

Editorial

Dear colleagues and friends of the EU Non-Proliferation Consortium,

On 22 January 2014, the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Programme of the International relations Programme at the University of Pennsylvania released its seventh annual Global Go-To Think Tanks Index Report (2013). In 2007, the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Programme launched this global index in order to identify and to promote centres of excellence in all the major areas of public policy research and in every region of the world.

Over the years, the Index has become a recognized standard for public policy, international relations and international security-related think tanks around the world. It is widely cited by governments, donors, journalists and leaders as the foremost profile and performance of think tanks in every region of the world. It collates the input of more than 6.800 think tanks all over the world.

Developed and launched in 2011, the EU Non-Proliferation Consortium is very proud to have been ranked in the Index this year, in 17th position out of a total of 80 in the "Best Institutional Collaboration Involving Two or More Think Tanks" ranking (Table 29, p.76). The Consortium's first three years suggest that a veritable European research identity with regard to arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament is being consolidated, and the efforts undertaken over the past three years will be continued. We would like to warmly thank all of you who have contributed to this success through your participation and your support.

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Civil society plays a smaller role than it did in the past

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Whereas the global non-proliferation regime is under great pressure, there is a gap between EU ambitions as a global player and results on the ground. But the European expertise remains.



German Foreign Ministry and the UN Secretariat to improve the effectiveness of arms-related sanctions.

Professor Michael Brzoska is the academic director of The Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy (IFSH, Germany). He was co-leader of the arms trade program at SIPRI between 1983 and 1986 and research director at the Bonn International Center for Conversion. In 1999-2000, he directed the "Bonn-Berlin-Process", a joint effort by the

What characterizes the IFSH in the European landscape of strategic research?

The work of the IFSH combines two strands of research which are often at odds with each other, namely security or strategic research on the one hand and peace research on the other. This implies that the institute's work is marked by both internal and external dialogue between a wide range of views on issues including the ones dealt with in the EU Non-Proliferation Consortium. To give a recent example: when in the spring of 2013 the question of the procurement of armed drones was hotly debated, an internal study group was assembled which included both civilian and military experts, with backgrounds in technical and political issues. Another characteristic is the combination of policy-oriented and academic research. Like many other institutions we are basing our policy-oriented work on academic research, which implies that as a small institute we have to focus on certain topics. Traditionally we have focused on three such topics, namely European security, the work of the OSCE, and arms control and disarmament. I would argue that we have strong reputation in these fields of research. More recent successful additions to our research portfolio are research on terrorism and research on Central Asia.

The European Union Strategy against the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction was en-

dorsed by the European Council in December 2003. Ten years later, would you say that the EU has become a global leader in the field of non-proliferation?

I have a mixed impression. The European Union is quite active, both as an organisation and through its member states, in some areas, such as the support of the destruction of WMD and of activities to stop proliferation in some countries. The EU recently has also become a leader in proliferation-related sanctions, particularly in the case of Iran. However, I also see problems and limitations. The Iran case comes to mind as an example of the latter. Even though the EU and some member states are sitting at the negotiating table with the Iranians, they are of lesser importance than other states, particularly the United States. Another problem is related to the nuclear status of some member states, which, in my view, affect the EU's credibility in at least some parts of the world. In summary, there is gap between ambitions, as expressed in the question, and reality, as seen in the current crisis in important areas of non-proliferation.

What role does the European civil society play regarding non-proliferation and disarmament?

Unfortunately a smaller role than it could and had in the past. In the 1980s, civil society, both in terms of mass movements and non-government experts with knowledge

about relevant issues, pushed hard for global changes particularly in nuclear policies, but not only for nuclear disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation. The achievements on various types of nuclear weapons, but also chemical weapons, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, are, in my view, at least partly a result of civil society activities in the East and the West. However, with these achievements, civil society interest has waned. And even though nuclear weapons are still in place in large numbers, advances in biology present new dangers of biological weapons and the non-proliferation regime is under great duress, it is difficult for the remaining civil society organizations to instigate public interest in these issues. What remains, however, is a lot of knowledge in small expert circles, which could easily become a nucleus of more activity again. It is interesting to look, in this respect, at the humanitarian field. Recent achievements in arms control, disarmament and prevention of proliferation have been most pronounced in the field of humanitarian arms control, with the Ottawa and Oslo Conventions as most prominent examples. It is no wonder that the idea to link nuclear weapons to their humanitarian consequences has gained much support among civil society organisations.

*Interview conducted by
Benjamin Hautecouverture*

EU Institutional news

Catherine Ashton leads talks with Iran to reach a comprehensive and final agreement

On January 20th, Catherine Ashton officially launched the beginning of the “implementation of a six-month phase of initial confidence building measures”, and declared that all parties to the talks had agreed to the modalities of implementation of the provisional agreement. She reported that Iran had, according to the IAEA, respected its side of the Joint Plan of Action and announced the lifting of EU sanctions. In November 2013, the Iranians committed themselves to freeze uranium enrichment above 5%, to freeze their enrichment capabilities, to reduce significantly its stockpile of enriched uranium, to stop progress on the heavy water reactor at Arak and to allow enhanced monitoring and verification measures. Iran also committed itself not to reprocess and not to build any new reprocessing facility.

The EU, on the other side, as part of the E3+3, stopped pursuing new nuclear-related EU sanctions, suspended certain existing nuclear-related sanctions (petrochemicals, gold, and precious metals), facilitated financial transfers for non-sanctioned trade, such as food and medicine, and lifted oil sanctions.

This first phase was followed in February by an experts meeting in Vienna which marked the opening of talks aiming at reaching a comprehensive and final agreement. This first round of negotiations enabled the delegations to agree on a timetable and a schedule and to identify all the issues that will have to be dealt with to enable the signature of a final agreement, including uranium enrichment, the heavy water reactor, nuclear military research and the ballistic program. The second round is scheduled for March 17, 2014. In the meantime, Catherine Ashton has been invited to visit Iran. The provisional agreement expires on July, 20, 2014 but can be extended if both sides agree.

[E3/E3+3 nuclear negotiations with Iran](#)

[Statement on the implementation of the Geneva Joint Plan of Action on the Iranian nuclear programme](#)

[Iran and 6 Powers Agree on Terms for Nuclear Talks](#)

The EU and the IAEA review their partnership

Yukiya Amano, Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) visited the EU on February 3 and 4 2014. This visit was an opportunity to meet senior EU officials, including José Manuel Barroso, Günther Oettinger, Commissioner for Energy and Helga Schmid, EEAS DSG. He had previously talked to Catherine Ashton.

These meetings enabled both parties to evoke the Iranian nuclear issue, to elaborate on the responsibilities of the EU and of the IAEA in the implementation of the Joint Plan of Action and to review the cooperation between the two institutions.

Between 2007 and 2013, the EU's contribution to IAEA programs has amounted to approximately 120 million euros. The areas of cooperation include nuclear safety with programs such as the Ukraine Joint Project, Complement Jordan,

Emergency Preparedness and Training, nuclear security, especially thanks to the Joint Actions of 2004, 2005 and 2006, nuclear safeguard, with a specific support to 147 projects and the sharing of satellite images, and technical cooperation, particularly on the Vinca site in Serbia. The EU also contributed to the nuclear fuel bank under the supervision of the IAEA and plans to participate to its security up to 500 000 euros.

[Overview of EU support to the IAEA in the field of nuclear safety, safeguards, security and Technical cooperation financed during the current Multiannual Financial Framework 2007-2013](#)

[IAEA Director General meets with the HR/VP in Munich and visits EU in Brussels](#)

The EU pledges to support the destruction of Syrian chemical weapons

On February 17, 2014, the European Union confirmed publically its participation to the Trust Fund established by the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) to help destroy Syrian chemical stockpiles. The EU participation has been established at 12 million euros to transport, treat and dispose of the chemical materials outside of Syria. Previously, the Union had spent 4.5 million euros to provide logistical and technical support to the process. Over the years and since 2004, the EU has committed 9.4 million euros to the Organisation.

This new contribution was financed through the Instrument for Stability program (IfS), a strategic tool managed by EuropeAid and designed to

address a number of global security and development challenges in complement to geographic instruments. Under the IfS and with regard to nonproliferation in the Middle East, the EU also funded the establishment of a Centre of Excellence for CBRN (Chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear), which was inaugurated in Amman in June 2013. It will focus on the provision of training on CBRN emergency response, strengthen export control mechanism in dual-use goods and crisis response to new challenges in the area of public health.

[EU to support the destruction of Syrian chemical stockpiles](#)

Upcoming events

March 17, 2014: External relations and foreign affairs - Council of the EU, Justus Lipsius building, Brussels, Belgium

March 20, 2014: EU High Level Event on «International cooperation to enhance a worldwide nuclear security culture» - Contribution to the Nuclear Security Summit 2014, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

March 23 - 25, 2014: Nuclear Industry Summit, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

March 24 - 25, 2014: 3rd Nuclear Security Summit, The Hague, Netherlands

March 26, 2014: EU - US Summit, Brussels

April 28 – May 09, 2014: Third Session of the Preparatory Committee for the 2015 Review Conference of the NPT

Network News

Publications and web resources

Iran's nuclear propensity: the probability of nuclear use, Thanos Dokos, NP paper No.38, March 2014, 16p

The Military Balance 2014, IISS, Routledge, February 2014, 510 p.

A Disturbance in the Force: Debating Continuous At-Sea Deterrence, Hugh Chalmers, RUSI Occasional Paper, January 2014, 29 p.

Is Russia Violating the INF Treaty?, Nicolai Sokov and Miles A. Pomper, The National Interest, online version, February 2014, 5 p.

Arms Trade Treaty assistance: identifying a role for the European Union, Mark Bromley, Paul Holtom, Discussion Paper, February 2014, 18p.

The Challenges of Coherent U.S. Extended Nuclear Deterrence and Assurance, Paul Ingram, BASIC, February 21, 2014, 4 p.

Une année comme une autre : les exportations européennes d'armements en 2012, Sven Shayes and Jihan Seniora, GRIP, January 2014, 4 p. (in French)

Weapons for Peace : Arms Transfers, Armed Conflicts & R2P, Mélanie de Groof, GRIP, January 2014, 8 p.

Ceci n'est pas une... American nuclear weapon in Belgium, Tom Sauer, European Security, vol. 23, issue 1, January 2014, p.58-72

The European Union and space: opportunities and risks, Jana Robinson, Michael Romancov, NP paper No.37, January 2014, 12p.

European Union responses to extra-territorial claims by the United States: lessons from trade control cases, Quentin Genard, NP paper No.36, January 2014, 14p.

Export of dual-use chemicals to Syria: an assessment of European Union export controls, Ian Anthony, NP paper No.35, January 2014, 14p.

Dr. Lassina Zerbo on the need to be « constructively aggressive »

Invited to speak at the Foundation for Strategic Research (FRS, Paris) on the 19th December 2013, Dr. Lassina Zerbo outlined the major axes of his strategy as Executive Secretary of the CTBTO over the coming years, his thoughts on the prospects for the Treaty's entry into force and on the role that he believes this instrument should fulfil in the political inter-State dialogue and in bilateral and multilateral diplomatic negotiation processes.

On this occasion, Dr. Zerbo insisted on the scientific character of the Organization and the reliability of the International Monitoring System, which has already proven efficient in several occurrences including the detection of the last North Korean nuclear test in February 2013. He testified that these powerful tools were insufficiently known, especially among Annex 2 countries, and that they were at the heart of his push to convince all States of their interest in ratifying the Treaty. He explained that his decision to create a "Group of Eminent Persons" was based on this "constructive aggressiveness" strategy, and will be helpful in promoting the advantages of the Treaty and its Organization among key political leaders. This 16-person group will also be instrumental in ensuring that the CTBT is at the forefront of international discussions and panels. In his eyes, had the Group been active in September 2013, the diplomatic process which led to Syria's signature of the Chemical Weapons Convention could have included talks on the CTBT.

Overall, Dr Zerbo reaffirmed the importance of European Union's support for the CTBTO and his wish to see the Organization included in general debates concerning international nuclear issues, such as the Nuclear Security Summit. He also pointed that the exercise scheduled in November 2014 in Jordan will be of paramount importance and "promote the confidence-building process" necessary of the universalization of the convention.

This exclusive interview can be read on CESIM's website

[Read the interview](#)

Wilton Park Conference: "Towards the 2015 NPT Review Conference", 16-20 December 2013

During this 4-day conference, set up by Wilton Park, experts, diplomats and think-tankers were invited to express their views on the challenges and prerequisites for success of the upcoming 2015 NPT Review Conference.

One of the main elements emphasized during the Conference was the need for trust between Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) and Non Nuclear Weapon States (NNWS), a trust which is, according to most of the speakers, currently threatened by the disagreements on the concept of disarmament, by the NWS's boycott of the Oslo Conference cycles, and by divergences on the Additional Protocol.

Trust can be enhanced by the action of specific groups that can play the role of bridge-builder between NWS and NNWS, such as the New Agenda Coalition in 2000 or the Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative. It can also derive from joint initiatives such as the UK-Norway Initiative. For the panelists, if both groups endeavor to understand each other's concerns and positions, compromises can be reached, especially on disarmament. If the main goals of the stakeholders fail to be addressed constructively, some concrete steps could still avoid an impasse during the Review Conference. For instance, special instruments and moratoria could be used on specific objects like cruised missiles, nuclear modernization, safeguard agreements or the Additional Protocol.

The Preparatory Committee will be a first step to ensure a success in 2015, and will probably evoke the question of Iran, of the WMD-Free Zone in the Middle East and the outcome of the Mexico conference on the humanitarian impacts of nuclear weapons. In 2015, these subjects are likely to be on the agenda. The conference's conclusion was that the drafting of a final document, adopted with consensus, would be a major success of the Review Conference.

Upcoming events

March 13, 2014: Nedrustning - i et folkeretligt perspektiv, DIIS Seminar, København, Denmark

March 14, 2014: Recent Evolutions in Space Export Controls, ECSL Practitioners' Forum 2014, ESA Headquarters, Paris, France

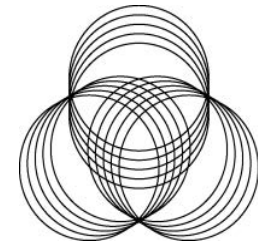
March 18-19, 2014: RUSI Missile Defence Conference, London, United Kingdom

March 21 – 22, 2014: Nuclear Knowledge Summit: Towards Sustainable Nuclear Security, Amsterdam, the Netherlands

March 26, 2014: RUSI Conference: V4 Co-operation within NATO: Looking to the Future, Whitehall, London, SW1A 2ET

May 13, 2014: Impact de la réduction de l'arsenal d'armes nucléaires américain en Europe, Institut Royal Supérieur de Défense, Brussels, Belgium

Spotlight on...



Latest publications

Michael Brzoska, Europäische Rüstungsindustrie auf der Suche, in: Marc von Boemcken, Ines-Jacqueline Werkner, Margret Johannsen, Bruno Schoch (Hrsg.), *Friedensgutachten 2013*, Berlin 2013, S. 137-149 (in German).

Michael Brzoska, Research on the Effectiveness of International Sanctions, in: Hendrik Hegemann, Regina Heller, Martin Kahl (Hrsg.), *Studying 'Effectiveness' in International Relations*, Opladen, Berlin & Toronto 2013, S. 143-160.

Michael Brzoska, Ulrich Kühn, Vertrag über den Waffenhandel. Staatenkonferenz 18.-28. März 2013, in: Vereinte Nationen 3/2013, S. 128-130 (in German).

Michael Brzoska, Götz Neuneck, Vagabundierende Atomwaffen? Das sowjetische Arsenal nach 1991, in: Bernd Greiner, Tim B. Müller, Klaas Voss (Hrsg.), *Das Erbe des Kalten Krieges*, Hamburg 2013, S. 274-292 (in German).

Anne Finger, Oliver Meier, Confidence-building on tactical nuclear weapons: What's on the table? Hamburger Beiträge zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik 160, Hamburg 2013

Oliver Meier (Hrsg.), Technology Transfers and Non-Proliferation: Between control and cooperation. Routledge global security studies, London and New York, August 2013, 280pp.

Oliver Meier, Dual-use, technology transfers and the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, in: *IFSH Annual Report 2012*, Hamburg 2013, S. 16-21

Götz Neuneck, Theresa Hitchens, James Lewis (eds), *The Cyber Index. International Security Trend and Realities*, United Nations Publications, New York and Geneva, Switzerland, UNIDIR, 2013/3.

Martin Kahl, Obamas Militärstrategie und Rüstungspolitik: eine Zwischenbilanz, in: Marc von Boemcken, Ines-Jacqueline Werkner, Margret Johannsen, Bruno Schoch (Hrsg.): *Friedensgutachten 2013*, Berlin 2013, S. 58-68 (in German).

Ulrich Kühn, Conventional Arms Control 2.0, in: *Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, vol.26, issue 2/2013, S. 189-202.

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The Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy - IFSH

The Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy is an independent research institution at the University of Hamburg. The two terms in the institute's name highlight the central hypothesis underlying its work: Ensuring peace and providing security are two sides of the same coin. They cannot be pursued in isolation from each other. The IFSH is divided into three specialized research units. The Centre for European Peace and Security Studies (ZEUS) focuses on the theoretical and practical aspects of the European Union's efforts to strengthen peace and security in the various fields included within the scope of the Common Foreign and Security Policy - both within and beyond Europe. The Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) is the world's first research institute dedicated to studying the work of the OSCE in the areas of conflict regulation, system transformation and democratization, especially in south-eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia. The Interdisciplinary Research Group on Disarmament, Arms Control, and Risk Technologies (IFAR^a) applies the expertise the institute has gathered over decades in the area of arms-control policy to new security-policy challenges arising from technology in general and military technology in particular. The IFSH's three research units combine to develop cooperative strategies for conflict resolution and prevention that pay special attention to the courses of action available to the German government. Additionally, the IFSH comprises a military component/military fellow, which is quite unique for civilian scientific institutions.

The team

Professor Michael Brzoska is the academic director of the IFSH. He has worked on issues related to arms control and non-proliferation since the early 1980s. His primary focus has been on conventional weapons of all types, but he has also done research on the proliferation of dual-use technology and nuclear-related technology. He was co-leader of the arms trade program at SIPRI between 1983 and 1986 and research director at the Bonn International Center for Conversion. IN 1999-2000, he directed the "Bonn-Berlin-Process", a joint effort by the German Foreign Ministry and the UN Secretariat to improve the effectiveness of arms-related sanctions.

Christian Alwardt, a physicist by training, started working as a research associate at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg in 2008. His current areas of research are Arms Control, Risk Technologies and Non-Proliferation, especially Missile Defence and Space issues. Furthermore, he is working in the field of Climate Change and Security.

Anne Finger is a research fellow at the IFSH since 2010. Previously, she worked for the Research Division European and Atlantic Security at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin and was a Visiting Research Fellow at the Queen's Centre for International Relations (QCIR) in Kingston, Canada. Her main areas of expertise are Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament, Arms Control and transatlantic security relations.

Katarzyna Kubiak graduated the Master of Peace and Security at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH), which she completed with her master thesis on the

CTBT hold-out states. She has been granted the 2009 International Parliamentary Scholarship of the German Bundestag, where she was involved in the problematic of economic cooperation and development. Since February 2011 Katarzyna Kubiak has been a PhD candidate at IFSH (IFAR).

Ulrich Kühn studied History at the Rheinische-Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn. From 2010 to 2011 he worked as an external advisor on nuclear arms control to the Division for Disarmament, Arms Control and Non-Proliferation at the Federal Foreign Office of Germany (Ref. 240) in Berlin. In 2011 he was awarded "United Nations Fellow on Disarmament". He is a co-founder of the IDEAS network for the establishment of a Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security community. Currently he is coordinating the project on Challenges to Deep Nuclear Cuts.

Dr. Götz Neuneck is deputy director of IFSH and head of the Interdisciplinary Research Group on disarmament, arms control and risk technologies at IFSH. He also directs the postgraduate program «Master of Peace and Security Studies – M.P.S. Trained as a physicist, he is a specialist on scientific-technical aspects of non-proliferation and disarmament. His work focuses on new weapon technologies, its strategic and humanitarian impact and arms control approaches. He is chair of the Working Group "Physics and Disarmament" (AGA) of the German Physical Society (DPG) and member of the Council of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs.

Dr. Wolfgang Zellner is Deputy Director of the IFSH and Head of its Centre for OSCE Research (CORE).