

The future of arms control

Cooperative arms limitations and reductions in times of global change

International expert conference of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin, in cooperation with the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin and the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg

Date and location

Monday, September 9, 2013, 10 am – 5.30 pm

Tuesday, September 10, 2013, 9.00 am – 5 pm

Beletage of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Schumannstraße 8, 10117 Berlin

Conference language is English

Background

Arms control efforts to cooperatively limit and reduce weapons potential as well as instruments to prevent the proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons urgently need to be strengthened. In Europe, there is a real danger of new arms races. States like Iran could withdraw from the NPT. Regional conflicts are fuelled by the unlimited supply of weapons, particularly small arms and light weapons. Disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation efforts are taking place under contradictory conditions.

On the one hand, the end of the Cold War has reduced military competition. Great powers now cooperate on many issues, such as non-proliferation. Fading geopolitical rivalry has facilitated the resolution of some regional conflict, for example in Africa and Latin America.

On the other hand, East and West have not yet overcome thinking in terms of military balance. The dispute over missile defence in Europe is a case in point. Some regional conflicts have escalated. The focus is on the Middle East, where geopolitical, economic and ideological conflicts overlap. Threats from transnational terrorist networks and the risks associated with the accelerating diffusion of dual-use technologies, and the emergence of novel military technologies such as cyber warfare and drones further complicate cooperative arms control approaches.

Conceptually, there is a great deal of confusion, both with regard to the goals that can be achieved through arms control under such conditions and with regard to the instruments that might be appropriate. Under conditions of the East-West conflict, arms control had the primary goal of

contributing to strategic stability between the two blocks. Arms control was also expected to make possible reduced defence spending and to prevent unnecessary suffering during conflicts and war.

Today, arms control is not only understood as a way to achieve strategic stability but also as a preventive instrument to tackle risks such as those associated with possible terrorist attacks with weapons of mass destruction. Arms control appears less targeted towards regulating interstate conflicts but increasingly is expected to prevent conflicts within states (or at least to limit their consequences). Such a broadening of the arms control concept makes it necessary to include new actors. Arms control is no longer a purely intergovernmental affair but also needs to involve sub-state actors, such as the private sector and non-governmental actors. Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the perspectives and needs of women must be included and accounted for, particularly when planning and implementing concepts for disarmament, demobilisation and the reintegration of former combatants. Future challenges are related to the regulation of novel technologies, such as information technology and drones, which are misused for hostile purposes.

Forty years after the first Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, this conference will provide an opportunity for practitioners and academics to discuss the conditions under which arms control is taking place, what the goals of arms control and disarmament efforts should be and how disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation instruments can be made more effective. Questions to be discussed include: How can arms control be made to work under conditions of U.S. military supremacy? How can arms control reflect the growing role of emerging economies? How can it contribute to the solution of regional conflicts? How can gender aspects be better taken into account, particularly dealing with decision making processes and policy implementation? How can cooperative arms control and non-proliferation instruments help to stem the diffusion of militarily relevant technologies?

Participants will discuss these issues from global as well as different regional perspectives. The goal of the conference is to debate what functions arms control can be expected to fulfil, to identify the interests of key actors, and develop ideas how modern arms control instruments can be made more effective. If arms control is to adequately reflect global trends emerging economies will have to participate in this debate as equal partners with traditional arms control proponents in the West.

Contact

Gregor Enste, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Foreign and Security Policy
+49-30-285 34 393, enste@boell.de

Oliver Meier, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin (SWP)
+49-30-880 07 233, oliver.meier@swp-berlin.org

Anne Finger, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH)
+49-40-8660 7770, finger@ifsh.de

Agenda

Day 1 September 9, 2013

Arms control and international security

- 10:00 am** *Welcome and introduction*
Ralf Fücks, President, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin
- 10:15 am** *Keynote Address: The evolution of arms control*
Alyson Bailes, University of Iceland, Reykjavik
- 10:45 am** *Panel 1: Limiting military competition under conditions of military asymmetry*
- US military supremacy and the future of arms control
Steven Pifer, The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C.
- Conventional arms control in the 21st century
Nikolai Sokov, Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation
- Nuclear arms control and European security
Oliver Meier, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin
- Chair: **Anne Finger**, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg
- 12:30 pm** *Lunch*
- 1:30 pm** *Panel 2: Nuclear weapons: from control to disarmament?*
- Multilateralizing nuclear arms control and Euro-Atlantic security
Des Browne, Former UK Secretary of State for Defence, London
- Rethinking nuclear arms control and disarmament in an era of global nuclear vulnerability
Benoît Pelopidas, University of Bristol
- Nuclear disarmament as a humanitarian issue
Patricia Lewis, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London
- Strengthening controls on nuclear technology
Mark Hibbs, Carnegie Endowment of International Peace, Berlin
- Chair: **Götz Neuneck**, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg
- 3:30 pm** *Coffee*

4:00 pm *Panel 3: Regulating emerging technologies*

Preventing new conventional arms races: regulating Prompt Global Strike
Dennis M. Gormley, University of Pittsburgh

Arms control in cyberspace: challenges and opportunities
Katharina Ziolkowski, NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence, Tallinn

Can the use of unmanned systems be regulated? Obstacles and perspectives
Götz Neuneck, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg

Chair: **Marcel Dickow**, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin

5:30 pm End of conference day 1

7:30 pm Public event: "German interests and next steps in disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation" (Details see last page)

Day 2 September 10, 2013
Regional dynamics on arms control

9:00 am *Panel 4: Controlling weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East*

Getting back to regional dialogue
Emily Landau, The Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv

A zone free of weapons of mass destruction the Middle East: next steps
Mohamed Kadry Said, Al-Ahram Center for Political & Strategic Studies, Cairo

A missile free zone in the Middle East
Bernd W. Kubbig, Peace Research Institute Frankfurt

Chair: **Bente Aika Scheller**, Heinrich Böll Foundation Middle East Office, Beirut

10:30 am Coffee

- 11:00 am** *Panel 5: Arms control in Asia*
- Engaging North Korea
Nobuyasu Abe, Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, Tokyo
- Involving India and Pakistan in the nuclear non-proliferation regime
Pervez Hoodbhoy, Forman Christian College-University, Lahore
- Increasing Chinese involvement in arms control and non-proliferation
Li Hong, Chinese Arms Control and Disarmament Association, Beijing
- Chair: **Gregor Enste**, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin
- 12:30 pm** *Lunch*
- 1:30 pm** *Panel 6: Arms control in Africa*
- The new humanitarian arms control agenda and African interests
Gugu Dube, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria
- Linking arms control with peace-building and peacemaking in Africa
Marc Koesling, Bonn International Center for Conversion
- Approaches to arms control with armed non-state actors
NN
- Chair: **Kirsten Maas-Albert**, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin
- 3:00 pm** *Coffee*
- 3:30 pm** *Outlook: Next steps and policy recommendations*
- Patricia Lewis**, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London
- Pervez Hoodbhoy**, Forman Christian College-University, Lahore
- Emily Landau**, The Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv
- Dennis M. Gormley**, University of Pittsburgh
- Chair: **Oliver Meier**, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin
- 5:00 pm** *Closing remarks*
Gregor Enste, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

September 9, 2013

7:30- 9:00 pm

Public Event

Organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation and the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg

Beletage of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Schumannstraße 8, 10117 Berlin

Simultaneous interpreting German and English will be provided.

***“German interests and next steps in disarmament, arms control
and non-proliferation”***

Welcome.

Ralf Fücks, President, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

Presentation

Ambassador Rolf Nickel, Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control, Berlin

Panel discussion:

Des Browne, Former UK Secretary of State for Defence, London

Steven Pifer, The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C.

Katja Keul, MP, Member of the Bundestag Defence Committee, Berlin

Rolf Nickel, Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control, Berlin

Chair:

Anne Finger, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg