It's easier said than done. What is needed of them, and particularly of leaders of these countries, are a strategic insight, political courage, and perhaps also the art of diplomatic skills.