

Uta Zapf

Building a Nuclear Weapons Free World
Speech at the conference in Astana 29, August 2016

Excellencies,
dear friends,

Thank you for the invitation to this important conference.

Let me first congratulate Kazakhstan on the election to the UN Security Council. This gives your engaged government the opportunity to support the endeavours of the General Assembly to implement the decision of the Open Ended Working Group to start negotiations on a convention for the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

This will not be easy as long as the Nuclear Weapons States don't take part. But we observed successful negotiations on other categories - landmines and cluster ammunition - that led to a treaty that delegitimizes these weapons and hopefully in the long run will lead to total elimination. The Humanitarian Pledge and the proceedings of the International Criminal Court have been helpful steps on this way.

I congratulate your President Nusarbayev for his bold "Manifesto of the World for the 21st Century". It is a vision we badly need in a world where international agreed values and norms seem no longer valid, where we see an extreme build-up of weapons all over the globe, where treaties that we need so badly for our security and stability in the world no longer are in place or are in danger. Institutions and organisations that have been built up over decades that provided us with agreements for a more and more peaceful development of the globe are in jeopardy.

Cooperation and confidence between states and regions crumble away and the fear of imminent war is rising.

We need a new era of cooperation and confidence building between states and regions, a new "Entspannungspolitik". Willy Brandt and Egon Bahr were two outstanding statesmen who had this vision. By working to get this vision true, they became the architects of the detente with the Soviet Union and in consequence of a long and peaceful period of reconciliation in the post-Second-World-War era.

We enjoyed decades of arms control and disarmament - conventional and nuclear - , we derived the benefits of agreements and treaties that helped us get nearer a better, more democratic and peaceful world.

All of these achievements are endangered.

However, we can do something to prevent disaster.

Let me outline fields of activities that we have to work on:

1. Nuclear disarmament
2. Conventional arms control
3. Global policies like Climate change, Sustainable Development Goals and social equity.

The nuclear field

In the nuclear field, we must support total abolition. There are several steps that need to be taken even before negotiations on a Convention begin:

- support the proposals of the Open Ended Working Group
- implement CTBT and FMCT, press for keeping moratoria
- implement a no-first-use strategy
- strive for a Weapons of Mass Destruction Free Zone in the Middle East and in other regions
- refrain from modernizing nuclear weapons and the development of new ones

We should support President Obama who wants to achieve a Security Council Resolution on the prohibition of testing and proposes a no-first-use strategy. He meets resistance within Congress and from other countries under the US nuclear umbrella.

Russia should return to their former no-first-use promise and NATO should diminish the role of nuclear weapons in its strategic concept and to underline this also declare support for no-first-use and get rid of US nuclear weapons in Europe.

The NPT is stalled. In 1995 the unconditioned an unlimited prolongation was successful. In 2000 the outcome war a final document, containing the famous 13 steps, almost all of them are still valid. We hoped for good progress, but in 2005, the review conference ended in disaster, while in 2010 we got a wonderful working plan, that seemed to bring us nearer to the fulfillment of the Art VI obligations. Until now not much has happened, the last review conference ended without a final document. It rather seems that existing disarmament treaties are in danger to be abandoned or broken like the INF treaty, where both sides accuse each other of violations. New Start seems to be intact but we obviously can't hope for a follow-up.

On the contrary: all Nuclear Weapon States are modernizing their NW or even planning new ones. The Pentagon plans to spend \$1 trillion over 30 years on an entire new generation of nuclear bombs , bombers, missiles and submarines, including a dozen submarines carrying more than 1000 warheads, capable of decimating any country anywhere, 200 new nuclear bombs will be stationed in Europe, John Cirincione reports.

In addition, US are pondering a Third Offset Strategy, which in the long run would keep US superiority in war. This means using every advanced technology one could think of in future armaments. (Only think of the costs for such plans - money that should be used for peaceful means to make the world a better place for all mankind, eliminate hunger and poverty, and provide education and health services for the whole world!)

Russia is also modernizing its strategic forces, building new missiles, submarines, bombers as well as new underground nuclear bunkers. The new nuclear doctrine states that tactical nuclear weapons may be used in a conventional response scenario.

Great Britain's parliament just decided to fund modernizing Trident and the non-NPT-nuclear weapon states India and Pakistan are busy building up their nuclear capacities.

They are unimpressed because they no longer get sanctions; India even got NSG support for the development of civilian nuclear energy reactors. Both want to join the NSG and at least India seems to have good chances. Israel doesn't care and North Korea laughs at the double standards. China is also building up capacities.

The only ray of hope is the agreement with Iran.

To make Global Zero we have to stop new arms races.

We have to resume conventional arms control and disarmament.

The CFE treaty was a most successful disarmament agreement that freed Europe of many categories of offensive weapons, established transparency and confidence building measures and gave reassurance by verification of a tight inspection regime.

The Advanced CFE treaty, that tried to take into account the changes after the end of the Soviet Union was finalized and signed at the OSCE Summit 1999 in Istanbul. It was only ratified by Russia and never went into effect because NATO states refused to ratify. As a result, Russia abrogated the CFE treaty.

Now it is high time to revive cooperation and arms control.

We still have a very precious organisation where we can revive and preserve our precious values and norms, norms that more than 50 countries of Europe and the former Soviet Union plus USA and Canada have agreed on several basic papers like the Paris Document and the Helsinki Final Act. It is the Organisation on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) . It is high time to revive and reform the OSCE 40 Years after the Helsinki Final Act.

The acting German chairman FM Frank Walter Steinmeier declared he wanted to strengthen

- OSCE engagement in crisis management
- the fight against terrorism
- arms control.

In the German Newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung Frank-Walter Steinmeier launched a new initiative "Dialogue instead of Arms Race", which pleads to seek the common interest of states and to start organizing common security instead of security against one another.

This could well lead us back to the ODCE Summit 2010 in Astana. The Kazakh chairman offered an excellent work program, which was unfortunately rejected by a veto of Russia. Why not start a fresh effort on a similar basis?

Crisis management worldwide must be strengthened.

The UN, the European Union, the OSCE and many national states have established crisis management tools and concepts. The first concept of this kind was Boutros Ghali's „Agenda for Peace". Still we do not use these instruments in a successful way. We have to build up these instruments.

Global policies

We must realise that our global policies were not very successful. Looking at 65 Million refugees worldwide and the refugee crisis not only in Europe, we obviously failed to bring prosperity and welfare to the countries of the globe. The development policies of the industrialised countries must be revised in order not to exploit underdeveloped countries but allow them a good development of their own. The United Nations last September adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). If properly and in good faith implemented, these development proposals could be beneficial to the world. Also last year a Humanitarian World Summit showed ways for better support in cases of humanitarian disaster, be it war, natural disaster or other crisis situations. Unfortunately, the insights of these summits are all too soon forgotten.

We have to reform our trade systems, revise respective treaties with third countries, and respect ILO norms in our commercial connections and outlaw exploitation.

The Manifesto asks for "fair global competition in international trade, finance and development, for elimination of root causes of wars and conflict and for the confirmation of the basic principles of international law to prevent devastating wars and conflicts in the 21st century - I could not agree more.

Thank you for your interest.