

NUCLEAR COMEBACK TIME IN EUROPE?

Idea Forum on New Arms Control Initiatives in the Post-INF-era

MONDAY 24th - WEDNESDAY 26th JUNE 2019
Protestant Academy Loccum

During the Cold War, adversaries on both sides of the Iron Curtain arduously built-up a system of nuclear arms control. This system has become more and more fragile in recent years. New and old nuclear powers around the world have taken efforts to modernize or even to increase their arsenals. Europe is especially in focus and is about to face a “nuclear comeback time”.

The INF treaty was once one of the major pillars of Europe’s security architecture. Due to years of violation and the mutual suspension by the United States and Russia, the days of the INF are – most likely – numbered and it is rather realistic to assume that the treaty will demise in early August 2019.

The looming collapse of the INF has swiftly reanimated the nuclear debate in Europe which has laid dormant for almost three decades. Many fear a revived nuclear competition around the globe, a new nuclear arms race in Europe like in the heyday of the Cold War, and even the collapse of the idea of arms control in general. Europe is in a particularly delicate situation because it would suffer considerably from a nuclear escalation between Moscow and Washington but it is at the same time a fence-sitter when it comes to bilateral US-Russian arms control.

However, it is not yet time to sing “nuclear blues”. A few weeks before the suspension period of the INF ends, this Loccum conference will bring together arms control experts, practitioners, and activists from across Europe – but also from the United States and Russia – in order to evaluate the efforts that have been made to save the INF during spring and early summer 2019. The central goal of this conference is, however, to provide a forum that fosters innovative ideas for new arms control initiatives suitable for the upcoming post INF era.

Language is English. Throughout the Conference we provide German-English Translation

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THIS CONFERENCE IS FUNDED BY:



Corvinus-Stiftung



DAY 1

MONDAY 24 JUNE 2019

13:30**REGISTRATION**

Guests who travel from abroad are welcomed to arrive the day before (Sunday, 23 June 2019)

14:00**WORDS OF WELCOME**

*Thomas **Müller-Färber**, Program Director International Affairs, Protestant Academy Loccum*

14:10**KICK-OFF PANEL | The Current Nuclear Crisis – Recap and Outlook**

In Europe – but also in other parts of the world – we are experiencing currently a nuclear crisis. The INF treaty – one of the major pillars of Europe's security architecture – is about to demise and talks between the United States and Russia to extend the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START) have not even started yet. Many fear a new nuclear arms race like in the heydays of the Cold War and even the collapse of the idea of arms control in general. The purpose of this kick-off panel is to introduce the conference by dropping some assessments and ideas about the current situation and future developments, and by giving "food for thoughts" that is nourishing further debates during the following two days.

RECAP – What happened so far?

*Łukasz **Kulesa**, fellow at the Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), London/Warsaw (confirmed)*

OUTLOOK – What might the future bring?

*Götz **Neuneck**, Deputy Director of Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH) German Representative to the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, Hamburg (confirmed)
Eliza **Gheorghe**, Assistant Professor, International Relations Department, Bilkent University, Ankara (confirmed)*

15:15**COFFEE & CAKE****15:45****INTRODUCTORY REMARKS | Germany's View upon the Changing Global Nuclear Order and the Upcoming NPT Review Conference 2020**

*Christoph **Hallier**, Head, of Division for Nuclear Disarmament and Arms Control, Federal Foreign Office, Berlin (confirmed)*

16:00**PLENARY DISCUSSION | The Today's Nuclear (Dis)Order – New Trends, Technics, and Actors**

The nuclear order is shifting. At least from a European perspective, it seems that we are currently witnessing a time of nuclear comeback. New and old nuclear powers around the world have taken efforts to modernize or even to increase their atomic arsenals. It appears that the idea of arms control has become brittle and has faced several setbacks in recent years. Technological trends – for example in the field of cyberspace – are posing challenges to strategic stability. But while we see renewed salience of nuclear weapons, on the one hand, we see at the other hand also the opposing trend of growing preference for nuclear abolitionism expressed first and foremost by the nuke ban treaty of 2015. The purpose of this panel is to explore and take stock of the current nuclear order. What are the major trends and developments? What do old and new nuclear actors do and plan for the future? What impact do new technological trends have? Etc.?

FROM BIPOLAR TO MULTIPOLAR – A New Strategic Context for Arms Control?

*Brad **Roberts**, Director of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory's Center for Global Security Research, Livermore, CA (confirmed)*

A CRISIS OF NUCLEAR LEADERSHIP? – Populism and Nuclear Weapons

*Oliver **Meier**, Deputy Head, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin (confirmed)*

TECHNOLOGICAL CHALLENGES – What's the impact of cyber, conventional precision weapons, and all that on arms control?

*Wilfred **Wan**, United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, Geneva (confirmed)*

OPPOSING TRENDS IN THE NUCLEAR ORDER? – Renewed Salience of Nuclear Weapons vs. Nuclear Abolitionism

Tytti **Erästö**, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Stockholm (confirmed)

--- followed by plenary discussion ---

17:00 Coffee & Tea Break

17:15 Continued plenary discussion on today's nuclear world

18:30 DINNER

19:30 FOOD-FOR-THOUGHTS INTERJECTION | What Is The Nature of Nuclear Arms Control?

Some say that that the very nature of arms control signifies the obligation to take the security interests of an opponent into consideration for the sake of one own's security interest. The purpose of this food-for-thoughts interjection is to drop some central ideas about the nature of arms control and briefly address questions like: Why is nuclear arms control important again? What can be achieved by nuclear arms control and what can not? How is the connection between arms control and other approaches that aim to handle nuclear threats – such as deterrence or disarmament? Etc.

Oliver **Thränert**, Head of Think Tank, Center for Security Studies (CSS), Zürich (confirmed)

19:45 EVENING TALK | Nuclear Arms Control: Past Mistakes and Historical Success Stories – What Can Be Learned for the Future?

During the Cold War, adversaries on both sides of the Iron Curtain arduously built-up a system of nuclear arms control. This system has become more and more fragile in recent years. The purpose of this evening talk is to explore past mistakes as well as historic success stories and examine the question of what can be learned for future arms control initiatives. Why have we come into a nuclear arms control crisis? What is hindering a revival of arms control? What is required that nuclear powers agree to oblige to arms control regulations? What conditions and requirements must be given to repeat the past success stories of nuclear arms control? Etc.

Sergey **Rogov**, Academic Director of the Institute of US and Canadian Studies, Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS), Moscow (confirmed)

Brad **Roberts**, Director of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory's Center for Global Security Research, Livermore, CA (confirmed)

Oliver **Thränert**, Head of Think Tank, Center for Security Studies (CSS), Zürich (confirmed)

Gaukhar **Mukhatzhanova**, Director, International Organizations and Nonproliferation Program, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Vienna (confirmed)

--- followed by plenary discussion ---

21:00 FINALE AND COME-TOGETHER

DAY 2 TUESDAY 25 JUNE 2019

8:30 BREAKFAST

IDEA-FORUM: Search for a New Nuclear Arms Control Initiative

How should a future and more serious arms control initiatives look like? On which modules should it build on? What actors, technological trends and developments in today's nuclear order must be addressed? How to implement the central logic of arms control in the current situation? How to develop a proposal for future arms control that the nuclear key players would considerer worth considering? Etc. The purpose of the idea-forum –

which will be organized primarily in breakout sessions – is to search for new and serious arms control initiatives suitable for the post-INF-era.

9:30 BRAINSTORM PANEL | Introductory Impulses on Central Building Blocks for Future Arms Control Initiatives

In order to nourish the debate during the following breakout sessions, the purpose of this panel is to briefly present potential modules and building blocks of future arms control initiatives. Being an introduction to the “idea forum”, the speakers are asked to drop innovative ideas, evaluate the different suggestions for a future development of arms control that were proposed during the last months, and provide food-for-thoughts for the following breakout sessions.

PRE-CONDITION & DIPLOMATIC OPENING: What are pre-conditions for new arms control initiatives? What role could confidence building measures (CBMS) and de-escalation procedures play? How to kick-off a promising diplomatic process that could lead to new arms control regulations?

William Alberque, Director, Arms Control, Disarmament and WMD Non-Proliferation, NATO HQ, Brussels (confirmed)

Wolfgang Richter, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin (confirmed)

Nikolai Sokou, Senior Fellow, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS), Vienna (confirmed)

11:00 Coffee & Tea Break

11:15 ACTORS & SUBSTANCE: What should be the substance of new regulating efforts? Is it possible to integrate more actors in future arms control regimes? What parts of nuclear and missiles capacities should be subjected to future arms control arrangements?

Andrey Pavlou, Professor at the School of International Relations, St. Petersburg State University (confirmed)

Ulrich Kühn, Deputy Head, Arms Control and Emerging Technologies, at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), Hamburg (confirmed)

Pavel Podvig, Senior Researcher, Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and Other Strategic Weapons Programme, United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, Geneva (confirmed)

12:30 LUNCH

14:00 BREAKOUT SESSION | Idea Forum continues in parallel working groups

15:30 COFFEE & CAKE

16:00 BREAKOUT SESSION | Idea Forum continues in parallel working groups

17:00 Coffee & Tea Break

17:15 PLENARY | Presentation and Discussion of Idea Forum’s Results

--- followed by discussion ---

18:30 DINNER

19:30 PLENARY | What Would Key Players Say About the Idea Forum’s Results?

What would the key players of the global nuclear order – such as the United States, Russia, or China – say about the results of the idea-forum? The purpose of this plenary discussion is to put the proposals for a new arms control initiatives developed during the break-out session to a test and check if they could pass a reality check.

IMPULSES FROM ...

... **WASHINGTON**

Laura Kennedy, Director at "Foreign Policy for America" and former U.S. Permanent Representative to the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, Washington D.C. (confirmed)

... **MOSCOW**

Adlan Margojev, Analyst, Institute of International Studies, MGIMO University and Editor, "Yaderny Kontrol" Bulletin, PIR Center, Moscow (confirmed)

... **BEIJING**

Tong Zhao, Fellow, Nuclear Policy Program, Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy, Beijing (confirmed)

... **ISLAMABAD**

Adil Sultan Muhammad, Visiting Research Fellow, King's College London (confirmed)

... **KYIV**

Mykhailo Samus, Deputy Director of the Center for Army, Conversion and Disarmament Studies (CACDS), Kyiv (confirmed)

21:00

FINALE AND INFORMAL COME-TOGETHER

DAY 3

WEDNESDAY 26 JUNE 2019

8:30

BREAKFAST

9:30

PLENARY DISCUSSION | ... **And If There Is No Nuclear Arms Control?**

It is uncertain whether the INF will be saved. Many experts expect that the days of the treaty are numbered and that the chance for the New START treaty is likewise limited. Against that background, it is necessary to discuss what might happen if there is no nuclear arms control in Europe anymore. In this panel we will address this question by looking upon it from very different angles of the spectrum and by focusing on different fields of for future actions.

PART 1: How to Make Nuclear Deterrence More Secure and Fit for the Future?

Joachim Krause, Director, Institute for Security Policy at the University of Kiel (ISPK), Kiel (confirmed)

François Heisbourg, Senior Advisor at the International Institute for Security Studies (IISS) and Special Adviser at the Fondation Pour La Recherche Stratégique (FRS), Paris (confirmed)

--- followed by discussion ---

10:45

Coffee & Tea Break

11:00

PART 2: Is it Possible to Revive a Broad Peace Movement? And What Role Could the Nuke Ban Treaty Play?

Xanthe Hall, Board Member and Co-Founder, ICAN Germany (International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons) and IPPNW Germany (International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War), Berlin (confirmed)

Gaukhar Mukhatzhanova, Director, International Organizations and Nonproliferation Program, James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, Vienna (confirmed)

--- followed by discussion ---

- 12:30 : **GOODBYE LUNCH**
- 13:20 : **DEPARTURE** | **Shuttle Service to Wunstorf Train Station & Hannover Airport (HAJ)**

FORMAT:

Conferences at the Protestant Academy Loccum provide forums for open-minded discussions on urgent and pressing issues. They endeavor to establish dialogues between actors from different fields and backgrounds with the intention to provide impetus to “think out of the box”. The Protestant Academy Loccum hosts meetings over 48 hours/two nights for between 60 to 80 participants and is open to those with the expertise to share or an interest in the subject.

ARRIVAL/DEPARTURE:

Loccum is located 50 kilometers west of Hanover in Lower Saxony, Germany. The nearest airport is Hanover (HAJ). The nearest train stations are in Wunstorf, Stadthagen, Minden and Nienburg. Detailed travel directions will be sent to all registered participants.

SHUTTLE BUS:

(Please book a seat in advance!): Monday, 24 June, departing in Wunstorf train station at 12:20 (please follow the station exit marked “ZOB”). Wednesday, 26 June, arriving in Wunstorf at approx. 14:00 p.m. For those who arrive at Hannover Airport, we organize individual pick-up.

ACCOMMODATION & FEE

Participants who are not listed as speakers are welcomed to lodge at the conference venue (<http://www.tagungsstaette-loccum.de/>).

- For a two-night stay including all meals (breakfast, lunch, cake, dinner) we charge **195 Euro**.
- For students, we offer a reduced fee of **95 Euro**.

Conference fees are to be paid in cash at the check-in or transferred in advance to: Kirchliche Verwaltungsstelle, IBAN DE36 5206 0410 0000 0060 50, Evangelische Bank eG Kassel, SWIFT/BIC GENODEF1EK1. When choosing transferal, please include your name and the reference number **12618**

REGISTRATION:

Please register with name, email, address, institution/organization by e-mail to Miriam Kamber (Miriam.Kamber@evlka.de). Registrations will be confirmed by email. Should you need to cancel, please contact us as soon as possible. Cancellations after 17 June 2019 will cause compensation of 25 % of the fee.