

Editorial

EU Consortium: The Next Three Years

A few weeks ago, the European External Action Service (EEAS) formally confirmed and reinforced its support for the activities of the EU Non-Proliferation Consortium (EUNPC) for the next three years. It is a testimony of the success of this project launched in 2010 which concluded recently its first three years of operations. For the Consortium and the four institutes (FRS, IISS, PRIF, SIPRI) that have joined forces to establish it, it is great satisfaction.

The last three years saw the organisation of two major conferences, two EU seminars, several closed track II events supporting the Arms Trade Treaty or the prospects of a Middle East WMD Free Zone, the launch of a website and a newsletter, the publication of 40 policy papers. For the next three years, and thanks to the EU support, the EU Consortium will be able to significantly expand its activities. The major conferences will become a yearly event as well as smaller EU seminars. The EUNPC will expand its presence on social media.

Moreover, a whole set of new activities will allow the organisation of a number of ad hoc seminars, the establishment of an help desk to support the EEAS and the launch of a major initiative in terms of non-proliferation training for the next generation of experts. This will significantly expand the reach of the Consortium and offer many opportunities to involve the wider network of European institutes and experts.

This increased EU support creates for the EUNPC an obligation of success. It has been an honor and a privilege to chair the Consortium, and with all partners, we definitely look forward to the next three years.

*Camille Grand
Chairman, EU Non-Proliferation Consortium / Director, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS)*

“

The Ukrainian crisis is a wake-up call for the foreign policy establishment in the West

”

Whereas the link between non-proliferation and disarmament is under pressure within the NPT review process, the crisis in Ukraine will have a negative impact on the nonproliferation regime in the short term.



Tom Sauer is an Associate Professor in International Politics and head of the Research Group in International Politics at the University of Antwerpen (Belgium). His research interests cover nuclear arms control, proliferation, disarmament, and missile defense. He is member of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs.

What characterizes the Research Group in International Politics at the University of Antwerp in the European landscape of strategic research?

The Research Group in International Politics at the Universiteit Antwerpen (Belgium) is the only academic institution in Flanders that focuses on issues of non-proliferation, arms control, and disarmament. Consequently, networking with peers happens on a European (ECPR, EU Non-Proliferation Consortium) and global level (Fissile Materials Working Group, Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, International Studies Association). Specific research interests of a substantial part of the group are nuclear security, nuclear terrorism, US nuclear weapons policy, US extended deterrence, Iran, missile defense, the emerging powers and the nuclear non-proliferation regime, and the desirability and feasibility of nuclear elimination (including the humanitarian approach). The Group also tries to engage the public by writing op-eds and by commenting in the media. Other members of the Research Group deal with related international topics, like diplomacy (Prof Jan Melissen), geopolitics (Prof David Crikemans) and the role of international organizations (Prof Dieter Kerwer).

The third NPT Prepcom was held in New York last week. How do you assess the current NPT review process?

The NPT has been an essential tool in managing nuclear proliferation. That said, the NPT has also its limits, the major one being the lack of a concrete date for nuclear elimination. As the NNWS do not feel the heat, except at the 5-yearly review conferences, and keep modernizing their nuclear weapons, the NNWS will have to wait for a very long time before all nuclear weapons will be eliminated. That is not what they expected when they signed the NPT. As a result, many of the NNWS are becoming impatient. Indications are the failure of the 2005 NPT Review Conference, the Egyptian walk-out at the 2013 Prepcom, the setting-up of the Open-Ended Working Group, the recent lawsuit by the Marshall islands against all nuclear weapon states, and above all the new dynamics of the so-called humanitarian approach that may lead to a nuclear weapons ban. Such a ban will stigmatize nuclear weapons and shift the debate. It will then be up to the nuclear weapon states to explain why they refuse to ban nuclear weapons. Combined with the financial pressure on the defense budgets, a country like the UK may start getting rid of nuclear weapons, which on its turn may trigger a positive domino effect.

What could be the impact of the crisis in Ukraine on the non-proliferation regime in Europe and beyond?

In the short-term, the crisis in Ukraine will have a negative impact on arms control and nonproliferation because of three reasons: first of all because the political relationship between Russia and the US, that was already icy, further deteriorated. Second, the crisis led already to demands for the acceleration of the installment of missile defense in Europe, something that will encourage Russia even more to believe that US missile defense is meant to be against Russia. Thirdly, advocates of nuclear weapons, who have been on the defensive over the last years, see this crisis as an opportunity to speak out. In the medium term, the picture may be rather different. Arms control may be the most likely instrument to start improving the relationship with Russia, like during the Cold War. This crisis is a wake-up call for the foreign policy establishment in the West, which may trigger some introspection. We should find a way to fully integrate Russia (and Ukraine) into the European security architecture. The end result may be much less nuclear weapons in Europe and a compromise on missile defense.

*Interview conducted by
Benjamin Hautecouverture*

EU Institutional news

NPT PrepCom: EU committed to a shared vision

The Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2015 Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons took place from April 28th to May 9th in New York. The European Union spoke unanimously through Ambassador Jacek Bylica, Principal Adviser and Special Envoy for Non-Proliferation and Disarmament. During the general debate, Ambassador Bylica recalled the importance of the rule of law in international relations. He condemned in the name of all member states the violation of Ukrainian sovereignty.

In matters of disarmament, the EU evoked the “significant steps taken by the two nuclear-weapon European Union Member States” and called on the United States and the Russian Federation to increase their efforts to reduce their nuclear arsenals.

With regards to current proliferation crises, the EU strongly condemned North Korea’s violations of UN resolutions concerning its nuclear and ballistic programme, deplored the lack of cooperation of the Syrian government but welcomed the Joint Plan of Action (JPA) signed with Iran in November 2013. The Union also mentioned the need for peer reviews and follow-up missions in the field of nuclear safety and security, and repeated its support for the IAEA’s initiative aiming at establishing a Low Enriched Uranium Bank. Finally, the EU spoke in favour of establishing a common understanding on how to respond to a state’s decision to withdraw from the NPT, and of advancing non-proliferation efforts through the promotion of civil society, education and broadening public understanding of these issues.

Ambassador Bylica also mentioned the EU’s support for regional nuclear weapon free zones, its understanding of the need of non-nuclear states to receive security assurances from nuclear states and its concrete support in favour of the different export regimes, the codes of conduct and treaties limiting the proliferation of missiles and the struggle against nuclear terrorism.

[EU Statement - United Nations Preparatory Committee on the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons: General Debate](#)

[EU Statement - United Nations Preparatory Committee on the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons: Cluster II](#)

[EU Statement - United Nations Preparatory Committee on the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons: Cluster III](#)

Renewal of the EU Non-Proliferation Consortium’s mandate

EU Council Decision 2014/129/CFSP of the 10th March 2014 “promoting the European network of independent non-proliferation think tanks in support of the implementation of the EU Strategy against Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction” provides support for three further years of EU Non-Proliferation Consortium activity.

Via this new Decision, the EU Council increases its support for the initiative. The budget allocated to Consortium activities will increase from 2 million Euros to 3.6 million Euros over three years. This budgetary increase will facilitate the development of activities in four main fields:

Following on from its success to date, the Consortium’s international conference will now be held annually. The next conference, by invitation only, will take place in Brussels on the 4th and 5th September 2014. A further day of discussions in the margins of the conference will be devoted to the next generation of European, American, and third country experts.

More consultative meetings will be organised with European authorities, and up to seven ad hoc meetings will take place to provide specific analysis of the current major issues in the field of non-proliferation. Continuing in the vein of a significant focus on current events, a Help-Desk facility will be established in order to respond to

European requests via the provision of targeted analysis.

The Consortium’s network of European think tanks will continue to develop as the pertinent non-governmental organisations of the 28 EU member States develop and express their interest in participating. The Consortium website, the linchpin of the network, will continue to promote its members’ research activity, notably via an increased presence in social media.

Finally, an educational project will be established to train the next generation of experts (both academic and diplomatic), through the creation of online educational modules and training courses within the Consortium. All of the selected students will also be invited to conferences and seminars organised by the Consortium over the course of their training period.

The EU Non-Proliferation Consortium’s initial success and the renewal of its mandate virtuously illustrate the civilian forms of «effective multilateralism», the cornerstone of the EU Strategy against proliferation, and the henceforth-confirmed development of a European identity in this field.

[Council Decision 2014/129/CFSP of the 10th March 2014](#)

Upcoming events

June 02 - 05, 2014: IAEA Board of Governors, Vienna, Austria

June 11 - 13, 2014: CBRN CoE National Focal Points meeting, Ispra, Italy

June 16 – 17, 2014: Forty-Second Session of the Preparatory Commission of the CTBTO, Vienna, Austria

June 23 - 27, 2014: Third Review Conference of the Mine Ban Treaty, Maputo, Mozambique

June 26 - 27, 2014: European Council

July 07 - 10, 2014: International Conference on Advances in Nuclear Forensics: Countering the Evolving Threat of Nuclear and Other Radioactive Material out of Regulatory Control, IAEA, Vienna, Austria

Network News

Publications and web resources

The European Union's weapons of mass destruction non-proliferation clause: a 10-year assessment, Lina Grip, NP paper No.40, April 2014, 16p.

Nuclear Trafficking Issues in the Black Sea Region, Lyudmila Zaitseva, Friedrich Steinhausler, NP paper No.39, April 2014, 24p.

Governing Uranium in the United Kingdom, Molly Berkemeier, Wyn Q. Bowen, Christopher Hobbs and Matthew Moran, DIIS Report, 2014, 61 p.

South Korea's Air and Missile Defence: Below the Threat Level, Marcin Andrzej Piotrowski, PISM Bulletin No.64 (659), May 13, 2014

The Relevance of Nuclear and Conventional Arms Control to European Security Today, Ulrich Kühn, Commentary for the European Leadership Network, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy Hamburg, May 2, 2014

Written Evidence for the House of Commons Defence Select Committee On Deterrence and the changing role and requirements for security, Rebecca Johnson, Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy, April 2014, 6 p.

Initiatives de l'UE pour le contrôle des armes légères : vers une meilleure coordination, Cédric Poitevin, GRIP, April 2014, 41 p. (in French)

Elimination of Syria's chemical weapons stalls, Strategic Comments, IISS, April 2014

The Bang Behind the Buck. Replacing the UK's Nuclear Warheads, Hugh Chalmers, Occasional Paper, RUSI, March 2014, 26p.

Overcoming Pakistan's Nuclear Dangers, Mark Fitzpatrick, Adelphi Papers, March 2014, 94 p.

Highly Enriched Uranium, a Dangerous Substance that Should Be Eliminated, Annette Schaper, PRIF Report No. 124, Frankfurt/M., 2014, 46 p.

Future challenges in nuclear verification, David Cliff, Trust & Verify, VERTIC, January-March 2014, Issue Number 144

Discussion meeting at IISS: "Overcoming Pakistan's Nuclear Dangers"

On April 3rd, 2014, Mark Fitzpatrick, Director of the IISS Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Programme, discussed his new Adelphi Book entitled "Overcoming Pakistan's Nuclear Danger" at Arundel House. On this occasion, he assessed the different risks posed by the Pakistani nuclear programme. He especially evoked the risk of a terrorist attack on nuclear sites and of a transfer of nuclear know-how to states or non-states actors. Concerning these dangers, Mark Fitzpatrick affirmed that they are sometimes exaggerated and that the regime had made efforts to increase the security of its nuclear arsenal. Likewise, its exports control norms are improving even if the risk of illegal proliferation cannot be excluded. The safety of the civilian installations is according to the expert still not at the level of the Nuclear Weapon States under the NPT, but the cooperation of Pakistan with the IAEA is encouraging.

[See the video recording](#)

For Mark Fitzpatrick, the gravest risk associated with the programme today is linked to the arms race currently taking place in South Asia. He stated that Pakistan has the fastest growing nuclear arsenal and has almost the capacity of doubling its number of bombs by 2020. While the risk of a spectacular terrorist attack in India triggering a nuclear conflagration between the two countries cannot be ruled out, the deployment of nuclear tactical weapons by Pakistan could increase the risk of an escalation.

To reduce these dangers, Mark Fitzpatrick recommends to propose to the regime a programme of normalization comparable to the one offered by President Bush to India in 2005. Such a cooperation agreement would rely on conditions, since Pakistan still has much to prove in the wake of the AQ Khan proliferation scandal. A deal should contain a provision making Pakistan renounce to the production of fissile material and sign the CTBT.

Deep Cuts Commission Releases Its First Report

Invited by the Brookings Institution, members of the Deep Cuts Commission unveiled their First Report "Preparing for Deep Cuts: Options for Enhancing Euro-Atlantic and International Security" on 28 April 2014. The 21-member Deep Cuts Commission, made up of former government officials and arms control experts from the United States, Russia, and Germany, have taken on the challenge of finding ways to achieve further arms control and nuclear risk reduction steps that can enhance national, Euro-Atlantic, and international security. The Commission is coordinated by the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), the Arms Control Association, and the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Science (IMEMO, RAN).

[Download report](#)

In their report, the Commission argues that four years after the conclusion of New START, the United States and the Russian Federation still deploy nuclear arsenals that far exceed what is needed for deterrence. Even before the deep tensions over Russian actions in Ukraine, a difference over a range of security challenges have stymied progress on further nuclear reductions, the experts say. As one principle insight from their report, the Commission is convinced that it remains important that policy makers in Washington, Moscow, and European capitals continue to devise and actively explore long-term strategies for stability and predictability at lower levels of armaments.

By Ulrich Kühn, Research Fellow, IFSH

Upcoming events

May 20, 2014: *The Future of Arms Control*, Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, Vienna

May 22, 2014: *Five Myths About Nuclear Weapons*, Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, Vienna

May 29, 2014: *UK PONI Annual Conference*, RUSI, Whitehall, London, SW1A 2ET

June 9 - 11, 2014: *WMD verification: global capacity challenges*, Wilton Park, WP1256, Wiston House, UK

September 04 - 05, 2014: *Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Conference 2014*, IISS/EU Non-Proliferation Consortium, Brussels, Belgium (by invitation only)

September 17-18, 2014: *Preventing Nuclear Terrorism: the Role of Nuclear Security*, University of Antwerp, Antwerpen, Belgium

Spotlight on...

Latest publications

Tom Sauer, The EU as a coercive diplomatic actor? The EU-3 initiative towards Iran, in: J.Koops and G.Macaj (eds), The EU as a diplomatic actor, Palgrave, 2014 (forthcoming).

Tom Sauer, Ceci n'est pas une... American nuclear weapon in Belgium, in: European Security, vol.23 (1), 2014, pp.58-72.

Sylvain Fanielle, *Le Sommet sur la sécurité nucléaire de La Haye 2014: réussite ou occasion manquée?*, GRIP Analysis Notes, Brussels, April 2014 (in French)

Navid Hassibi and Tom Sauer, Easing Sanctions on Iran Might Some Day Be Necessary – But It Won't Be Easy, in: The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, vol.69, 5, Sept-Oct 2013, pp.46-55.

Sylvain Fanielle, *Le Sommet sur la sécurité nucléaire à la croisée des chemins: entre doutes et ambitions*, GRIP Analysis Notes, Brussels, August 2013. (in French)

Tom Sauer, Nuclear Elimination With or Without Missile Defence?, in: Cambridge Review of International Affairs, vol.25, 3, October 2012, pp.433-450.

Tom Sauer, US Tactical Nuclear Weapons in Europe After NATO's Lisbon Summit: Why Their Imminent Withdrawal is Desirable and Feasible, in: International Relations, vol.26, no.1, March 2012, pp.78-100.

nonproliferation.eu is the bimonthly e-newsletter of the EU Non-proliferation Consortium. It is available free of charge on the Consortium's website: www.nonproliferation.eu

Editor: EU Non-proliferation Consortium

Publication director: Camille Grand

Editor in chief: Benjamin Hautecouverture

Headquarters: 4 bis, rue des Pâtures, 75016 Paris, France

Tel: 00 33 1 43 13 77 61

Fax: 00 33 1 43 13 77 78

The Research Group in International Politics at the University of Antwerp



The **Research Group in International Politics** is affiliated with the Department of Politics at the University of Antwerp, Belgium and was founded in 2011. One of its main research areas is international security, particularly nuclear arms control, proliferation, and disarmament. Other research areas are global governance, diplomacy, and East Asia. The Research Group is part of the Fissile Materials Working Group (FMWG), a non-governmental coalition working to provide action-oriented policy solutions to keep the world safe from nuclear terrorism. Through the organization of events, it also aims at gathering experts and young professionals to discuss salient issues related to nuclear nonproliferation. Two important projects are currently undertaken within the research group: nuclear security - more precisely the implementation process of international standards and initiatives covering the security of radioactive sources and materials, and nuclear terrorism - more specifically the identification of the organizational challenges of terrorist groups with regard to the construction and detonation of an improvised nuclear device. A recently launched project aims at assessing informal security organizations such as the EU-3 (with Iran), the 6-party talks (with North Korea), the Nuclear Security Summits, and the Proliferation Security Initiative.

The team

Prof. Tom Sauer is an Associate Professor in International Politics and head of the Research Group in International Politics at the Universiteit Antwerpen (Belgium). His research interests cover nuclear arms control, proliferation, disarmament, and missile defense. Tom Sauer is author of Nuclear Arms Control. Nuclear Deterrence in the post-Cold War Period (Macmillan, 1998), Nuclear Inertia. US Nuclear Weapons Policy after the Cold War (I.B.Tauris, 2005), and Eliminating Nuclear Weapons. The Role of Missile Defense (Hurst/Oxford University Press, 2011). He held research positions at BCSIA, Harvard University (1997-1999), the EU Institute for Security Studies in Paris (April 2001) and has been holder of an Individual NATO Scholarship. Sauer has been an intern at UNIDIR and at the European Commission. He is member of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs.

Prof. Dieter Kerwer is Lecturer of International Politics in the Department of Political Science of the University of Antwerp. His major research interests are Global and European Governance, International Political Economy and International Organisations. More recent publications include: 'International Organizations as Meta-Organizations: the Case of the European Union', Journal of International Organization Studies, 2013, 4(2), 40-53., (with Roman Goldbach) 'New Capital Rules? Reforming Basel Banking Standards after the Financial Crisis', in Renate Mayntz (ed.), Crisis and Control: Institutional Change in Financial Market Regulation, Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 247-262.

Jan Melissen is a Senior Research Fellow at the Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael' and a Professor at the University of Antwerp. He is founding co-editor of The Hague Journal of Diplomacy. Among his most recent books are Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia (2011), Consular Affairs and Diplomacy (2011), Economic Diplomacy: Economic and Political Perspectives (2011) and European Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work (2013).

Dr. David Crikemans is Assistant Professor in International Politics at the University of Antwerp. He is special-

ised in the geopolitical analysis of international relations. His research focuses on current issues of foreign policy, diplomacy and geopolitics. Among others, he recently worked on energy issues and multi-level diplomacy. In the Belgian media, he is opinion maker in multiple outlets. In this capacity, he commented on North Korea and Iran.

Dr. Elena Atanassova-Cornelis is Lecturer in East Asian Politics at the School of Political and Social Sciences, Université Catholique de Louvain (UCL) and at the Department of Politics, University of Antwerp (UA). Her research interests and expertise include Japanese and Chinese foreign policies and regional strategies in Asia; US policy towards East Asia; regional security cooperation in Asia; and missile and nuclear proliferation in Asia.

Sylvain Fanielle holds a Master degree (LL.M) in European Law from Maastricht University. He is an associate research fellow at the Center for International Security and Arms Control Studies (CESIM-Paris) and at the Group for Research and Information on Peace and Security (GRIP-Brussels). Supported by the Belgian Nuclear Control Agency, he is currently preparing his PhD on the security of radioactive sources and materials in medical facilities.

Brecht Volders holds a Master degree 'criminological sciences', 'international relations and diplomacy' and a MA degree 'strategy and international security'. Currently, he is a doctoral candidate at the Research Group International Politics at the University of Antwerp. The title of his PhD is: Structural capacity of a terrorist organization: capable to construct the bomb?

Navid Hassibi is a doctoral candidate in political science at the University of Antwerp and a Visiting Scholar with the Elliott School of International Affairs at the George Washington University. His dissertation focuses on the US nuclear weapons policy under the Obama administration and examines whether decades old policies are changing and if so, to what degree and why. He also frequently provides analysis and insight on affairs in the Middle East, particularly on Iran.