

Editorial

Dear friends of the EU Non-Proliferation Consortium,

The EU Non-Proliferation Consortium, launched three years ago by COUNCIL DECISION 2010/430/CFSP of 26 July 2010, recently held its second consultative meeting in Brussels on the 17th and 18th June (see article on page 3) and will organize its second international conference on the 30th September and 1st October, again in Brussels (by invitation only). This event will bring our first triennial cycle of meetings to a close.

Moreover, 2013 has witnessed the Consortium's involvement in activities in support of the Arms Trade Treaty through the organisation of two closed seminars, the first in the Geneva region in February, and the second in Geneva proper in June (see article on page 2). You can also visit the dedicated page on the Consortium's website, containing agendas and reports, official EU documents, Consortium publications, and publications from the Consortium's network.

Finally, 30 working documents have been published to date in our "non-proliferation papers" collection, and a further 10 will be published this year. More than 500 articles from across the network, comprising more than 60 independent European think tanks, have already been published in the "thematic" section of our website.

The Consortium's first three years suggest that a veritable European research identity with regard to arms control and non-proliferation is being consolidated. We would like to thank all of you who have contributed to this success through your participation and your support warmly. Have a great summer!

*Benjamin Hautecouverture
EU Non-Proliferation Consortium
/ Fondation pour la Recherche
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Given the evolving nature of warfare, new approaches to deterrence are now required. Italy supports the development of missile defense but the question of its financing remains an issue that needs to be addressed in Europe.



Stefano Silvestri (Italy) has been President of the International Affairs Institute from 2001 to 2013. He has been and is involved in a number of research projects regarding defense policy at national, EU and NATO level. He has been also Defence Under Secretary of Italian Government, Consultant of Italian Defense Minister, and Member of the Conseil Economique de la Défense of the French Government. He is also Member of the Board of the Italian Association of Aerospace and Defense Industries (AIAD), of the Trilateral Commission, and of the European Security Research Advisory Board (ESRAB) of the European Commission.

How has the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) touched Conference?

upon issues of non-proliferation of WMD and the fight against dissemination of conventional weapons?

Our Institute has been engaged in the non-proliferation debate since the signing of the NPT by the Italian government, and has published a number of researches on the proliferation of nuclear weapons and on various aspects of the nuclear strategy and deterrence, with particular emphasis on Europe (for instance, on the nuclear debate inside the Atlantic Alliance, on the American "tactical" nuclear weapons in Europe, etc.). Nuclear proliferation has been studied as one of the aspects of the evolving global governance, when we have analyzed the performances of G-7/8 and from a juridical perspective, considering the evolutions of International Humanitarian Law.

As a specialist of European strategic issues, what positions should Europe defend at the 2015 Nuclear Non-

I favor the perspective of a progressive elimination of all national nuclear arsenals,

but I do not think that nuclear weapons are the only, nor the main, devil. I am increasingly worried by the evolution of war as a kind of permanent low/medium level warfare, mixing together a large number of ingredients, domestic and international, military, para-military and civilian, using conventional and unconventional technologies.

This kind of warfare could reach the nuclear threshold, requiring new deterrence approaches and possibly new operational strategies. I doubt that the Review Conference will be able to confront these issues. Probably the best approach should be one of relatively low expectations, concentrating on a couple of issues like the promotion (in a very distant future?) of a Regional Middle East Nuclear Free Area, and on the internationalization of the production and storage of enriched Uranium.

The geographical positioning of Italy makes of ballistic missiles a key issue. What is the Italian approach to this matter?

The missile threat from others than Russia is very low and does not justify great anti-missile expenditures. There is of course an industrial and technological interest to pursue these programs, as well as the intention of maintaining the unity of purpose among the Atlantic Allies. Italy is officially in favor of developing anti-missile defenses, possibly using European technologies and products. However I am at loss to understand how do we think to pay for them, unless it is a very limited program (just good to intercept ballistic Iranian missiles): this we may possibly afford, but the question will remain, if there are other better ways to spend that money.

Interview conducted by
Laetitia Sanchez Incera
Research Assistant, FRS, Paris

EU Institutional news

E3+3 Negotiations with Iran

Throughout spring, E3+3 (France, Germany, United Kingdom along with China, Russia and the United States) and Iran have initiated a round of talks in Almaty, Kazakhstan. Two meetings took place on February 27, 2013 and on April 2, 2013, while an experts meeting took place on March 18, 2013, and aimed at putting forward a confidence-building proposal.

These talks provided Iran with an opportunity to alleviate the international community's concerns about the Iranian nuclear programme. More particularly, it gave Iran a chance to assert the peaceful nature of its nuclear activities, and invited the Islamic Republic to effectively participate to the multilateral non-proliferation effort.

If negotiations have not been conclusive yet, Almaty I and II have still been the first necessary steps for negotiation, which could, in the long run, enable the IAEA to overlook and ensure the civilian use of Iranian nuclear programme. Although further negotiations are not predicted, the election of President Hassan Rouhani, former Iran's top nuclear negotiator, last June 14, might contribute to overcome existing obstacles to discussions on Iranian nuclear issues.

[E3+3 Statement by EU HR Ashton following talks with Iran, April 6, 2013.](#)

Council Regulation (EU) No 1263/2012 of 21 December 2012 amending Regulation (EU) No 267/2012 concerning restrictive measures against Iran.

EU ATT Seminar 2: Implementing the Arms Trade Treaty

Following on from the first EU ATT Seminar in the Geneva region from the 28 February – 1 March, and in the wake of the successful negotiation of the ATT at the United Nations in March 2013, the EU Non-Proliferation Consortium, in the framework of Council Decision 2013/43/CFSP, adopted on the 22nd January 2013, organised a second two-day workshop on 17-18 June (by invitation only). The workshop sought to identify the means of bringing the Treaty swiftly into force, the best practices for implementing the Treaty at both national and regional level, and the facets of international assistance with the Treaty's implementation.

The workshop brought together officials from 50 States, as well as representatives of regional organizations and the NGOs most heavily involved in the ATT process. The comprehensive and in-depth discussions that character-

rized the meeting addressed concrete proposals to facilitate the rapid entry into force of the ATT, the issue of coordinating the provision of ATT-related assistance efforts both prior and subsequent to the treaty's entry into force, and the identification of several barriers to early signature, ratification and entry into force for the ATT along with a range of measures that can be taken by States, regional organizations and NGOs to overcome these obstacles. A large number of the measures aim to help States to map their existing transfer control systems, and to identify and fill any gaps that may prevent treaty ratification or effective implementation. The seminar also discussed lessons learned from pre-existing assistance activities in the field of arms-transfer controls and the ways in which they could be built upon and utilized by ATT-related efforts.

[Dedicated webpage](#)

The EU at the Conference on Disarmament

The second part of 2013 Conference on Disarmament ended with a plenary meeting in Geneva, Switzerland last June 25 under stark criticism as it struggles to perform its function as the world's single multilateral disarmament negotiation forum. Facing this criticism, the EU reasserted in early June its commitment to the CD. In the same statement, it expressed its conviction that the 'remaining part of 2013 could still be used effectively to put the CD back on track'; from this viewpoint it invited 'all Member States of the Conference to engage constructively'.

An effort to revitalise the forum and enhance its credibility and its commitment to disarmament issues is on its way as the adoption of

a newly-defined programme of work reasserts the role of the CD in the cessation of nuclear arms race, the prevention of an arms race in the outer space, nuclear disarmament, and the promotion of transparency in armament. More particularly, the EU stated its wishes to prioritise the 'banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices' at the third CD session starting on July 30.

[Statement of the European Union at the Conference on Disarmament, June 4, 2013.](#)

[Statement of the European Union at the Conference on Disarmament, "Revitalization of the CD", June 11, 2013](#)

Upcoming events

August 12-16, 2013: [BWC Meeting of Experts](#), Geneva, Switzerland

August 29, 2013: [International Day Against Nuclear Tests](#)

October 27-31, 2013: [International Conference on the Safety and Security of Radioactive Sources: Maintaining the Continuous Global Control of Sources throughout their Life Cycle](#). IAEA, Abu Dhabi, UAE

October 24-25, 2013: [European Council](#), Brussels, Belgium

October 28-30, 2013: [Forty-first Session of the Preparatory Commission of the CTBTO](#), Vienna, Austria

Network News

Publications and web resources

Future of Nuclear Power in France, Bartosz Wiśniewski, PISM, June 12, 2013

The Nuclear Security Summit 2014: Challenges and Opportunities, Wilton Park Conference Report, Paul Wilke, June 10, 2013

When is Evidence Proof?, Jean Pascal Zanders, The Non-Proliferation Monthly, CESIM, June 2013

Strengthening the European Union's Future Approach to WMD Non-proliferation, Ian Anthony, Lina Grip, SIPRI Policy Paper no. 37, June 2013, 52p

Creating a Common EU Policy on Nuclear Non-proliferation Education: a Case Study of Sweden, Thomas Jonter, Non-Proliferation paper No.29, June 2013, 14p.

The European Union's Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Centres of Excellence Initiative, Alicia Mignone, Non-Proliferation paper No.28, June 2013, 12p.

North Korea's Missile Programme, David Wright, European Leadership Network, June 4, 2013

Realizing the Full Potential of the Proliferation Security Initiative, Aaron Dunne, SIPRI, May 27, 2013

Atoms for Turkey: Ankara's Struggle for Nuclear Energy, Aaron Stein RUSI Newsbrief, May 3, 2013

Second Consultative Meeting of the EU Non-Proliferation Consortium

Agenda, list of participants, presentations, photos

The second EU Non-Proliferation Consortium consultative meeting took place in Brussels on 17-18 June. The first meeting took place in Brussels in May 2011, launching the first triennial cycle of the Consortium project. This year again, this event was held under the Chatham House rule. Its agenda was published on the Consortium's website, along with a number of presentations.

The first day of the conference was dedicated to the illegal trade of small arms and light weapons and to the common European position on arms exports, as well as to the Iranian and North Korean proliferation programmes and to the many challenges of the ongoing Syrian crisis.

Let us focus here on the analysis of the issue of North-Korean proliferation, whose strategic importance was underlined by Mark Fitzpatrick, director of the Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Programme at IISS (London): 'North Korea presents the greatest challenge to the global non-proliferation regime. The only country to have withdrawn from the NPT, North Korea is also the only one to have joined it with the intention to violate it. Indeed, North Korea is uniquely defiant of international norms.' According to Mark Fitzpatrick, two decades of aborted negotiations with the Pyongyang regime indicate that the only solution to this long-lasting crisis lies in the reunification of the Korean peninsula under the rule of a liberal democratic regime based on a market economy. This is not a groundbreaking suggestion. The end of apartheid also brought about the end of the South-African WMD programmes, although, strictly speaking, the small number of nuclear weapons in the arsenal had been dismantled before the transition to democracy. On the other hand, the collapse of the Soviet bloc brought to an end the dissemination of nuclear weapons in Eastern Europe (in Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan). While it is easy to identify this retrospectively, what is really at stake with regard to regime change in North-Korea is essentially the means. Without going into too much detail, Mark Fitzpatrick insisted on the fact that 'to be successful, regime change has to come about indigenously'. He also suggested that it is necessary to include the ultimate aim of reunification into the new approaches, notably European, that should urgently be identified and carried out in order to end the North-Korean proliferation crisis. This line of thought has been gaining ground in the West since 2009, but in several different guises. It represents both a potential solution and a relative sign of failure and impotence.

The second day was devoted to a more general discussion of WMD, space weapons and delivery vehicles. It ended with a panel discussion assessing the EU WMD Strategy, which has informed the EU's non-proliferation and disarmament policies for the last ten years.

The WMD sessions initially reflected on the CWC Review Outcome and then discussed the current challenges facing the BTWC regime. The discussions benefitted from the presence of both a senior OPCW policy officer as well as the current chair of the BTWC Intersessional Process.

In the nuclear field, the focus was on the comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT) and what options could facilitate its entry into force (EIF). The presentations and discussions highlighted the fact that the EIF of this key treaty needs a broader approach and cannot be limited to diplomatic forays vis-à-vis Washington.

Finally, the EU space policy and its draft Code of Conduct for space activities were on the agenda: among the long-term challenges the discussion highlighted the challenge of proliferating anti-satellite (ASAT) capabilities, which could both represent a danger for civilian space assets and simultaneously lead to the militarization of space.

Upcoming events

July 10-12, 2013: Towards global nuclear order: deterrence, assurance and reductions, Wilton Park, UK

September 02-06, 2013: Summer Programme on Disarmament & Non-Proliferation of WMD in a Changing World, T.M.C. Asser Instituut and OPCW, The Hague, Netherlands

September 11-12, 2013: 7th Autumn Conference, ESPI, Vienna, Austria

September 15-18, 2013: Dual-use biology: how to balance open science with security, Wilton Park, UK

September 30-October 01, 2013: 2nd EU Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Conference, Crowne Plaza, Le Palace Hotel - Brussels (by invitation only)

Spotlight on...

Latest publications

Silvia Colombo, 'The Future of Syria and the Regional Arms Race', *Istituto Affari Internazionali*, Working Papers 1319 (June 12, 2013), p.8.

Matthew Moran and Christopher Hobbs, 'Looking Beyond a Nuclear-Armed Iran: Is Regional Proliferation Inevitable?', *The International Spectator*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (December 2012), pp. 127-148.

Liviu Horovitz and Roland Popp, 'A Nuclear-free Middle East: Just Not in the Cards', *The International Spectator*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (September 2012), p. 1-7.

Massimiliano Fiore, 'Israel and Iran's Nuclear Weapon Programme: Roll Back or Containment?', *Istituto Affari Internazionali*, Working Papers, June 11-18, 2011.

Riccardo Alcaro, 'Betting on Perseverance. Why the Double Track Approach is Still the Best Way to Deal with the Iranian Nuclear Conundrum', *Istituto Affari Internazionali*, October 20, 2010.

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Istituto Affari Internazionali



The **Istituto Affari Internazionali** (IAI) was founded on 11 October 1965 thanks to the initiative of Altiero Spinelli, who became its first Director. IAI is a non-profit organization funded by individual and corporate members, public and private organizations, major international foundations, and through a standing order from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Institute is one of the major Italian think tanks in the fields of European Union foreign and neighbourhood policy, security and defence issues and international political economics. Its international network capabilities are well developed as IAI has strengthened its ties with similar institutes abroad through active participation in a number of international research networks. An independent approach characterises the policy-oriented research which IAI undertakes and traditionally directs at governments, business, international organisations and European institutions, as well as to the public audience through open publications and conferences. In the realm of international security, IAI has a long standing tradition of studies on defence issues, NATO, non-proliferation, deterrence, arms control, and terrorism.

The team

Ettore Greco (Italy) has been Vice-Director of the IAI since 1997 and Head of Programme on Central/Eastern Europe and Russia in the mid-1990s. He has also been Editor of *The International Spectator*, the IAI's English language quarterly journal, and visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. He initiated to study nuclear deterrence and non-proliferation issues in the early 1990s working with WEU Institut d'Etudes de Sécurité (France) and the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (Germany).

Nathalie Tocci is Deputy Director of the *Istituto Affari Internazionali*, head of the Institute's department the EU and the Neighbourhood, and Editor of *The International Spectator*. Her research interests include European foreign policy, conflict resolution, the European neighbourhood, with a particular focus on Turkey, Cyprus, the Mediterranean and the Middle East and the South Caucasus. Dr Tocci is the winner of the 2008 Anna Lindh award for the study of European foreign policy.

Within the IAI's Transatlantic Programme, **Riccardo Alcaro** (Italy) is co-coordinator of the 7th Framework Programme-funded Transworld project on the future of the transatlantic relationship and its role in the world. In 2006-2011 he was responsible for the drafting of the section on EU's external relations of the European policy

analyst, the Economist Intelligence Unit's quarterly on the European Union.

Natalino Ronzitti is the Chair of International Law at LUISS University in Rome and a scientific advisor for IAI. He has been also a Member of the Italian Delegation at the 1995 NPT extension and review conference, and legal advisor to the Italian Mission at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. He is either author, editor or co-editor of numerous volumes and articles on International law, International Humanitarian Law, Law of international institutions, including issues such as proliferation of WMD, Treaty of Non-Proliferation, Proliferation Security Initiative, missile warfare and nuclear warheads, arms control, OSCE.

Alessandro Marrone works as Researcher at the International Affairs Institute since 2007, prior in the Transatlantic Relations Department and currently in the Security and Defence Department. He is also Marshall Memorial Fellow of the German Marshall Fund of the US, and holds a MSc in International Relations at London School of Economics and Political Science. He has authored or co-authored studies and articles on security-related research activities and technologies, defence procurement and industry, NATO, European security, transatlantic relations.