

## *FES Forum on Security Policy*

# **New Momentum for Nuclear Disarmament**

International Policy Dialogue, 21.-22.April 2009, Berlin, Germany

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Hiroshimastr. 28, 10785 Berlin

### **Background**

The non-proliferation and disarmament regime for nuclear weapons is in a crisis. Its global core, the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT), is portrayed by many observers as being at the verge of collapse. The five-year review conference in 2005 ended without an agreed document. After non NPT member states India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea joined the nuclear club, nuclear ambitions of a number of states threaten to expand the number of nuclear powers even more. The global renaissance of civilian use of nuclear energy, but also the uncovering of a transnational black market for nuclear technology fuel fears over proliferation. The international crises over North Korea's defiance and Iran's enrichment program pose serious questions to the validity of the nonproliferation regime.

The Bush administration's policies of "counter proliferation" aimed at "rogue states" as well as terrorist networks lowered the threshold for the use of nuclear weapons and polarized the international community. The cooperation between Non-NPT member India and a number of Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) put support for the nonproliferation regime in question. Several NWS demonstrate their continued reliance on nuclear weapons by modernizing their arsenals, thus undermining their commitment to disarmament, the "grand bargain" and the legitimacy of the NPT. The US Congress rejection to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and US refusal to negotiate a fissile material cut-off treaty has immobilized the Conference on Disarmament, putting the disarmament regime in heavy disarray

It was this gloomy outlook that triggered a turn around in the US security community. Former US secretaries of state and defense George Shultz, William Perry, Henry Kissinger and Senator Sam Nunn argue for a "world free of nuclear weapons", evoking a positive response worldwide. In January 2009 German elder statesmen Schmidt, von Weizsäcker, Bahr and Genscher supported 'Global Zero' as a commitment for growing numbers of politicians and civic leaders. In early April, we have witnessed some of the momentum we had hoped for. In London, Presidents Obama and Medvedev agreed to reopen bilateral negotiations over nuclear warheads and stockpiles to replace the START I treaty, aiming at much deeper cuts than even the 2002 SORT treaty. Russia seems to be prepared to reduce also ICBMs and heavy bombers. In Prague, President Obama reiterated his commitment to a nuclear weapon free world. He pledged to "immediately and aggressively" seek ratification of the CTBT, to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in US national security strategy, to seek a new treaty that verifiably ends the production of fissile materials, and to build a new framework for civil nuclear cooperation, including an international fuel bank. However, the resounding silence in some major capitals following these public pledges demonstrate the obstacles of realpolitik that still need to be overcome.

### **The Conference**

Seizing this momentum, it will now be crucial to put more progressive steps into action. Further, it is key to find a common vision between international stakeholders on a set of key questions: Is a world free of nuclear weapons feasible? Can the NPT regime be fixed or is it ultimately flawed? What should be the roles of NWS, Non-NWS and Non-NPT member states? Can the UN (Security Council, General Assembly, IAEA) play a bigger role? Together with policy makers and experts from Brazil, China, Egypt, Germany, India, Russia, South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States, we try to explore if and how these and other international stakeholders would be willing to join these initiatives to create a new momentum for nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation.

## Program

**Wednesday, April 22**

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9:00 **Welcome and Introduction**  
**Christiane Kesper**, Head of International Cooperation, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

9:15 Keynote address

**“A World Without Nuclear Weapons”**

**Rhetorical Fireworks or Turning Point in US Security policy?**

**Thomas Graham**, Ambassador, Former Special Representative of the President of the United States for Arms Control, Non-Proliferation and Disarmament

Reaction:

- **Alexander Babakov**, MoP, Vice Speaker of State Duma, Russia
- **CUI Liru**, President, China Institute of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), China

9:45 Discussion

**New Momentum for Nuclear Disarmament?**

The endorsement of US President Barack Obama of a renewed vision of a nuclear-free world might create new momentum for nuclear disarmament in the run-up to the NPT Review Conference in 2010. Will words translate into policies in the US - and what are the perceptions from other major stakeholders of these developments?

*Chair:* **Marc Saxer**, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

10:30 *Coffee Break*

10:45 Panel 1

### **In Search for a Common Vision: Universal Ban, Reformed NPT or Counter Proliferation?**

The NPT “grand bargain” has been seriously undermined by secret nuclearization by some NNWS, but also by emphasizing non-proliferation over disarmament by NWS. The session explores if the vision of a nuclear free world could break the deadlock - or if a renewed “grand bargain” is better suited to overcome the current crisis.

*Chair:* **Götz Neuneck**, Deputy Director, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy Hamburg

- **Shirley Williams**, House of Lords, London, United Kingdom
- **Xia Liping**, Tongji Universität, Shanghai, China
- **Rajesh Rajagopalan**, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India
- **Nabil Fahmy**, Ambassador at large at the Foreign Ministry, Egypt

12:15 *Lunch*

13:15 Panel 2

### **Next steps: Initiatives to turn the tide for disarmament**

The ratification of the CTBT, negotiation of the Fissile Cut Off Treaty, a multilateral fissile material cycle, a “No first use” nuclear doctrines, regional nuclear weapon free zones or unilateral disarmament initiatives could be crucial measures to regain momentum for disarmament. The panel will discuss perceptions and interests associated with these steps, and explore opportunities and stumbling blocks for their implementation.

*Chair:* **Harald Müller**, Executive Director, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt

- **Rolf Mützenich**, MoP, Germany
- **Boris Guseletov**, Party Secretariat for International Relations, „Fair Russia“, Russia
- **Adauto Zago Pralon**, Federal Police, Brazil

15.00 *End*

*The conference will be held in English  
Translation German, Portuguese and Russian will be provided*

#### **Planning and Organization:**

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung  
Division for International Cooperation  
Department for Global Policy and Development  
Hiroshimastr. 28  
D - 10785 Berlin  
Internet: [www.fes.de](http://www.fes.de)

#### **Marc Saxer**

Phone: ++49 (0)30 - 26 935 7408  
e-mail: [Marc.Saxer@fes.de](mailto:Marc.Saxer@fes.de)

#### **Roswitha Kiewitt**

Phone: ++49 (0)30 - 26 935 7407  
e-mail: [Roswitha.Kiewitt@fes.de](mailto:Roswitha.Kiewitt@fes.de)  
Mobile: 0173-5270634