



10-11 Sept 2015

## TIERGARTEN CONFERENCE 2015

### Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-Proliferation in a Period of Global Upheaval

#### Background

Global arms control and non-proliferation are in crisis. Disarmament and conversion have stalled and countries are rearming. The escalation of armed conflicts, such as those in Syria or Central Africa and, not least, the outbreak of the Ukraine crisis, are painful reminders of the need to step up disarmament and arms control efforts and agreements on the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and of conventional weapons.

Traditional approaches to cooperative arms control and existing instruments of non-proliferation of nuclear, chemical and

biological weapons are no longer effective. New impulses towards disarmament and arms control are needed in the multi-polar world of the twenty-first century. The rise of China and the ambitions of old/new powers such as Brazil, India or Iran have changed the balance of power in the global security architecture. Against this background, a new multilateral architecture for arms control and joint security should be established. It is urgently needed to halt the current global arms race and to find solutions to new arms control challenges such as the automation of weapons systems or the digitalisation of warfare.

### PROGRAM THURSDAY, 10 SEPTEMBER 2015, FES HOUSE 2 Symposium

from 08.30    **Registration**

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09.00    **Welcome**

Kurt Beck

*Chairman of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*





## PROGRAM THURSDAY, 10 SEPTEMBER 2015

### 09.15    Panel I: Nuclear Disarmament

Wu Chunsi

*Director of the Institute for International Strategic Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS), Shanghai*

Anita Friedt

*Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Nuclear and Strategic Policy, US State Department*

Alexander Kmentt

*Director for Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, Austrian Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs*

Erkki Tuomioja

*MP, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Social Democratic Party of Finland*

Facilitator: Ute Finckh-Krämer

*MP, SPD, Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-Proliferation Committee, Berlin*

### 11.00    Break

### The Return of Nuclear Arms Race?

Nuclear disarmament has stalled. With the outbreak of the Ukraine crisis the dialogue on progress in nuclear arms control has come to a complete standstill. Russia and the United States have even called existing arms control agreements and cooperation into question. Furthermore, regional (nuclear) arms races are gathering pace, including those between India and Pakistan or on the Pacific Rim.

Following the failed 2015 NPT Review Conference, we want to discuss if and how a nuclear weapons-free world may be achieved, both on the global and on the regional level.



## PROGRAM THURSDAY, 10 SEPTEMBER 2015

### 11.15 Input

Patricia Flor

*Federal Government Commissioner for  
Disarmament and Arms Control,  
German Foreign Office*

**Disarmament, Arms Control and the  
International Arms Trade Treaty -  
The View of the German Government**

### 11.30 Panel II: Conventional Arms Control

Niels Annen

*MP, foreign policy spokesperson of the SPD  
Parliamentary group, Berlin*

Clare Da Silva

*Amnesty International*

Albino Forquilha

*Director, FOMICRES, Maputo*

Alejandro Solano Ortiz

*Deputy Foreign Minister of Costa Rica*

Facilitator: Michèle Auga

*Head of the Department for Western Europe  
and North America, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*

**The International Arms Trade Treaty (ATT):  
Real Progress?**

Effective since the end of 2014, the international Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) seeks to stem the ever growing, uncontrolled and illegal trading of conventional weapons and munitions and to achieve better controls and regulations. However, the ATT is based on a minimal consensus reflecting the fundamental tension between safeguarding individual human security through arms control and possibly preserving states' security and stability through arms transfers.

The aim of the discussion is to analyse the weaknesses and shortcomings of the ATT. Following the first conference of the Treaty states in Mexico in 2015, we also want to point out opportunities to close existing gaps or even to further develop the ATT in order to achieve its full and effective implementation.

### 13.00 Lunch



## PROGRAM THURSDAY, 10 SEPTEMBER 2015

### 14.30 Working Groups

#### Group I

Bernt Berger

*Head of Asia Program, Institute for Security and Development Policy (ISDP), Stockholm*

Axel Berkofsky

*Senior Associate Research Fellow, Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale (ISPI), Milan*

Wu Chunsi

*Director of the Institute for International Strategic Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS), Shanghai*

Facilitator: Knut Dethlefsen

*Department for Asia and the Pacific,  
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*

#### Chinese Military Modernization and Force Development

China's military modernization is changing the distribution of power in Asia, including the distribution of nuclear and missile forces.

This modernization draws not only on indigenous military culture but also on careful analysis of Western and other experiences.

We want to discuss how does China's military modernization influence international politics in East Asia, in Asia and in the Pacific? How will China want to tackle asymmetric threats? What kind of power projection capabilities is China developing? Is China prepared for greater out of area operations? Is China preparing an arms export strategy and policy?

#### Group II

Wolfgang Richter

*Colonel off duty, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin*

Sergei Oznobishchev

*Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEKO), Moskau*

Facilitator: Felix Hett

*Department for Central and Eastern Europe,  
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*

#### The Crisis of Conventional Arms Control in Europe

Conventional arms control in Europe finds itself in a deep crisis. The CFE Treaty on conventional disarmament in Europe has been suspended by Russia, implementation of the Open Skies Treaty has stalled and reform of the Vienna Document has so far been unsuccessful. Especially in times of heightened tensions due to the outbreak of the Ukraine crisis in spring 2014, rising nationalism and squeezed national budgets a network of cooperative security is essential.



## PROGRAM THURSDAY, 10 SEPTEMBER 2015

14.30 **Group III**

Christian Koch

*Director, Gulf Research Center Foundation,  
Geneva*

Bernd Kubbig

*Project Coordinator, Peace Research Institute  
Frankfurt (HSFK/PRIF)*

Rouzbeh Parsi

*Department of History, Lund University*

Facilitator: Sarah Hees

*Department for Near/Middle East and North  
Africa, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*

### **The Iranian Nuclear Agreement and Its Regional and Global Implications**

The negotiations between the international community and Iran on its nuclear programme went on for more than a decade. In April 2015 the P5+1 agreed on a preliminary framework to reach a final agreement in July 2015, the "Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, JCPOA". Proponents support the JCPOA as it will stop a nuclear and conventional arms race in the Middle East while critics claim exactly the opposite. The question whether the strategic inclusion of Iran after the nuclear agreement will bring peace and stability to the region or if it will unleash a potentially chaotic and dangerous struggle for hegemonic power in the Middle East deeply divides the strategic community. The aim of this working session is to analyse the decisions and resolutions taken in July and their implications for Iran, the region and the international community.

## **Group IV**

Beatrice Fihn

*Director of the International Campaign to  
Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), Geneva*

Oliver Meier

*Deputy Head of the Research Division  
International Security, German Institute for  
International and Security Affairs (SWP),  
Berlin*

Noel Stott

*Senior Research Fellow, Transnational Threats  
and International Crime Division, Institute for  
Security Studies (ISS), Pretoria*

Facilitator: Alexander Geiger

*Department for Global Policy and  
Development, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*

### **Humanitarian Proscription of Nuclear Weapons**

The humanitarian initiative in the area of nuclear disarmament has brought new dynamic into the debate. It shows that after deploying nuclear weapons no state and no international organisation would be in a position to provide adequate humanitarian aid. The consequences for health, the environment, the climate and human development would be unmanageable. For this reason, since December 2014, more than 100 states committed themselves in the »Humanitarian Pledge«, to »fill the legal gap for the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons« and to »cooperate with all relevant stakeholders (...) in efforts to stigmatize, prohibit and eliminate nuclear weapons in light of their unacceptable humanitarian consequences and associated risks«. The aim of this session is to take a closer look at the »Humanitarian Pledge« and to analyse its prospects of success in the aftermath of the failed NPT 2015.

from 16.30

**Registration for the Podium Discussion in  
House 1**



## PROGRAM THURSDAY, 10 SEPTEMBER 2015, FES HOUSE 1

### PODIUM DISCUSSION

#### »Mutual Trust Instead of Arms Race – The Need for a New Global Arms Control Architecture«

##### 18.00 **Welcome**

Roland Schmidt  
*Secretary General, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*

25 years after the Cold War ended, we have to state that arms control and non-proliferation regimes are (again) in crisis. While disarmament and conversion efforts have given way to rearmament of armed forces, we are facing a renaissance of mistrust in the world. Many countries choose to rather rearm and modernize their forces instead of trying to cooperate within the framework of existing agreements.

##### 18.05 **Speech**

Stephan Steinlein  
*State Secretary of the German Federal Foreign Office*

Beside the disintegration of traditional concepts to arms control and non-proliferation, the international community also faces new challenges regarding the automation of weapons systems and the digitalisation of warfare.

##### 18.40 **Discussion**

Anita Friedt  
*Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Nuclear and Strategic Policy, US State Department*

Alexander Kmentt  
*Director for Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, Austrian Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs*

The following questions will be discussed with the experts on the podium: How to stop the newly emerging global arms race? How to deal with automation and digitalization? What are the chances for a new impetus in disarmament efforts? What could be the framework for a (new) multilateral arms control regime? Who are the stakeholders to push for this?

Rolf Mützenich  
*MP, Deputy Chair of the SPD Parliamentary group and member of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's board*

Erkki Tuomioja  
*MP, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Social Democratic Party of Finland*

Facilitator: Arnd Henze  
*Journalist,  
ARD-Hauptstadtstudio, Berlin*

##### 20.00 **Reception**



**PROGRAM FRIDAY, 11 SEPTEMBER 2015, FES HOUSE 2**  
**Symposium**

**09.00 Welcome**

Alexander Kallweit  
*Head of the Department for International  
Dialogue, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*

**09.10 Panel III:  
Automation and Digitalisation**

Marcel Dickow  
*Head of the Research Division International  
Security, German Institute for International  
and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin*

Nils Melzer  
*Senior Adviser for Security Policy at the Swiss  
Foreign Affairs Ministry*

Gabi Siboni  
*Head of Program Military and Strategic  
Affairs and Program on Cyber Security,  
Institute for National Security Studies (INSS),  
Tel Aviv*

Facilitator: Michael Bröning  
*Head of the Department for International  
Policy Analysis, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*

**Challenges for Security and Arms  
Control Policy**

The revolution in military affairs of the twenty-first century requires adapting military doctrines, legally and ethically reviewing new methods of warfare and perhaps even reconsidering conventional notions of war as such. The transformation is characterized by the increasing automation of weapons systems and by the digitalisation of warfare. This poses far-reaching questions for strategy, accountability for acts of war, compliance with humanitarian international law, the ethical capacity of artificial intelligence and the "humanity" of war.

We want to discuss if and to what extent politicians and academics are able to develop a new legal framework mitigating the effects of automation and digitalisation on the basis of both ethical postulates and security-policy interests.

**10.45 Break**

**11.00 Input**

**Principles of German Arms Export Policy**

Matthias Machnig  
*State Secretary, German Federal Ministry for  
Economic Affairs and Energy*



## PROGRAM FRIDAY, 11 SEPTEMBER 2015

11.45 **Panel IV:  
German Arms Export Policy**

Agnieszka Brugger  
*MP, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, Defence Committee and Sub-Committee for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation, Berlin*

Aude-Emmanuelle Fleurant  
*Director, Arms and Military Expenditure Programme, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Stockholm*

Jan Grebe  
*Senior Researcher, Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC)*

Bernd Westphal  
*MP, SPD, Economic Affairs and Energy Committee, Berlin*

Facilitator: Anna-Maria Kellner  
*Department for International Policy Analysis, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*

### **Between Political Values, Military Imperatives and Economic Interests**

German arms export policy is subject to competing interests. If the government approves of arms exports, critics point out its complicity in violent conflicts, in arming the parties to the conflict and in repressing the civilian population. If it doesn't approve of them, the army, companies and trade unions caution against the loss of core capabilities and the relocation of jobs to more export-friendly countries, possibly within Europe.

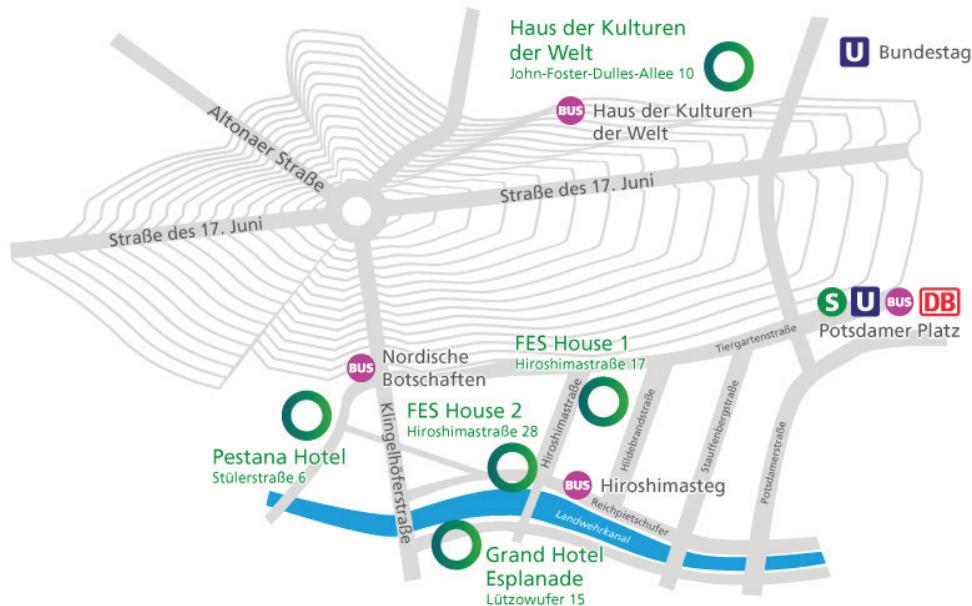
The aim of this panel is to highlight and analyse this tension. When is it legitimate to supply weapons and technology? What security-policy benefits should possible exports have? How could export decisions be made more transparent? Is a purely German arms industry needed to supply the German army? How crucial is the arms industry for the German economy? And can or should the arms sector be europeanised?

13.30 **End of the Conference & Reception**



## FURTHER INFORMATION

### Venues



### Contact

#### Concept

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Participation in the symposium is by invitation only.



# TIERGARTEN CONFERENCE

## DEBATING NEW TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FRIEDRICH  
EBERT  
STIFTUNG

### ABOUT THE TIERGARTEN CONFERENCE

**Concept** With its new format, the Annual Conference at the Tiergarten, the FES aims to address and highlight new trends in international affairs. Drawing on its extensive global network of offices in around 100 countries, the FES seeks to facilitate dialogue between decision-makers, decision-shapers and decision-takers from around the world on some of the key topics of our times. Informing and inspiring partners from around the world, while at the same time contributing to a more globally informed debate in Germany are the main aims behind this endeavour.

While FES's international activities usually proceed without too much publicity, the Tiergarten conference is meant to combine an in-depth expert conference with a wider outreach to the public. To this end, a live debate between Members of Parliament, experts and civil society will bring the crucial questions of global governance and international politics to the attention of a broader German audience at the end of the conference.

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The Tiergarten – A Venue for International Affairs and Home of FES International

With the relocation of government from Bonn to Berlin, Berlin's Tiergarten district has again become home to the diplomatic community. Reminiscent of Germany's past and promising in terms of a European and multilateral future this place at the heart of Berlin is an especially suitable backdrop for candid debates. It also recently became the new home of FES's International Headquarters.

