

Contents

<i>List of Tables and Boxes</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Foreword</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	<i>xiii</i>
Introduction	1
Part I: A Study of Deliberative Democracy in the Security Field	
1 Security Theories in Review	5
2 Legitimacy and Democracy in the Security Field?	9
Part II: The NPT and its Historical Embedding	
3 The NPT Regime and its Anchoring within the Disarmament Debate	17
4 What's the NPT all About?	23
The Substance of the Treaty	23
The Asymmetric Regime of the Treaty	29
The NPT under Stress	35
Part III: The 7th NPT Review Process	
5 Overview and Course of the Review Process	41
6 Civil Society at the NPT Review Process	51
7 The Democratic Quality of Decision-Making During the 7th Review Process	55
The Preconditions for Democratic Deliberation	55
Responsiveness	74
Conclusion	173
<i>Annexes</i>	<i>179</i>
<i>Bibliography</i>	<i>195</i>
<i>Index</i>	<i>203</i>

Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War, globalization has brought new actors to the political arena. One of those, which have attracted considerable attention in academic research, is civil society or NGOs. However, there are research areas which have devoted a lot of energy to studies on NGO participation in global governance, such as human rights, environment or development (for example, Weiss and Gordenker 1996). Others, such as disarmament and the corresponding NGO commitment, have featured less prominently on the scholarly agenda even though civil society's dedication to peace and arms control has been old and is still continuing, partly in an intensified manner (see Disarmament Forum 1/2002). The present book therefore intends to fill a gap by addressing the topic of civil society participation in the nuclear non-proliferation regime. The nuclear non-proliferation regime qualifies well for this objective since it features, given its characteristics as a treaty regime in the international security field, notable legal avenues for civil society participation. In this way, it takes on a twofold perspective. On the one hand, the empirical question whether civil society can contribute to the evolution of regimes in the security field is addressed, especially when it comes to security cooperation. By this means, it constitutes an examination of classical and postmodern, especially constructivist, security theories under the new security conditions prevailing since September 11, 2001. On the other hand, it is questioned whether civil society can, under certain conditions, contribute to the democratic quality of international decision-making. Here, the empirical findings are used in order to test normative political theories on the legitimacy and democracy of global institutions and regimes. For this purpose, the empirical results are structured alongside certain criteria, namely, access, transparency, inclusion and responsiveness. Methodologically, the study has recourse to a mix of qualitative techniques ranging from process tracing and participant observation to content analysis and some elements of argumentation theory.

The chapters of the book are organized as follows. After the introduction, Part I follows which first elaborates on the different theoretical approaches in IR security studies. Political theorizing in the security field is evaluated with regard to its argumentative strengths and weaknesses in relation to security cooperation, such as the non-proliferation regime. The book, as an enquiry of civil society participation in the 7th Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) review process, is then situated, within the area of security studies, as a Critical Theory approach which uses, for epistemological purposes, a constructivist line, but touches also on classical analyzes of power and interest. Two hypotheses are posed in this context: (1) Civil society can contribute to the evolution of regimes even in the security field; and (2) if certain conditions (access, transparency, inclusion, responsiveness of governments to stakeholders' claims) for civil society participation are fulfilled, civil

society contribution can then contribute to the democratic quality of international decision-making. In order to test these hypotheses, Part II offers an overview, first of the disarmament debate and its legal regulations since World War II (Chapter 1) and second of content, deficiencies and *status quo* of the NPT (Chapter 2), as the framework necessary for understanding the following empirical analysis. Part III then conducts an in-depth empirical exploration of the process leading up to and comprising the 2005 NPT Review Conference (RevCon). It first investigates the course of the 7th NPT review process as such (Chapter 3) and then evaluates civil society participation in it (Chapter 4), before then analysing in detail the four criteria for democratic deliberation (Chapter 5). Access of civil society to the NPT process and its negotiation fora, transparency of information and the inclusion of all voices possibly affected by the policy decisions to be taken function as preconditions here which are necessary in order to see genuine and democratic deliberation taking place. Responsiveness of governments to civil society concerns, however, is decisive with regard to an actual contribution to the emergence of transnational democracy and the legitimacy of international rule-making. The latter section constitutes the main part of the book since it consists of a mix of content and argumentation analysis of 665 documents of the 7th review process coupled with process tracing in order to trace the argumentative input of CSOs to the NPT review process. To make the research manageable, I selected three topics and issue areas for coding and analysis: (1) general and complete disarmament and a Nuclear Weapons Convention; (2) reporting and (3) transition from nuclear to renewable energy. Finally, the conclusion summarizes the results. Whereas the implementation of access rights, but also the arrangements for participation themselves, as well as the transparency of information remained insufficient during the last NPT review process, the inclusion of all stakeholders, potentially affected by a decision, was even completely disregarded. Moreover, the examination of the fourth criterion, namely, responsiveness, clearly demonstrated a large lack of interaction between governmental and civil society representatives, of justification of State positions with regard to CSO arguments and of adoption or refutation of CSO positions on the agenda, in speeches and in the conference results in all three issue areas. Therefore, CSO contribution could not add to the democratic quality of international decision-making during the 7th NPT review process. However, this was also due to the existence of an 'intergovernmental core of decision-making,' that is a phase in the policy cycle which governments eagerly protect, and the result of a preponderance of bargaining over deliberation among governments themselves, a situation we seem to encounter whenever high-level strategic interests are at stake and power relationships are tremendously unequal. Therefore, also the other hypothesis, namely, civil society's contribution to the evolution of regimes in the security field, has to be answered rather in the negative. Nevertheless, intensive lobbying on the part of CSOs left some mark on the negotiations. This gives some reason to argue that civil society can render such a contribution if it replaces deliberative input by classical lobbying whenever it has to act within a participation- and deliberation-unfriendly setting.