

IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS

Requested by the SEDE Subcommittee



Nuclear arms control regimes: state of play and perspectives



Policy Department for External Relations
Directorate General for External Policies of the Union
PE 603.496 - December 2020

EN

IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS

Nuclear arms control regimes: state of play and perspectives

ABSTRACT

The EU is facing important challenges in the arms control and disarmament domain: firstly, the gradual abandonment of bilateral agreements between the US and Russia that protected European territory, and secondly, an increasing polarisation among the parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), evidenced by the controversy sparked by the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW). Both developments combined weaken the arms control and disarmament regime, increasing the likelihood of a global nuclear arms race. While the EU has progressively enhanced its role in arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament, it is afflicted by the same cleavage over disarmament that characterises the NPT framework. Based on a review of the drivers of the current crisis and the options for addressing them, the present briefing illuminates the EU's record, and identifies ways in which the European Parliament can support the nuclear arms control agenda despite its lack of formal competence in the field. These notably include developing a modus vivendi with the TPNW, and encouraging the Council to lay the groundwork for a multilateral arms control treaty system.

This paper was requested by the European Parliament's Subcommittee on Security and Defence.

English-language manuscript was completed on 2 December 2020.

Printed in Belgium.

© European Union, 2020

Author(s): Clara PORTELA, EUISS, France

Official Responsible: Jérôme LEGRAND

Editorial Assistants: Daniela ADORNA DIAZ, Balázs REISS

Feedback of all kind is welcome. Please write to: jerome.legrand@europarl.europa.eu.

To obtain copies, please send a request to: poldep-expo@europarl.europa.eu

This paper will be published on the European Parliament's online database, 'Think tank'.

The content of this document is the sole responsibility of the author and any opinions expressed therein do not necessarily represent the official position of the European Parliament. It is addressed to the Members and staff of the EP for their parliamentary work. Reproduction and translation for non-commercial purposes are authorised, provided the source is acknowledged and the European Parliament is given prior notice and sent a copy.

ISBN: 978-92-846-7410-7 (pdf)

ISBN: 978-92-846-7409-1 (paper)

doi: 10.2861/286447 (pdf)

doi: 10.2861/97714 (paper)

Catalogue number: QA-01-20-650-EN-N

Catalogue number: QA-01-20-650-EN-C (paper)

Table of Contents

List of abbreviations	5
Executive summary	6
Introduction	7
1 The crisis of nuclear arms control and disarmament in Europe	8
1.1 The bilateral dimension	8
1.2 The last nuclear arms control treaties: The INF Treaty and the New START	9
1.3 Drivers of the crisis	10
1.4 Prospects	11
2 The multilateral dimension	12
2.1 The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)	12
2.2 The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW)	13
2.3 Initiatives in the run-up to the NPT RevCon	14
2.4 The upcoming NPT RevCon	15
2.5 The Impact of the COVID Pandemic	16
3 The role of the EU in nuclear arms control and disarmament	17
3.1 The evolution of EU policy	17
3.2 Disparate nuclear statuses and attitudes	18
3.3 The WMD Strategy as a turning point	19
3.4 The Non-Proliferation Clause	20
3.5 A Growing Budget	20
3.6 The record	21
Technical Assistance	21
3.7 Coordination in multilateral fora	23
3.8 Proliferation crises	24
3.9 Prospects	25

4	How to move forward – and how Parliament can help	27
4.1	EP Powers in the CFSP	27
4.2	The EP’s Contribution to Nuclear Arms Control and Disarmament	28
4.3	How can the EP help revive nuclear arms control?	30
4.4	Initiatives for the short term	31
4.5	Initiatives for the mid- to long term	32
	References	34

List of abbreviations

CBRN	chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear
CEND	Creating an Environment for Nuclear Disarmament initiative
CFE	Conventional Armed Forces in Europe
CFSP	common foreign and security policy
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
CTBTO	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organisation
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
EC	European Community
EEAS	European External Action Service
EP	European Parliament
EPC	European political cooperation
EU	European Union
Euratom	European Atomic Energy Community
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
INF	intermediate nuclear forces
JCPOA	Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action
KEDO	Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organisation
NAC	New Agenda Coalition
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NPDI	Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
NSG	Nuclear Suppliers Group
NWS	nuclear weapons state
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
TEU	Treaty on European Union
TPNW	Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WMD	weapons of mass destruction

Executive summary

- Nuclear arms control is currently undergoing a crisis: after the demise of the Treaty on Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) in 2019, the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START) is due to expire in February 2021.
- The reasons for the declining interest of the main nuclear powers, the US and Russia, in keeping the arms control edifice alive include the emergence of new technologies, and the increase in the military capabilities of China, which is not part of the current treaty network.
- In the absence of a new system to replace the existing one, a disintegrating treaty network increases the risk of a new arms race on a global scale.
- The multilateral nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament field has been characterised by deepening divisions between the abolitionists and gradualists, reflected in the controversy over the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW), which has deepened intra-European divisions.
- The EU has gradually improved its role in the nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation field, and equipped itself with a generous budget.
- The role of the EU in arms control and nuclear non-proliferation combines opposing dynamics: while a generous economic envelope heralds progress in the technical/capacity-building domain, political fracture threatens coordination between members.
- At the same time, Brussels is compelled to defend multilateral cooperation without backing from its main ally, Washington.
- Despite its lack of formal competence in the field, the European Parliament has several means at its disposal to support the EU's input to the arms control and disarmament agenda.
- The EP can help the Council articulate a common stance that it can export to the next Review Conference of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).
- The EP can also encourage the EU to design a new era in arms control with a multilateral vocation.
- The EP can play a central role in helping reconcile the NPT community with the emerging TPNW.

Introduction

While in the first decade of our century the nuclear arms control and disarmament landscape was dominated by proliferation challenges posed by North Korea and Iran, in recent years attention focused on the progressive dismantlement of the treaty network. The decline in arms control affects both the bilateral agreements between the US and Russia, which are being gradually abandoned, and multilateral treaties that, collectively, constitute the cornerstone of the global nuclear arms control regime. In recent years, descriptions of contemporary nuclear arms control have evolved from 'politically dead' (Thränert, 2016), to 'in deep crisis' (Neuneck, 2019) or 'collapsing' (Arbatov, 2019) to plainly 'dead' (Thränert, 2019).

The domain of nuclear arms control, which consists of a network of treaties between the US and Russia limiting their nuclear weaponry, witnessed the withdrawal by Washington of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty in 2019, citing Russian non-compliance. The New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START) is scheduled to expire in February 2021. Related agreements like the Treaty on Open Skies are similarly in jeopardy. The mechanisms that prevented the development of a nuclear arms race are collapsing. The treaty network is being progressively dismantled without being replaced by a new treaty architecture. This bleak picture affects Europe directly. Albeit concluded between the US and the Soviet Union or its successor state Russia, they protect primarily European territory.

In the multilateral arena, the picture is only slightly brighter. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) of 1968, which constitutes the cornerstone of the nuclear non-proliferation regime and undergoes review by state parties on a quinquennial basis, experienced a setback in 2015. Its Review Conference (RevCon) witnessed the unravelling of the acclaimed achievements of previous editions, notably the 2010 Action Plan and the initiative for the establishment of a zone free of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in the Middle East. Shortly after the RevCon, the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW or 'Ban Treaty') opened for signature, evidencing that the NPT community is increasingly split between those supporting a gradualist approach towards disarmament on the one hand, and abolitionists on the other. While possessors of nuclear weapons resist steps towards disarmament, an increasing 'radicalisation' of the nuclear disarmament debate has seen the shrinking of states advocating a gradual approach towards nuclear disarmament (Meier, 2015). Other multilateral arms control agreements are characterised by stagnation. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) of 1996 consolidated the norm against nuclear testing (Neuneck, 2019), but still misses eight signatories which are essential for its entry into force. The paralysed Conference of Disarmament has not yet launched negotiations on a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty that has been planned for decades. Experts assess progress on both agreements as 'minimal' (Evans et al., 2015).

The current challenges to the NPT framework are of concern to the EU since the bulk of its members occupy the shrinking middle ground of advocates of a gradual approach to disarmament. In the aftermath of the 2015 RevCon, observers referred to the EU as 'caught in the middle' or 'stuck on disarmament' (Smetana, 2015). In the RevCon 2020, the EU faces the challenge of preserving a framework under strain while it remains divided between advocates and opponents of the TPNW. Nevertheless, these divisions have not obstructed coordination in the nuclear arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation field as a whole. The Swedish-launched 'Stepping Stones' initiative, which advances the gradualist approach to disarmament, finds broad support among EU members. In addition, the postponement of the RevCon from spring 2020 to early 2021 due to the COVID pandemic has afforded some additional time to build consensus.

The present briefing is organised as follows. A first part outlines the crisis of the nuclear arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament regime currently in place, identifying its drivers and sketching options for its revitalisation. A second part illuminates the EU's record, while the third part looks into the contribution of the EP to the field, and identifies ways in which the EP can proactively support the advancement of the nuclear arms control and disarmament agenda.

1 The crisis of nuclear arms control and disarmament in Europe

1.1 The bilateral dimension

While disarmament is an idea that pre-dated the 20th century, the inspiration for the development of arms control emanated from the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, in which Soviet plans to deploy missiles in Cuba escalated into a crisis in which both Cold War superpowers came close to a military confrontation. While the Soviets eventually desisted and the crisis de-escalated, an episode bordering on a direct conflagration between two heavily armed nuclear powers constituted a wake-up call that prompted the Soviet Union and the US to negotiate reductions in their strategic nuclear forces. Faced with the prohibitive financial costs of a nuclear arms race and the danger of a nuclear exchange, both superpowers decided jointly to agree reductions of their nuclear weaponry, or at least to limit its build-up, to avoid unconstrained competition or eventual war (Kulesa, 2020). In contrast to disarmament, whose goal is the complete elimination of a weapon category, arms control refers to military cooperation between potential enemies in the interest of reducing the likelihood of war, its scope and violence if it occurs, and the political and economic costs of preparing for it. Because of its historical origins, arms control developed in the form of bilateral agreements over the course of the Cold War and after its end, while non-proliferation and disarmament efforts tended to unfold in a multilateral setting.

The pioneering Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), launched in the late 1960s, led to the conclusion of the SALT 1 agreement of 1972, which introduced a numerical balance of carriers and warheads for the first time. This was succeeded by SALT 2, and complemented with the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which prohibited the deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems. In 1987, these arrangements were followed by the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, which prohibits the development, testing, and production of land-based short-medium and intermediate range cruise and ballistic missiles (of a range between 500-1 500 km and 1 000-5 500 km respectively) and missile launchers. The early 1990s saw the replacement of the SALT treaties with the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START 1), which developed into a new series. This sequence of agreements is credited with stabilising superpower confrontation during the Cold War and supporting the peaceful transformation of East-West relations. While all these treaties were concluded bilaterally between Washington and Moscow, landmark treaties in the conventional field were finalised multilaterally when the Cold War was coming to a close. The Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) was concluded in 1990 between the Eastern and Western block, including the European allies of the superpowers as signatories. Similarly, the multilateral Open Skies Treaty of 1992 allows each party to conduct observation flights to collect data on ground-based military forces and activities (Jenkins, 2020). Arms control enabled significant reductions in the number of warheads and delivery vehicles, and its contribution to the prevention of nuclear war and to the management of relations between Washington and Moscow relations remains 'incontestable' (Kulesa, 2020).

The erosion of the treaty network began in 2002 with the termination of the 1972 ABM Treaty by the US in order to allow for the deployment of a missile shield against potential threats from North Korea or Iran, which it prioritised over arms control with Russia (Thränert, 2016). This eliminated geographical and numerical limitations on strategic missile defence, making new deployments of missile defences possible. In turn, Moscow withdrew from START 2, just 2 years after ratifying it. The less robust Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT) limited the number of nuclear weapons that could be used by each party, but lacked comprehensive verification obligations (Neuneck, 2019). Russia also suspended the CFE Treaty in 2007.

The Obama administration reversed the decline in arms control. In his Prague speech in April 2009, President Obama articulated the vision of a world free from nuclear arms, which he dubbed 'Global Zero'

(White House, 2009). President Obama reversed the course of the preceding administration and continued previous cuts that had reduced the US nuclear arsenal by 70 per cent (Cirincione and Bell, 2009). Although he could not persuade the US Congress to ratify the CTBT, the signature of the New START Treaty represented a major accomplishment. President Obama also launched a series of nuclear security summits from 2010 to 2016 to prevent and respond to nuclear terrorism by securing, returning and destroying dangerous nuclear material usable in bombs worldwide.

Table 1: Arms control treaties under threat

<i>Treaty</i>	<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>End</i>	<i>Reason for termination</i>
NUCLEAR			
Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces	1987	2019	Expired
New START	2010	2021(?)	Expiry in 2021 unless renewed
NON-NUCLEAR			
Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty	1972	2002	US denunciation
Open Skies Treaty	1992	impending	US withdrawal announced in June 2020
Conventional Forces in Europe	1990	2007	Russian suspension

1.2 The last nuclear arms control treaties: The INF Treaty and the New START

Only two arms control treaties between the US and Russia remained in force by 2019: the INF and New START. Following last year's termination of the INF without a sequel, New START, which is due to expire in February 2021, remains the last survivor (Thränert, 2019).

The INF Treaty of 1987 prohibited the development, testing, and production of land-based short-medium and intermediate range cruise and ballistic missiles with a range of 500 to 5 500 kilometres, irrespective of whether they carry nuclear or conventional warheads. It also banned medium-range delivery systems. Thanks to this treaty, INF systems were verifiably destroyed, dramatically reducing the nuclear threat in Europe. The START series and the INF Treaty led to a massive reduction in strategic warheads from about 63 000 in 1986 to 8 300 today (Neuneck, 2019). Notably, the INF Treaty was celebrated for eliminating an entire category of nuclear weapons, rather than only limiting it.

Since 2014, the US government has accused Russia of deploying cruise missiles in breach of the INF Treaty. Moscow refuted this charge and directed accusations of non-compliance at the US. The treaty eventually collapsed after the US withdrew from the INF Treaty in August 2019, and Russia followed 1 day later. Subsequently, both sides showed relative restraint. The Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) Jens Stoltenberg stated that it did not intend to deploy nuclear-armed missiles in Europe. For its part, Russia announced that it would only deploy them in reaction to a US deployment in Europe (Neuneck, 2019). Since then, both parts started developing weapons prohibited under the INF Treaty (Neuneck, 2019). The consequence is that, in the absence of agreed limitations, there is no obstacle to a descent into an arms race with Europe as the most likely theatre of operation.

After the demise of the INF, the New START Treaty remains the only agreement to stipulate limitations in the nuclear arsenals of the US and Russia. New START, remarkably robust in its verification provisions (Neuneck, 2019), was signed by the US and Russia in 2010 and entered into force in 2011. The treaty limits the number of deployed strategic nuclear warheads to 1 550 per side and the number of launchers to 800.

Both Russia and the US have so far adhered to their commitments under New START (Neuneck, 2019). According to treaty provisions, New START could be extended beyond February 2021 for 5 years without a new ratification process.

1.3 Drivers of the crisis

The key rationales at the root of the declining interest of the traditional nuclear powers for arms control is the lack of involvement of Asian nuclear actors and the emergence of new weapons technologies not covered in existing treaties. This is compounded by the worsening of the relationship between Russia and the West in the aftermath of the Ukrainian crisis of 2014, as well as by a weak appreciation of the contribution of arms control to international security among the present-day political elites (Arbatov, 2019).

A primary factor is the heightened attention granted by Washington and Moscow to actors not included in the negotiations, most notably China. This makes the classical arms control partners wary of maintaining commitments to each other that might hinder their ability to respond to challenges originating elsewhere. Although the US justified its deployment of a national missile defence system with reference to North Korea and Iran, the key factor is China, which remains opaque about the build-up of military capabilities. At the same time, Beijing rejects participation in arms control negotiations while the US and Russia maintain disproportionately high nuclear arsenals. In addition to citing Russian non-compliance, Washington pointed to the multiplication of Chinese missiles when it decided to abrogate the INF Treaty (Kane and Mayhew, 2020). A possible replacement of the INF Treaty is unlikely to attract Asian countries, in particular China, which is interested in developing the types of missiles the INF bans (Tertrais, 2019). Similarly, the US has resisted Russian calls for extending New START owing to its desire to transform New START into a trilateral treaty involving Beijing (Kane and Mayhew, 2020).

The second factor contributing to the decline in bilateral nuclear arms control is the deteriorating relationship between Moscow and Washington, notably due to NATO's eastward expansion, and to the US reaction to the Russian annexation of Crimea. In the words of Kane and Mayhew, as bilateral relations worsened, 'arms control became a barb to throw *in the context of* other bilateral disagreements. The alleged violations of the INF Treaty, which might have been swiftly resolved under different political circumstances, became a narrative of confrontation' (Kane and Mayhew, 2020: 7, emphasis in original). Mutual accusations of non-compliance with the INF Treaty, which remain unresolved, could have been addressed with the help of a dedicated body foreseen in the treaty itself, the Special Verification Commission, which could have conducted overflights, on-site inspections, or a verifiable data exchange, an option that was not activated (Neuneck, 2019).

A third, powerful rationale for the abandonment of existing treaties is the challenge posed by new technologies. This concerns the emergence of offensive cyber capabilities and new categories of arms such as lethal autonomous weapons, which are not covered by New START. The same is true of new types of missiles, including hypersonic models, which can carry both conventional and nuclear explosives (Finaud, 2020). Similarly, lethal autonomous weapons remain unregulated, even though there have been multiple calls for their limitation. Various experts advocate a new approach to arms control that takes into account the risks posed by new technologies. The key difficulty is not technological advancement per se, but the uncertainty surrounding their possible applications to the nuclear military field. By way of illustration, 23 countries are believed to command offensive cyber capabilities and a further 30 are believed to be developing them (Kane and Mayhew, 2020). This generates an additional element of uncertainty, given that arms control and disarmament operates 'in silos', establishing technical or quantitative limits on certain categories of arms while leaving others unregulated, thereby overlooking possible inter-connections.

1.4 Prospects

The New START treaty foresees the possibility of yearly extensions after its expiration, for a maximum of five years. In view of the proximity of the expiration date in February 2021, an extension emerges as the only viable option. Meanwhile, negotiations on a replacement treaty could be launched - a path which Moscow supports.¹ However, both an extension and a possible sequel depend on a complex combination of factors. While the extension requires mere presidential agreement, the exclusion from the treaty of Russian non-strategic weapons and of the modest but nevertheless growing Chinese arsenal has compelled the US Congress to condition continued funding for New START implementation and consent for the negotiation of a sequel on the correction of these perceived deficits.

In view of these concerns, two likely options for a sequel to New START have been floated: one of them would expand its coverage to include additional weapons systems, an approach that could meet Moscow's concerns regarding US long-range conventional weapons and its anti-missile systems as well as Washington's concerns regarding Russian non-strategic weapons and hypersonic vehicles. However, this option would probably sacrifice the strict verification standards that constitute a strength of New START. An alternative would be to negotiate a trilateral sequel with the participation of China. The focus on involving Beijing, shared by the US Congress and the White House, is due to deepening Sino-American geopolitical rivalry and especially to the anxieties aroused by the modernisation and expansion of the Chinese arsenal. However, establishing ceilings for highly asymmetrical arsenals remains a challenge that makes such a treaty unattractive for a Chinese leadership uninterested in reducing stocks (Maître and Tertrais, 2020).

The collapse of New START without a sequel could have potentially devastating consequences for the security of Europe, which has been a principal beneficiary of the protection afforded by this treaty. It would clear the way for an arms race which, if fought, would most likely take place on European territory. Two key consequences are of note: under the terms of the treaty, both parties could maintain the capacity to reconstitute former arsenals, given that the treaty did not provide for the destruction of warheads. Secondly, the disappearance of the stringent verification system implies that knowledge about the Russian nuclear arsenal will diminish considerably, and rare opportunities for direct communication between the US and Russian military afforded by the treaty will disappear, which means that its trust-building effect will vanish with it (Maître and Tertrais, 2020). While a drastic rise in the capabilities of either side is unlikely in the short term, the combination of diminished transparency in the development of arsenals and the option of re-building weapons easily increases the possibility of an arms race, which will not face any legal obstacles. This risk is exacerbated by the introduction of new technologies, which is likely to be more qualitative than quantitative. For example, it could take the form of the assignation of hypersonic systems to nuclear missions in addition to ballistic missiles (Maître and Tertrais, 2020). The resulting escalation could drag EU member states, most of which remain US military allies, into an increasingly acute confrontation between the US and Russia while retaining little influence on Washington's nuclear military build-up.

¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, "Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Ryabkov's interview with Kommersant," 5 March 2020.

2 The multilateral dimension

2.1 The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA)

The agreement concluded in 2015 between Iran on the one hand, and France, Germany and the UK, and the three remaining UNSC members China, Russia and the US on the other put an end to protracted negotiations geared towards assuaging international concerns about the Iranian nuclear programme. The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) entails restrictions on uranium enrichment coupled with intrusive verification provisions. Indeed, the JCPOA has been described as the most comprehensive arms control agreement, as well as the one with the most far-reaching verification provisions (Gärtner, 2019). Importantly, the JCPOA stipulated the lifting of nuclear-related sanctions that had been imposed on Iran in the previous decade. The agreement was endorsed by UNSC Resolution 2231, making it binding under international law.

While the agreement's verification provisions have indefinite duration, certain restrictions have temporal limits. Restrictions on new centrifuges will be in place until 2025, and the monitoring of centrifuges will remain for 10 additional years. The uranium stockpile is restricted until 2031, and its enrichment must be kept below an established threshold for 15 years. Research and development may take place at the Natanz facility exclusively, while the facility at Fordo may only undertake research. The monitoring of the limit on uranium ore will not expire until 2040. The treaty is also endowed with a mechanism for dispute resolution to address non-compliance by any of the parties. A party that considers that another party is not honouring its commitment under the JCPOA can refer the issue to the Joint Commission, which brings together representatives from all parties to the agreement. It then has 15 days to resolve the issue, unless the Joint Commission agrees to an extension. If the issue remains unresolved, it may be reviewed at the ministerial level and then by an Advisory Board consisting of two members appointed by the JCPOA states involved in the dispute and one independent member, which issues a non-binding opinion. In the event that the Joint Commission still does not resolve the issue, the complaining party may cease its observance and inform the UNSC that it believes the issue breaches the agreement.

The conclusion of the JCPOA with Iran, celebrated as a major diplomatic success, was soon overshadowed by Washington's unilateral withdrawal and its reinstatement of robust sanctions in May 2018. While these moves severely endanger the viability of the JCPOA, the EU has gone great lengths to salvage it. Notably, it revived in 2018 the blocking statute it had originally framed in response to US secondary sanctions concerning Cuba in 1996. The E-3, joined by Belgium, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden as shareholders, set up the Instrument for Supporting Trade Exchanges (Instex) to facilitate transactions between European firms and Iran. However, Instex did not become operational until mid-2019, and completed its first transaction only in March 2020. While European initiatives indicate a willingness to rescue the Iran deal, their efforts have proved of limited effectiveness as the private sector – in particular banks and investors – hold back under the threat of US sanctions.

The crisis surrounding the application of the JCPOA intensified in 2019. Dissatisfied with the economic costs resulting from US sanctions, Tehran threatened in May 2019 to cease meeting some of its commitments under the JCPOA, and it announced in January 2020 that it no longer considered itself bound by the treaty's restrictions. As a result, the E-3 activated the dispute resolution mechanism in January 2020, although it refrained from reinstating sanctions.² Following talks between the E-3 and Iran, the dispute resolution mechanism was suspended. The mechanism was triggered by Tehran in July 2020; however, the

² Joint statement by the Foreign Ministers of France, Germany and the United Kingdom on the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action: 14 January 2020 (<https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/newsroom/news/-/2292574?isLocal=false&isPreview=false>).

following month, it reached an agreement with IAEA on the resolution of the safeguards implementation issues specified by the IAEA.³

Several options have been suggested for the EU in view of the precarious situation of the JCPOA following Washington's withdrawal.

- The triggering of the dispute resolution mechanism in response to Iranian non-compliance is an option that was activated in January 2020, although it was later suspended. However, it is anticipated that an activation by the E3 of the dispute resolution mechanism would ultimately lead to the reimposition of UN (and possibly) EU sanctions, after which the JCPOA is likely to collapse (Geranmayeh, 2019). Thus, this option appears unattractive. In addition, there is a risk that Tehran might withdraw from the NPT.
- An alternative avenue is what has been called a "deal-lite". Under this option, the E3 would secure an interim arrangement with China and Russia under the umbrella of the Joint Commission established by the nuclear deal to strengthen Iranian compliance in exchange for economic incentives (Geranmayeh, 2019). The incremental approach through which Iran has managed its nuclear escalation suggests that a constituency inside the country still seeks to preserve the deal. A "deal-lite" which allows Iran to regain some leverage through its nuclear programme and economic rewards could support the moderate leadership's case for maintaining compliance. However, the difficulty with this path remains that, unfortunately, European governments have proved unable to provide a framework in which their companies can trade with Iran without fear of penalties resulting from US sanctions (Geranmayeh, 2019).
- A third option consists in maintaining the current approach, resisting the temptation of full alignment with the US while intensifying efforts to persuade Washington to re-join the JCPOA and relinquish its "maximum pressure" sanctions campaign. This would constitute sufficient incentive for Iran's return to full compliance (Parsi and Bassiri Tabrizi, 2020). Meanwhile, the EU should continue to operate through the UN and ought to maintain a united front with both Russia and China as co-signatories of the deal (Aderbahr, 2018), to ensure that Iran remains politically and economically attracted to the survival of the JCPOA.

In addition, a dialogue on possible regional arrangements with regard to nuclear energy has been suggested. While Iran was the first country of the Persian Gulf with a civilian nuclear energy programme, other regional powers like the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia are currently pursuing such programmes (Aderbahr, 2018). This has implications for regional security, especially given that Saudi Arabia has threatened to acquire a nuclear weapon if Iran were to acquire one (Maitre, 2019).

2.2 The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW)

Over the past decade, the disarmament landscape has been characterised by the emergence of the Humanitarian Initiative, which led to the negotiation and signing of a new treaty prohibiting nuclear weapons, the TPNW. The Humanitarian Initiative began from the acknowledgement, reflected in the final document of the 2010 NPT Review Conference, that any use of nuclear weapons would have catastrophic humanitarian consequences that no state or international entity could address adequately. This lent support for a humanitarian reframing of nuclear disarmament led by Mexico, Norway, Switzerland and EU member Austria (Erästö, 2019). In October 2016, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) voted

³ IAEA, 'Joint Statement by the Director General of the IAEA and the Vice-President of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Head of the IAEA' (<https://www.iaea.org/newscenter/pressreleases/joint-statement-by-the-director-general-of-the-iaea-and-the-vice-president-of-the-islamic-republic-of-iran-and-head-of-the-aeoi>); EEAS, 'JCPOA: Statement by the High Representative Josep Borrell as coordinator of the Joint Commission of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on the Dispute Resolution Mechanism, 3 July 2020' (https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/82059/jcpoa-statement-high-representative-josep-borrell-coordinator-joint-commission-joint_en).

Resolution 71/258 to commence negotiations,⁴ which took place the following year and culminated in the opening for signature of the TPNW in July 2017.

In essence, the treaty prohibits the production, transfer, threat or use of nuclear weapons under any circumstance, including in situations of self-defence in which the existence of the state is in jeopardy. It also establishes a duty of assistance to victims of nuclear weapons, including those affected by radiation emanating from nuclear tests (Ronzitti, 2017). The treaty also pursues the objective of delegitimising nuclear deterrence, framing nuclear weapons as unacceptable (Ritchie, 2019). The TPNW became the third most ratified treaty in its first year of existence (Onderco, 2020). As of November 2020, it counts 84 signatories and 50 ratifications. It has reached the number of ratifications required for its entry into force, which will take place on 22 January 2021.⁵

The TPNW generated considerable debate, particularly in Europe (Hamel-Green, 2018). Ireland, Malta and Austria are the only EU Member State parties to the TPNW, while traditionally disarmament-friendly Finland and Sweden have distanced themselves from it, and Cyprus has not positioned itself. NATO condemned the treaty upon its signature, accusing it as being at odds with the existing non-proliferation and disarmament architecture, and arguing that it risks undermining the NPT.⁶ In legal terms, the TPNW is compatible with the NPT (Ronzitti, 2017). As highlighted by a participant in the negotiations, utmost care was taken to fit the new legal text into the framework created by the NPT (Hajnoczi, 2020). However, controversy surrounds its political implications. There is a debate on the likelihood that the TPNW might be employed to undermine the NPT (Kandelbach, 2020), as well as on whether it will establish itself as a norm (Vilmer, 2020).

The TPNW's ostensible incompatibility with the nuclear-sharing arrangements in place within the Atlantic Alliance accounts for the low number of European ratifications. As NATO members, most EU Member States are covered by extended deterrence – the 'nuclear umbrella' – and four of them host US nuclear weapons in their territory. The continuation of nuclear sharing is in question on account of the political opposition it faces in some of the host countries, notably Germany and the Netherlands (Lafont et al., 2018). The question is all the more relevant given that the nuclear forces stationed in Europe have the predominantly political value of harnessing the credibility of NATO nuclear deterrence. Their military value is secondary, given that the protracted mobilisation period of aircraft designated for delivering these bombs make them ill-suited for defence against Russian forces (Thränert, 2016). In the midst of uncertainty surrounding the sustainability of the nuclear sharing arrangement, the idea of Europeanising the French nuclear deterrent has resurfaced. Questioning the continued relevance of NATO, President Macron tabled the possibility of extending the coverage of French nuclear forces to other EU members (Elysée, 2020). This idea, dubbed '*dissuasion concertée*', had been floated previously by Macron's predecessors with little success (Jasper and Portela, 2010). The proposal attracted some more attention this time than on previous occasions, particularly among German political elites, prompting observers to advocate launching a public debate at the European level on the matter (Haute Couverture and Maître, 2020; Sauer, 2020).

2.3 Initiatives in the run-up to the NPT RevCon

In anticipation of the 10th NPT RevCon, and in the face of the emergence of the Ban Treaty, two initiatives have been launched to promote the gradualist approach towards nuclear disarmament. During the last Preparatory Committee for the 2020 RevCon in 2018, the United States launched the initiative 'Creating an

⁴ UNGA Res.71/258 'Taking forward multilateral nuclear disarmament negotiations', Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 23 December 2016 (<https://undocs.org/A/RES/71/258>).

⁵ See treaty status (<http://disarmament.un.org/treaties/t/tpnw>).

⁶ North Atlantic Council Statement on the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, 20 September 2017 (https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_146954.htm?selectedLocale=en).

Environment for Nuclear Disarmament' (CEND), driven by the progress made by the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (García Benasach, 2020). It set up a working group bringing together both officials and civil society members from 31 countries across three categories of states: nuclear possessors – both within and outside the NPT – their allies, and others (García Benasach, 2020). Three meetings of the working group were held – in July and November 2019 as well as virtually in September 2020 – with the objective of identifying ways to improve international security and removing the obstacles impeding progress towards disarmament.

The initiative is predicated on the idea that improving confidence building will facilitate progress towards disarmament, rather than the other way round. Its thrust was defined as follows by US Assistant Secretary Christopher Ford:

'Disarmament movement only becomes available when, and to the degree that, real-world weapons possessors feel that such movement is feasible, safe, verifiable, and sustainable; such movement thus depends hugely upon the nature of, and perceived trends in, the prevailing conditions of rivalry, conflict, and threat in the security environment; and that therefore the only serious and viable path to making a future nuclear weapons-free world more likely lies through making sustainable improvements in those conditions' (Ford, 2020).

The logic put forward by this initiative has received criticism for portraying a deteriorating security climate as an obstacle to disarmament, failing to identify the lack of political will as an obstacle to disarmament in itself (Burford et al., 2019; Meyer, 2019). It has also been criticised for overlooking the fact that arms control and disarmament efforts during the Cold War took place in a tense security environment. Arms-control treaties of the Cold War era, even when concluded in a tense international environment, usually facilitated détente, rather than the other way round (Arbatov, 2019).

In parallel, Sweden launched an initiative named 'Stepping Stones', also known as the 'Stockholm Initiative for Nuclear Disarmament'.⁷ Its inaugural meeting took place in Stockholm in June 2019, and was followed by a ministerial meeting of its 16 members in Berlin in February 2020. In addition to the Swedish host, members include Argentina, Canada, Finland, Germany, Indonesia, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, the Republic of Korea, Spain and Switzerland. The Stockholm Initiative constitutes an attempt to revive measures and commitments agreed previously, and to reconstitute the consensus around them. According to Stockholm Initiative members, these include the 2000 NPT RevCon's '13 Steps' and the 2010 RevCon's '64 Point Action Plan', which 'remain valid and form the basis for making further progress in fully implementing the treaty and achieving a world free of nuclear weapons'.⁸ The method employed by participating states consists in conducting démarches to garner the support of other NPT members in promoting a gradualist approach towards nuclear disarmament.

2.4 The upcoming NPT RevCon

The postponed 2020 NPT RevCon was expected to take place under inauspicious circumstances, primarily on account of a US administration that was not supportive of multilateral approaches to arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament. In light of the upcoming change in the US administration following the November 2020 election, analysts express more optimism regarding the outcome of the RevCon, which they had expected to almost certainly fail had it taken place as scheduled.

The EU intends to promote a catalogue of measures that it has agreed, and that largely reflect the '64 Point Action Plan' agreed at the 2010 RevCon, which was subject to a broad consensus at the time. From that

⁷ See Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sweden, 'Ministerial meeting of the Stockholm Initiative for Nuclear Disarmament', 27 February 2020 (<https://www.swedenabroad.se/en/embassies/un-geneva/current/news/stockholm-initiative-for-nuclear-disarmament>).

⁸ Ibid.

point of view, expectations regarding the upcoming RevCon are focused on preserving progress achieved so far and preventing previous achievements from unravelling, rather than ambitious bold steps.

Yet, in light of the prospective entry into force of the TPNW, which will coincide chronologically with the session if it is held in January 2021, the NPT RevCon is likely to be dominated by controversies surrounding the new treaty. This risks bringing to the fore, once again, divisions over the treaty that surfaced during the latest edition. As a defender of a multilateral approach to the international non-proliferation and arms control regime, the EU risks seeing its contribution towards a successful outcome of the conference diminished by signs of internal dissension. A failed RevCon would have profoundly negative repercussions for the EU. While, for the time being, TPNW signatories remain committed to the NPT forum, there is a risk that they may withdraw from the treaty out of frustration with the lack of progress in the disarmament pillar, already evidenced by their support for the TPNW. In turn, this would further complicate the EU's support for the NPT, as it would be left with the task of helping to rebuild a weakened and increasingly fragmented non-proliferation and disarmament regime. In the upcoming RevCon, the task of preserving the attractiveness of the NPT regime ought to be added to the EU's list.

2.5 The Impact of the COVID Pandemic

The eruption of the COVID-19 pandemic resulted in the postponement of the 10th NPT RevCon that was scheduled for March 2020. The decision on postponement prescribed that it ought to be held no later than April 2021. While at the time of writing dates remain unconfirmed, January 2021 has been floated as a likely option. Observers remain split on the possible impacts. While the postponement of the event in principle extends the period available for coordination (Gottemoeller, 2020), most governments' attention now focuses on mitigating the effects of the pandemic on their economies, and most international contacts have been cancelled meanwhile. Some claim that, in view of the structural crisis of the NPT, a 6-month postponement of the Tenth Review Conference is judged unlikely to alter its outcome (Haute Couverture, 2020).

With regard to the impact on defence and deterrence policies more generally, it is anticipated that a focus on mitigating the socioeconomic impact of COVID-19 might result in a de-prioritisation of defence to fund pandemic mitigation measures, particularly in the EU context. At the same time, some analysts venture that the pandemic might heighten the level of international alertness to the threat of bioweapons, leading to a reaffirmation of the importance of nuclear armament as a deterrent to biological weapons attacks (Lanternier and Maître, 2020).

3 The role of the EU in nuclear arms control and disarmament

Since 2003, the EU has had a 'Strategy against the Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction' (Council of the EU, 2003a; henceforth 'WMD Strategy'), adopted in the framework of its common foreign and security policy (CFSP). The WMD Strategy heralded a qualitative improvement of EU action, which culminated in the key role it played in the resolution of the Iran nuclear dispute (Portela and Kienzle, 2015). Nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear safety have taken centre stage in the development of the EU's WMD policy, as will be detailed below. The present section outlines the evolution of EU nuclear non-proliferation policy, while a second section examines its action in three key domains: technical assistance programmes, coordination in international fora, and the management of proliferation crises.

3.1 The evolution of EU policy

The origins of the EU's role in nuclear non-proliferation go back to Euratom, one of the original communities, which was tasked, among others, with managing the internal market for uranium (Müller and Van Dassen, 1997). Even though Euratom was designed to prevent proliferation and develop civilian nuclear energy primarily among members of the European Economic Community, it could engage externally as it was endowed with legal personality. To this end, it provided assistance to the activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in the field of nuclear safeguards (Grip, 2015). The external role of the European Community (EC) in non-proliferation originated as early as 1981, when the Council set up a working group on nuclear questions in the context of the European Political Cooperation (EPC), in whose framework Member States started to coordinate national positions in international fora. Initially, the working group produced some common statements at UN fora and the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) on safeguards and nuclear technology transfers.

Two developments enabled the EU to upgrade its role in the field in the early 1990s. Firstly, the Treaty on European Union (TEU) signed at Maastricht in 1991 enhanced the framework for foreign policy coordination formally linking the EC and the CFSP, giving the EU a mandate to deal with security affairs. Secondly, France's 1992 accession to the NPT, the cornerstone of the nuclear non-proliferation regime, allowed EU members to activate some initiatives in the field (Cottey, 2014). The European Council singled out arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament as priority areas for the CFSP, and Member States began tabling joint proposals at international conferences, such as the 1992 joint initiative to the IAEA Board of Governors Conferences on the strengthening of safeguards. The culmination of this trend was the campaign for the indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995.

The external environment played its role in stimulating the proliferation of EU initiatives in the field. Dubbed 'the golden age of arms control', the 1990s saw the conclusion of new disarmament treaties, and a considerable reduction of nuclear arsenals. Following the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 in the US, suspicions that Al-Qaida was seeking nuclear weapons caused widespread concern among governments about the possibility that WMD might fall into the hands of terrorist groups (Murauskaite, 2015). This provided a stimulus to the EU's role in non-proliferation. It upgraded external support of nuclear safety, while EU members promoted the adoption of UNSC Res 1540. Adopted unanimously in 2004, this resolution requires states to prevent the proliferation of WMD weapons and their means of delivery to non-state actors, in particular for terrorist purposes.⁹ Once the resolution was in force, the EU put in place capacity-building programmes to aid third countries with its implementation.

At the same time, because the US set aside its traditional leadership in arms control in favour of counter-proliferation, relying notably on the use of military force, the EU was compelled to champion the multilateral regime. Washington's militarily intervention in Iraq, largely justified by allegations that

⁹ S/RES/1540 (2004) ([https://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1540%20\(2004\)](https://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1540%20(2004))).

Baghdad possessed WMD, placed proliferation at the centre of the international agenda. Yet, the operation had a devastating impact on transatlantic relations as it polarised key NATO allies. The effects on EU foreign policy were equally detrimental: Divisions between supporters and opponents of the operation cut across the EU, and gave rise to what has been described as the 'deepest crisis the CFSP ever suffered' (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2014, p. 149). The framing of a strategy on how to respond to WMD proliferation aimed to restore an intra-European consensus and bridge the transatlantic rift on how to respond to nuclear proliferation concerns.

3.2 Disparate nuclear statuses and attitudes

However, EU action in nuclear non-proliferation remained constrained by the disparity of nuclear statuses and attitudes towards nuclear deterrence. All EU members are parties to the NPT. After the British withdrawal from the EU, France remains the organisation's only nuclear-weapons state (NWS). Twenty-one out of the current 27 EU Member States are allies of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Four of them, Belgium, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands, host NATO nuclear weapons on their territory while the remaining 17 are covered by the Alliance's nuclear umbrella. Of the six EU partners that remain outside NATO, Ireland, Austria, Finland and Sweden are nuclear-free and traditional advocates of nuclear disarmament, while Cyprus and Malta forgo reliance on nuclear weapons but are less active in this file (Romanyshyn, 2018). Recent developments like the increasing antagonism between Russia and the West over Ukraine and the adoption of the TPNW added further nuance to this diverse picture, which has been described as a 'patchwork' (Lafont et al., 2018). Ireland and Austria, staunch nuclear disarmament advocates, co-sponsored the UNGA resolution on the TPNW and are now states parties to it, alongside Malta. Cyprus and Sweden voted in favour, but did not sign the treaty. Finland refrained both from participating in the vote and from signing the treaty. EU countries which are concurrently NATO allies voted against.¹⁰

A recent study classifies the attitudes of EU members in four groups, focusing on the alignment of elite preferences and public opinion: A disarmament-friendly group covers Ireland, Cyprus, Malta, Austria and Finland, even though Helsinki is less critical of nuclear weapons than the others. At the opposite end of the spectrum, France, Poland and Romania are staunch supporters of nuclear deterrence and their leaderships do not face internal dissent. Sweden forms, alongside Germany and the Netherlands, a group of conflicted members where civil society and part of the political elite views nuclear weapons unfavourably. The remaining EU members, concurrently NATO allies, can be subdivided into those persuaded of the centrality of nuclear deterrence, like Belgium, Italy or the Baltic states, and others that ascribe less importance to nuclear deterrence without challenging it (Lafont et al., 2018).

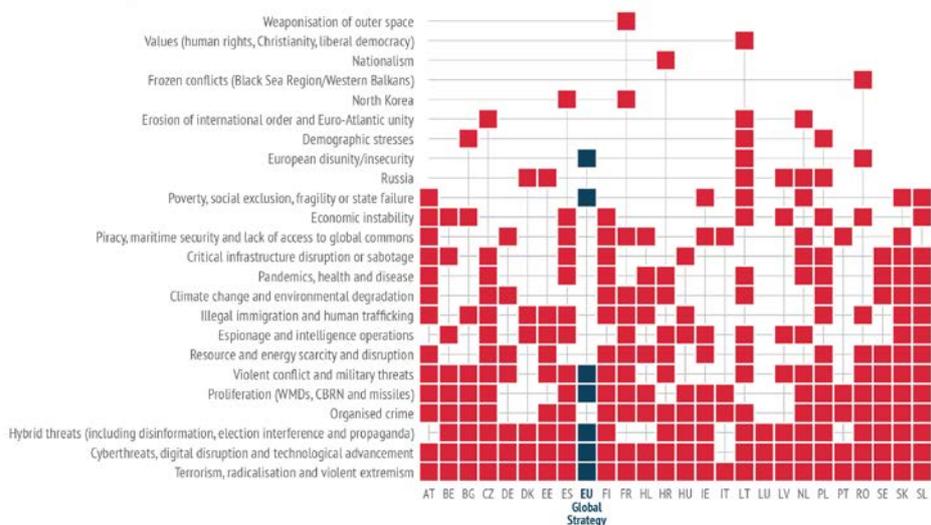
Among EU Member States, agreement is forthcoming around the need to 'uphold and strengthen the integrity of the NPT' (Bylica, 2019). A recent survey of national security and defence strategies of EU Member States shows remarkable convergence regarding the identification of WMD proliferation as a security threat. An analysis of national security strategies of 25 Member States reveals that more than half point to the proliferation of WMD and missiles as a threat (Fiott, 2020). By contrast, voting patterns at the UNGA reveals that resolutions on nuclear disarmament belong to the most controversial among EU members, with the European nuclear powers and non-NATO members often voting differently from the EU mainstream (Luif, 2014).

¹⁰ See voting record for UNGA Resolution A/RES/71/75, 15 December 2016.

Graph 1: Threat perception in national strategies of EU Member States and EU Global Strategy

Threats to, threats from

What do the strategies tell us?



Each value represents the number of times a particular security and defence issue was labelled as a 'threat' by a member state. This analysis is based on a combination of word searches and textual analysis. Therefore, references to particular words found in contents pages and abbreviations are excluded but references found in footnotes are retained. Each reference to a particular security and defence issue is counted only once even though the issue may appear multiple times in an individual national security strategy and across defence reviews and white papers.

Source: Fiott 2020.

Since CFSP operates by consensus, the Council needs to achieve internal agreement before positioning itself on a foreign policy issue. Thus, diverging attitudes towards nuclear weapons among Member States impede European agreement on nuclear disarmament, a selective approach privileging non-proliferation over disarmament in the EU's agenda.

3.3 The WMD Strategy as a turning point

The adoption of the WMD Strategy in 2003 was the first programmatic document adopted by the European Council outlining EU priorities and methods in the field of non-proliferation, and reflected that the interests of Member States had converged (Müller, 2007). It identifies WMD proliferation as a threat, and details the EU's means to address it as well as an action plan to implement the European response. The threat analysis includes an array of scenarios that may affect the EU or the broader international non-proliferation regime, including terrorist attacks using WMD. The potential measures are equally broad and include commitments 'to address the root causes of instability' and different forms of coercion which might involve the use of force under Chapter VII of the UN Charter (Council of the EU, 2003a, p. 5). The measures are organised into 'effective multilateralism', the 'promotion of a stable international and regional environment' and the 'cooperation with key partners' (Council of the EU, 2003a, pp. 6-8). The British House of Lords described the WMD Strategy as 'very wide-ranging' and concluded that it lacked significant gaps (2005, p. 11).

In the wake of the adoption of the WMD Strategy, the EU built up new institutional and financial capabilities for its implementation (Kienzle, 2013). The position of Personal Representative for Non-Proliferation was created in 2003. Its first occupant, Italian diplomat Ms Annalisa Giannella, headed a new non-proliferation unit in the Council Secretariat, which operated a budget of around EUR 125 million between 2004 and 2013. Concurrently, the European Commission maintained its small team of officials dealing with non-proliferation. The Commission's non-proliferation budget was larger than the Council's, especially after the Instrument for Stability established in 2006 earmarked around EUR 300 million for action in this area. Although the dualism between Council and Commission sometimes impeded the smooth functioning of EU non-proliferation policy, both institutions progressively improved their coordination (Zwolski, 2015). To support this aim, the EU adopted the *New lines for action in combating the Proliferation of WMD and their*

delivery systems in 2008 (Council of the EU, 2008). However, as reflected in the 2013 update of this document, this initiative led to few tangible outcomes (Council of the EU, 2013). More significant were the institutional changes that followed the 2009 Lisbon Treaty. This included the redefinition of the role of Personal Representative for Non-Proliferation as Principal Adviser and Special Envoy for Non-proliferation and Disarmament, assumed by Polish diplomat Jacek Bylica until his replacement by Dutch diplomat Marjolijn van Deelen in September 2020. Importantly, the Lisbon Treaty merged both non-proliferation units under the roof of the European External Action Service (EEAS). It also created the position of permanent chair of the Working Group on Non-Proliferation, which brings together relevant officials from the foreign ministries of EU capitals.

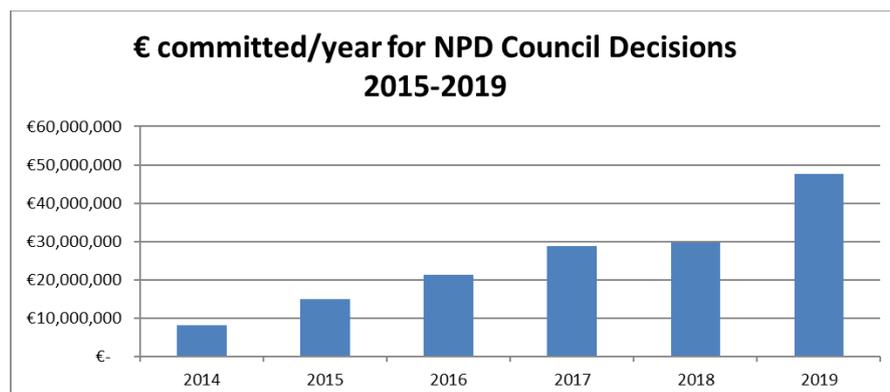
3.4 The Non-Proliferation Clause

Building on its extensive experience with human rights conditionality (Bartels, 2005), the EU introduced a non-proliferation clause in agreements with third countries in the mid-1990s. This clause was to be included in all new mixed agreements between the EU and third countries, i.e. agreements that affect the competences of both the Community and its Member States (Council of the EU, 2003a). It consists of a commitment by the partner country to abide by its obligations in the field of non-proliferation, and a non-binding encouragement to accede to treaties it has not joined yet. The first segment allows the EU to cancel an agreement if a partner country breaches its non-proliferation obligations. While the clause was included in over 100 contractual relationships, it suffers from several weaknesses. The binding segments refer to commitments the partner has already entered into (Grip, 2014). Importantly, whereas countries of proliferation concern like Indonesia or South Korea signed agreements featuring the non-proliferation clause, others, like India, refused. The insertion of the clause could be circumvented by avoiding mixed agreements, as sectoral agreements lack political conditionality (Grip, 2015). Eventually, in order to avoid controversy, the WMD clause was inserted alongside other political conditionality provisions in agreements on political cooperation rather than in trade agreements. Nevertheless, the non-binding element appears to have yielded tangible results, as a remarkable increase in the number of signatories of the CTBT (62.5 %) ¹¹ and the IAEA Additional Protocol (7 %) among EU trading partners occurred in the 6 years that followed the introduction of the clause (Grip, 2015, p. 130).

3.5 A Growing Budget

The activation of the role of the EU in this field was backed by the creation of a dedicated CFSP budget line (Tertrais, 2006). The allocation for non-proliferation and disarmament increased steadily in recent years, as evidenced in the graph below.

¹¹ This includes Annex 2-countries Colombia, DRC and Vietnam.

Graph 2: Funds committed for non-proliferation and disarmament per year (2015-2019)

Source: EEAS (2019).

Within the non-proliferation and disarmament budget, nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear security occupies a privileged position, as it constitutes the best-endowed topic since the inception of the budget, amounting to 32% of funds. Only the budget devoted to stem the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons, which amounts to 29% of the total, rivals the nuclear proliferation and nuclear security allocation.

Table 2: Proportion of amount committed to projects per topic (2004-2019)

	Sum of AMOUNT COMMITTED	Percentage
Nuclear Non-Proliferation/ Security	EUR 92 528 585	32 %
Chemical Disarm./ Security	EUR 39 130 727	14 %
Biological Disarmament/ Security	EUR 17 782 757	6 %
Missile Non-Proliferation	EUR 4 813 120	2 %
Middle East WMDFZ	EUR 3 555 978	1 %
Outer Space	EUR 2 764 399	1 %
UNSCR 1540	EUR 4 092 770	1 %
SALW-control	EUR 82 652 529	29 %
Arms Export Control/ATT	EUR 22 170 597	8 %
Mine Ban Convention	EUR 4 403 274	2 %
EU Non-Proliferation Consortium	EUR 10 723 258	4 %
(blank)	-	0,0 %
Grand Total	EUR 285 445 994	100,0 %

Source: EEAS (2019).

3.6 The record

Technical Assistance

In the aftermath of the Cold War, EU activities displayed a strong focus on the post-Soviet space, taking the form of threat reduction efforts. By assisting Russia to improve nuclear safety and to abide by its disarmament commitments, threat reduction ought to prevent the illegal diversion of nuclear materials. As one of the funders of the International Science and Technology Centre in Moscow and the Science and Technology Centre in Kiev, which employed scientists who had worked in Soviet WMD and missile programmes, the EU strove to prevent the diversion of proliferation-sensitive knowledge. Threat reduction

efforts focused on fields where the EU could rely on in-house expertise, like safeguards, nuclear safety and research (Portela, 2003).

The geographical coverage progressively expanded to include other regions. Thanks to the Instrument for Stability in 2006, which identified non-proliferation as a priority, resources were released for ambitious projects like the establishment of a network of Centres of Excellence aimed at the mitigation of chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear (CBRN) risks (Grip, 2015). Apart from the geographic reorientation, the initiative broadened the thematic focus to deal with risks such as CBRN accidents. In cooperation with the UN and the EU Joint Research Centre, it established focal points for regional expertise on CBRN risks and risk mitigation around the world.

Table 3 below shows that the vast majority of EU programmes have a multiregional vocation. Programmes in the Russian Federation remain prominent as they receive the second-largest regional allocation, accounting for 5 % of the budget, while Ukraine, Belarus and Kyrgyzstan together receive almost 2 %.

Table 3: Amounts committed per region (2004-2017)

Implementers	Sum of AMOUNT COMMITTED	#projects	Percentage
Multiregional	EUR 169 473 023	89	71 %
South East Europe	EUR 13 565 786	5	6 %
Russian Federation	EUR 10 875 000	2	5 %
Libya	EUR 8 035 591	2	3,4 %
Syria	EUR 7 901 654	5	3,3 %
Western Balkans	EUR 4 002 588	1	1,68 %
Latin America and the Caribbean	EUR 3 700 000	2	1,6 %
Sahel (Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Nigeria)	EUR 3 561 257	1	1,5 %
MS's of LAS	EUR 2 858 550	1	1,20 %
Ukraine	EUR 2 431 157	2	1,0 %
Cambodia	EUR 1 975 565	3	0,8 %
Belarus and Kyrgyzstan	EUR 1 680 000	2	0,7 %
North Macedonia & Georgia	EUR 1 353 878	1	0,57 %
Albania	EUR 1 320 000	1	0,6 %
Africa, Asia-Pacific, Latin America and Caribbean	EUR 1 220 881	1	0,51 %
Middle East	EUR 699 700	2	0,3 %

Source: EEAS (2018).

Part of the budget is devoted to the operational support of non-proliferation agreements and projects by international entities like the IAEA or the Preparatory Commission of the CTBT Organisation (CTBTO) (Anthony and Grip, 2013). In the first decade after the release of the WMD Strategy, much of the funding went to the nuclear security work of the IAEA, contributing to the prevention of nuclear terrorism. Actions funded ranged from workshops to encourage third countries to sign multilateral agreements to strengthening the Preparatory Commission of the CTBTO's ability to detect nuclear tests. The direct financial support of these international organisations by the EU, another international organisation, is an unusual phenomenon (Kienzle, 2013).

Table 4: Agencies in charge of implementing programmes (2004-2019)

Implementers	Sum of AMOUNT COMMITTED	#projects	Percentage
Treaty Body	EUR 107 778 791	35	45 %
UN Body	EUR 54 633 273	29	23 %
Non-Governmental Body	EUR 33 443 257	20	14 %
Member State Agency	EUR 32 414 273	17	14 %
Regional Organisation	EUR 9 510 035	7	4 %
Grand Total	EUR 237 779 629	108	100 %

Source: EEAS (2019).

A large portion of the non-proliferation and disarmament budget is implemented by external agencies, mostly treaty bodies and other international organisations: UN bodies, treaty bodies and regional organisations take the lion's share of implementation. A breakdown by implementer shows that the agencies with responsibilities in the nuclear domain take a paramount position among implementing agencies: The IAEA receives the largest portion with a 19% share and the CTBTO takes 8%, while other nuclear-relevant programmes are spread among entities with heterogeneous mandates. The EU's cooperation with partner countries experienced a substantial increase, in line with its emphasis on 'effective multilateralism'. EU-supported projects boosted the capacity of international non-proliferation organisations such as the IAEA and CTBTO.

3.7 Coordination in multilateral fora

EU action aims to strengthen multilateral regimes with the help of CFSP instruments (Denza, 2018). In the 1990s and 2000s, this approach became more prominent, as EU Member States joined virtually all non-proliferation arrangements (Kienzle and Vestergaard, 2013). Paramount among these fora are the NPT RevCons, where EU Member States began to coordinate their positions at NPT already in the 1990s. The Presidency delivered statements on behalf of Union, and Member States jointly submitted working papers with proposals that often proved subject to consensus. On the other hand, Member States continued to present working papers either in their national capacity or as part of other groupings, such as France and the UK as NWSs, or Ireland and Sweden as members of the New Agenda Coalition. An early success of EU action in non-proliferation was the diplomatic campaign for the indefinite extension of the NPT (Müller and Van Dassen, 1997). The following years witnessed a rise in EU initiatives in multilateral fora geared at promoting the entry into force of the CTBT and the universalisation on the Hague Code of Conduct against ballistic missile proliferation. The EU also committed to contribute to the NSG Working Group on Transparency and to finance a seminar on nuclear-related export controls.

Thanks to these initiatives, the EU progressively acquired visibility as an actor in the NPT domain. It greatly improved internal coordination ahead of international meetings, evidencing a learning process in which it sought to address identified shortcomings (Portela and Kienzle, 2015). At NPT RevCons, negotiations unfold among and within clusters of informal groupings of varying composition. In the most recent review cycle, a few groupings were central in driving negotiations forward: The NWSs are simultaneously the P-5, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) that promotes disarmament and access to nuclear energy, the Vienna Group of Ten which focuses on export controls, safeguards and nuclear safety, and the Seven Nation Initiative which works across all three NPT pillars (Romanyshyn, 2018). Two groups attempted a bridge-building role: The Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative (NPDI), composed of countries closely aligned with Washington, and the pro-disarmament 'New Agenda Coalition' (NAC). EU Member States coordinated as a grouping, while simultaneously acting as part of other groupings and in their individual national capacity. EU members are scattered in different groupings. Ireland is part of NAC, while Slovenia and Sweden, two founding members, relinquished the grouping subsequently. The NPDI includes

Germany, the Netherlands and Poland (Portela, 2020). For its part, Romania is part of the Seven Nation Initiative.

Over the 15 years that elapsed between the 1995 and the 2010 review cycles, the EU established increasingly successful coordination: It invariably entered the RevCons with a common position in place, made statements at both Plenary and Main Committees, and submitted working papers. The length of the CFSP documents adopted in preparation for the meetings, albeit a coarse measure, illustrates this evolution. The CFSP acts that preceded the 1995 and 2000 reviews consisted of merely one substantive page. By contrast, the 2005 Common Position featured a catalogue of four substantive pages, and the 2010 Common Position reached a peak of six (Portela, 2020). Equipped with a robust common position, the EU presented statements and working papers across all pillars of negotiation at the 2010 RevCon. In contrast, in the 2015 review cycle, the Humanitarian Initiative proved so divisive that the Council could not agree on a CFSP act. Instead, it reflected some priorities in non-binding Council conclusions, evidencing the existence of unresolved disagreement (Smetana, 2015). The conclusions highlighted the responsibility of the US and Russia for further stockpile reductions: 'The Council welcomes the considerable reductions made so far taking into account the special responsibility of the States that possess the largest arsenals ... and strongly encourages them to seek further reductions in their nuclear arsenals'. The language employed echoed the stance of France and the UK on the matter (Denza, 2018). By contrast, allusions to the Humanitarian Initiative barely concealed controversy, noting 'the ongoing discussions on the consequences of nuclear weapons, in the course of which different views are being expressed, including at an international conference organised by Austria, in which not all EU Member States participated'. Abnormally for a Council statement, the emphasis on the lack of universal EU attendance of the meeting undermines the message of EU unity (Portela, 2020). In consequence, the 2015 RevCon witnessed the EU's most disappointing performance to date. Beyond the presentation of statements and working papers, EU action remained negligible, which contrasts with the bridge building and consensus-seeking role that characterised the EU in previous editions (Dee, 2015).

Although EU members constitute a majority in export control regimes like the NSG or the Australia Group, coordination is not always forthcoming. India's application for a waiver to allow for international cooperation in the nuclear domain proved a challenge for EU unity. The EU traditionally votes in unison against a UNGA resolution tabled by India proposing a convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons (Panke, 2014). Yet, in the early 2000s, departing from its traditional rejection of the international non-proliferation regime, New Delhi advocated its acceptance in the regime as a *de facto* NWS. Although this contradicted the terms of the NPT, which recognises only five NWS, Washington backed India's bid and agreed on a nuclear deal with New Delhi in 2005, opening up the international nuclear trade for India without requiring the abandonment of its nuclear arsenal. However, this deal required the conclusion of a special IAEA safeguard agreement and a waiver by the NSG. Both in the IAEA and the NSG EU Member States had the opportunity to block the US-India nuclear deal by withholding their consent to the safeguard agreement and waiver. However, EU members could not agree on a common approach. After years of pressure and lobbying from the US, France, the UK and others, opponents such as Ireland and Austria eventually consented (Kienzle, 2015).

3.8 Proliferation crises

The EU responded with varying intensity to nuclear proliferation crises, where a state initiated a military nuclear programme or aroused suspicions that it intended to do so. The EU contributed modestly to early crises, such as the Indian-Pakistani tests. In the aftermath of the Cold War, EU action complemented US efforts and proved instrumental in bringing about success (Müller and Van Dassen, 1997). The European response to the crisis in North Korea was characterised by the resort to funding tools coupled with a low political profile. Following Pyongyang's withdrawal from the NPT in 2003, Brussels supported the robust UN sanctions regime with supplementary restrictions (Taylor, 2010; Esteban and Portela, forthcoming).

While the EU regularly condemns North Korea's defiance of the UNSC, it recognises that its restrictions do not have much impact on the regime because of weak economic links (Mogherini, 2017).

This record changed dramatically with the crisis that erupted over revelations about Iran's undeclared nuclear activities. Initially, the strategies followed by the US and the EU towards the Iranian issue diverged. While the US pursued a policy of containment that culminated in Teheran's inclusion in Bush's 'axis of evil' speech (Goettemoller, 2007), Brussels attempted a policy of 'constructive engagement', where non-proliferation progressively gained prominence (Kienzle, 2012). Washington's initial refusal to deal directly with Tehran left a vacuum that could be filled by the foreign ministers of Germany, France and the UK. Although only the E-3 participated in the talks, the other Member States remained involved through the High Representative's role. EU diplomatic efforts not only prevented a new escalation, but were pivotal in paving the way for the conclusion of the JCPOA between Iran, the EU and the three extra-European members of the Security Council in 2015 (Portela, 2015a).

In conclusion, the role of the EU in proliferation crises since the adoption of the WMD Strategy is characterised by uneven progress (Blavuokos et al., 2015). Undeniably, the adoption of the WMD Strategy marked a milestone in the development of non-proliferation policies building upon the EU's experience with multilateral coordination, technical cooperation and, to a lesser extent, political conditionality (Álvarez, 2006). While it is well developed in the technical assistance field, on the political front, progress remained selective, focusing on non-proliferation while neglecting disarmament. The political fracture witnessed over the TPNW at the NPT RevCon set EU coordination back by several years; however, coordination mechanisms managed to reconstitute some degree of consensus, visible in the adoption of statements at all post-2015 NPT PrepComs.

3.9 Prospects

While the European Security Strategy of 2003 famously identified the proliferation of WMD and their delivery means as 'potentially the greatest threat to our security' (Council of the EU, 2003b, p. 5), the Global Strategy claims that it 'remains a growing threat to Europe and the wider world' (EU, 2016, p. 41). Still, the Global Strategy confirms the continuity of existing lines of action:

'The EU will strongly support the expanding membership, universalisation, full implementation and enforcement of multilateral disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control treaties and regimes. We will use every means at our disposal to assist in resolving proliferation crises, as we successfully did on the Iranian nuclear programme. The EU will actively participate in export control regimes, strengthen common rules governing Member States' export policies of military – including dual-use – equipment and technologies, and support export control authorities in third countries and technical bodies that sustain arms control regimes' (EU, 2016, p. 42).

In addition, the apparently reduced level of ambition of the Global Strategy is not an indicator of decreased engagement. Rather than heralding an era of stagnation in integration, it preceded major integration initiatives in the field of defence, such as the launch of permanent structured cooperation (Barbé and Morillas, 2018). In the arms control field, the financial allocation kept rising.

On the other hand, the Humanitarian Initiative and the signing of the TPNW exacerbated the intra-European fracture over nuclear disarmament. The sharpening of the controversy over the urgency of advancing nuclear disarmament is reflected in the EU's inability to articulate common priorities ahead of the 2015 RevCon, breaking with an established tradition. While the EU had prepared a catalogue of joint priorities in anticipation of all RevCons of this century, the Humanitarian Initiative caused such controversy that the Council failed to agree any for 2015. Instead, the EU listed vague priorities in the Council conclusions, evidencing the magnitude of the disagreement (Portela, 2020). Consequently, the 2015 Review Conference was the setting for a regrettable episode of CFSP discord at an international forum. At

the same time, the disagreement between advocates and detractors of the TPNW is not primarily intra-European, but reflects a gap that extends to the broader NPT community.

Hence, the future role of the EU in arms control and nuclear non-proliferation will be characterised by opposite dynamics: on the one hand, a generous economic envelope that enables Brussels to fund important actions; on the other, a political fracture that promises to make coordination between members difficult. This suggests that future progress might lie more in the technical/capacity building domain as opposed to diplomatic/political initiatives. At the same time, the crisis in global arms control compels Brussels to defend a weakening practice of multilateral cooperation without the support of its main ally, Washington.

4 How to move forward – and how Parliament can help

Foreign affairs has not been part of the progressive enhancement of European Parliament (EP) powers and, accordingly, the role of the EP in nuclear non-proliferation and arms control remained traditionally limited. Still, the EP has developed a role in non-proliferation thanks to two interrelated developments. Firstly, while the Treaty of Lisbon did not increase formal competences of the Parliament in the CFSP (Verola, 2012), it provided the EP with tools to enhance its influence on CFSP developments. Making use of these tools, the European Parliament devised ways of boosting its influence: ‘the EP has organised itself in such a way as to maximise its involvement’ (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2014, p. 85). Thus, despite the absence of formal powers, the political framework for consultation and dialogue with Parliament evolved to allow Parliament to develop a role in the CFSP. The present section is organised as follows: A first part identifies the tools at the disposal of the EP to influence this policy. A second section outlines and briefly evaluates the evolution of the EP’s contribution to nuclear arms control over time. A third section suggests avenues that this institution could activate to help nuclear arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament overcome its current impasse.

4.1 EP Powers in the CFSP

While the Lisbon Treaty did not grant the EP the right of legislative initiative in the CFSP, it still endowed it with powers in areas relevant to non-proliferation policies such as dual-use control (Grip, 2013). In the absence of legislative competences, the EP exploited its limited powers with remarkable creativity and inventiveness, a feature recognised as unique to this institution (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2014). EP tools in foreign policy can be classified in four types: budgetary competences, the approval of international agreements, a consultative and scrutiny role, and parliamentary diplomacy. An alternative subdivision refers to the timing in the decision-making process in which the EP articulates its views: prior to, during or after the formal decision-making process (Rosen and Raube, 2018).

The EP’s budgetary authority is of paramount importance. The Parliament decides, alongside the Council, on the distribution of items in the CFSP budget chapter, based on the Commission’s draft. Most importantly, this is one of few formal powers of the EP, and one that can be activated in the course of the decision-making process, rather than in the pre-decision phase. The EP has notoriously demanded concessions in return for funding EU activities in third countries like Iraq and Afghanistan (Rosen and Raube, 2018). It has also used its budgetary authority to support arms control policies: When EU budget instruments underwent reform in 2006, the EP requested the creation of a budget line on WMD under the Instrument for Stability (Grip, 2013).

Secondly, another competence considered as influential as the budgetary power is the required consent to international agreements, which equates to a veto power over trade agreements, association and cooperation agreements with third parties, as well as financial protocols, and over international agreements on issues that are internally regulated via the ordinary legislative procedure (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2014). The fact that the EP can only accept or reject an agreement that has already been negotiated, coupled with the high majority and quorum required, reduces the likelihood of activation of this option. Nevertheless, in order to advance foreign policy goals, the EP sometimes threatened its veto (Zanon, 2005) or rejected agreements with third countries, often those located in its neighbourhood (Greilsammer, 1991). It has also announced an intention to reject any future agreement with unwanted partners, deterring the launch of negotiations before their inception (Portela, 2010). Since the EP’s consent is required for the adoption of agreements with third parties, it can block agreements with weak provisions on WMD (Grip, 2013).

Another important tool at the EP’s disposal is parliamentary diplomacy. The EP has over 40 Inter-parliamentary Delegations for relations with parliamentary assemblies from third countries, regions or international organisations (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2014). Inter-parliamentary formations provide the EP

with a venue from which they can obtain direct insight into foreign policy dossiers from their interlocutors, which strengthens its position in dialogue with Council and Commission. It also provides a channel through which they can sometimes influence the views of parliamentarians from third countries (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2014).

Finally, powers of consultation and scrutiny are generally regarded as less influential. Still, after the EP notoriously managed to increase its leverage over the EEAS when it was set up, the dialogue with the High Representative evolved into an important influence channel. Both High Representatives Catherine Ashton and Federica Mogherini were credited with developing constructive relationships with the EP (Keukeleire and Delreux, 2014).

4.2 The EP's Contribution to Nuclear Arms Control and Disarmament

During the 1980s, in its early years as a directly elected institution, the EP emerged as the EU actor that demonstrated the strongest interest in non-proliferation. In the absence of decision-making powers in the field, it directed questions to the Council, and from 1982 onwards, it adopted a number of resolutions calling for a common European non-proliferation policy, backing talks on a CTBT (Kienzle, 2009). Most remarkably, the EP played a positive role in endowing WMD activities with adequate funding. After the WMD Strategy called for the creation of a Community budget line devoted to non-proliferation and disarmament, the EP followed up by allocating EUR 3 million to the fight against WMD proliferation in the 2004 budget (Grip, 2013). In the reform of EU budget instruments of 2006, the EP requested the creation of a budget line on WMD under the Instrument for Stability. A resolution tabled by MEP Angelika Beer suggested separating funding sources for nuclear safety and nuclear security, a proposal only partly accepted by the Council (Grip, 2013).

EP activities are not circumscribed to the budgetary field. It adopted numerous resolutions related to WMD proliferation and disarmament, and it accompanied the Council's practice of drafting EU priorities in the wake of NPT review conferences by agreeing its own priorities (European Parliament, 2004). However, it only published its first comprehensive report on non-proliferation in 2005, 2 years after the adoption of the WMD Strategy. A report specifically on the NPT was adopted 4 years later (European Parliament, 2009). Thus, the EP started to position itself on the implementation of the WMD Strategy rather late, which contrasts with the avant-garde role it had played in the 1980s. The 2005 report was one of the most comprehensive declarations of the EP's stand on WMD issues (Grip, 2013). Endorsing the launch of a non-proliferation policy, it embraced the extension of conditionality to the realm of non-proliferation in the form of a WMD clause. The report requested that the clauses 'be strictly implemented by all the Union's partners without exception' (European Parliament, 2005), and that sanctions be applied against those that breached their obligations (European Parliament, 2005). The reports, tabled by MEP Ģirts Valdis Kristovskis and Angelika Beer in 2005 and 2009 respectively, encouraged the Council to strengthen its role as a non-proliferation actor along existing lines: universalisation of treaties and provision of financial support to third countries to implement their obligations under international legal instruments. The EP encouraged the EU to 'play a more active role in non-proliferation and disarmament policies' (European Parliament, 2005). Resolutions and reports fulfilled the typical parliamentary function of scrutiny. They invited the Council to specify how it aimed to lend substance to its stated plans, including how it intended to foster the role of the UNSC to meet the challenge of non-proliferation, or how it planned to persuade third states to accede to the IAEA Additional Protocols (European Parliament, 2004). Yet, although the EP resented the Council's refusal to support 'Mayors for a nuclear-free world' initiative, it did not openly contradict Council policies.

The Parliament has also followed closely the EU's contribution to the mitigation of nuclear proliferation crises, such as the de-nuclearisation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). A treaty was concluded between Euratom and the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organisation (KEDO), an

entity set up by the US in an effort to dissuade North Korea from developing a military nuclear programme. However, when the EP complained that the agreement did not allow European enterprises to participate in contracts, the agreement was renewed under improved conditions. It also called for increased European political involvement in the North Korean nuclear crisis, and asked the DPRK to send a delegation of senior members of the Supreme People's Assembly to the EP 'in order to address the nuclear weapons issue, KEDO and other matters' (European Parliament, 2002). After Pyongyang withdrew from the NPT, EP activity focused on ensuring the provision of humanitarian aid. Similarly, it adopted several resolutions. In the wake of the 2015 NPT RevCon, the EP adopted a resolution calling for reviving the project of a Middle East free of weapons of mass destruction, a commitment that goes back to the indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995 (European Parliament, 2013). The EP also passed a resolution calling for a lifting of the sanctions as soon as a comprehensive agreement guaranteed that Tehran's nuclear programme remained exclusively peaceful (European Parliament, 2014).

Nuclear disarmament remains divisive in the EP. When the EU proved unable to agree on a list of priorities ahead of the 2015 RevCon, owing to divisions over the Humanitarian Initiative, the EP also failed to draft its own priorities (Smetana, 2015). Thus, despite its stronger disarmament-minded orientation, the EP is subject to the same cleavage that impeded consensus at Council level. Nevertheless, the years following the 2015 NPT RevCon witnessed an increasing activism on the side of the EP in the arms control and disarmament field. With regard to regional files, the chamber has called upon North Korea to cease nuclear testing and human rights violations, and has supported unreservedly the JCPOA. Notably, the EP supported the launch of negotiations on the TPNW prior to its endorsement by the UNGA, and invited EU Member States to support the convening of such a conference in 2017 and to participate constructively in its proceedings (European Parliament, 2016). More recently, in the face of the impending collapse of the INF, the EP called on the US and Russia to preserve the treaty, and urged the High Representative/ Vice-President 'to engage in dialogue with the INF States Parties in order to restore cross-border trust' and 'to push for the preservation and development of the INF Treaty and to initiate negotiations for a multilateral treaty for this category of missiles' (European Parliament, 2019). Lastly, earlier this year, the chamber drafted a recommendation on the preparation of the 2020 NPT RevCon, which is still awaiting approval.

Overall, the contribution of the EP to the EU's role in nuclear non-proliferation has been, albeit modest, very positive. Notably, it has ensured that the EU counted on the necessary financial instruments to become a non-proliferation actor, correcting budgetary practices that had been criticised as cumbersome (Tertrais, 2005, p. 54). An original EP contribution to the field consisted of addressing the imbalance in the EU's approach to nuclear weapons, which privileges non-proliferation to the detriment of disarmament. During his visit to the European Parliament in 2010, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon applauded the fact that a parliamentary resolution supported nuclear disarmament alluding to a proposal for a convention banning nuclear weapons (Ban, 2010). The EP is more supportive of disarmament than the Council, to the point that it encouraged the US to terminate the production of battlefield nuclear weapons and to accede to the CTBT (European Parliament, 2004). Allusions to the need for nuclear disarmament measures abound in EP documents, in contrast to Council instruments. In 2012, a majority of MEPs – 389 out of 754 at the time – signed a declaration supporting 'Global Zero', an initiative launched by President Obama foreseeing the phased elimination of nuclear weapons worldwide (White House, 2009). However, according to EP rules, the declaration does not bind the Parliament as a whole.

While some analysts claim that the formulation of EU arms control policy is characterised by the predominance of NWS interests and those of members covered by NATO's nuclear umbrella (Dee, 2015; Portela and Kienzle, 2015), different hurdles hamper EP action. Firstly, a mismatch exists between EP strengths in external relations and the CFSP decision-making framework. One of the assets the EP can deploy externally are inter-parliamentary dialogues. However, inter-parliamentary links tend to be weaker with countries with dubious proliferation credentials such as North Korea than with other partners. A second hurdle relates to the self-understanding of the EP. Over the years, Strasbourg has become a

champion of human rights and democracy in the external relations of the EU. The EP successfully pressured other EU institutions into taking human rights and democracy questions more seriously through various initiatives, thereby establishing human rights and democracy promotion as a flagship project. By contrast, arms control enjoys less visibility with the European public because of its technical, less accessible nature. In comparison with the flagship human rights file, which the EP advanced adroitly, the Parliament has made a more timid use of its tools in the arms control and disarmament field. Nuclear proliferation is not only more divisive among MEPs than human rights; it is also unlikely to exert the same traction on European constituencies (Portela, 2015b).

4.3 How can the EP help revive nuclear arms control?

The EP has a large toolbox at its disposal which it can use creatively to help revive arms control. The following external action tools can be identified:

- **Inter-parliamentary diplomacy:** One of the most valuable tools available to the EP is inter-parliamentary diplomacy (Fernández, 2007). Due to their character as bilateral agreements between the US and Russia, the EU does not have a direct say in the continuation of these agreements. However, the parliaments of both signatories play a fundamental role. The EP could employ its inter-parliamentary connection with the US, the EU-US Inter-Parliamentary Meeting, to raise the issue of arms control agreements and promote the idea of negotiating a follow-up treaty to New START. The future of nuclear arms control should feature prominently on the agenda of forthcoming meetings with US counterparts. Regrettably, inter-parliamentary dialogue with the Russian Duma remains suspended, which does not allow for comparable action with regard to the other signatory of the treaties. Nevertheless, inter-parliamentary diplomacy can be mobilised also in the dialogue with other like-minded partners, such as Canada, which can aid this objective by raising nuclear arms control in their own inter-parliamentary exchanges with their Southern counterparts. Such concerted efforts can contribute to raise awareness of the centrality of this question for Washington's long-standing allies.
- **Budgetary powers:** In the past, the EP defended an external relations budget that will defend the pursuit of non-proliferation and disarmament (Quille, 2015). The EP could now support the launch of a broader debate on the options and prospects for nuclear arms control aiming at the development of concrete proposal with the help of its budgetary powers. The CFSP budget devotes a portion to the field of arms control, non-proliferation and disarmament, which has been growing over the years, as shown above. The EP should ensure that part of this budget is reserved for the organisation of a process of discussion and deliberation leading to the development of new contractual elements to rebuild a network of arms control treaties. Ensuring that this process is properly funded is a pre-condition for its success.
- **Own-initiative resolutions:** In order to promote its arms control agenda, the EP should make use of its own initiative resolutions, a tool that enables it to push for certain issues to emerge or to remain on the executive's agenda (Goinard, 2020). Own-initiative resolutions have been referred to as "a privileged channel for the EP's agenda-setting role": out of the 517 own-initiative resolutions adopted in the legislature 2014-19, as many as 105 were issued by the Foreign Affairs Committee and its two sub-committees, the Security and Defence Sub-committee (SEDE), and the Human Rights (DROI) one (Goinard, 2020). The EP can request the Council to take position publicly on new developments in the arms control field.
- **Scrutiny and control powers:** In addition, the EP should make use of every opportunity of oversight of the role of the Council in the arms control field, including in the dialogue with the High Representative on CFSP matters. This will not only enhance the relevance of the EU as an arms

control actor, but it will also raise the profile of arms control issues among the European public, acting as a corrective to declining awareness of the field.

- The EP's powers in the ratification and scrutiny of implementation of agreements with partners, a potentially impactful tool, appears less relevant in this context, given that the main addressees, Washington and Moscow, display limited sensitivity to the pressure applied by the EU, particularly in the security field.
- Finally, the EP has sometimes made use of linkages between different dossiers as instruments of pressure, making its approval of the budget conditional on the Council's agreement to specific measures. The activation of this tool would be extremely unusual in the CFSP, and again, it does not appear relevant in the nuclear arms control context in view of the lack of fundamental disagreement between the EP and the Council. In addition, the highly confrontational nature of such an approach suggests that it should be reserved for exceptional circumstances.

In terms of organisation of these activities, the timeline should be scheduled around a division between a short- and mid- to long-term horizon, in line with suggestions by various experts.

4.4 Initiatives for the short term

- The dislocation produced by the COVID pandemic led to international calls for moratoria on different files. Some of them have been supported by the EU, like UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres' call for a global ceasefire. Similarly, the EP could call on Washington and Moscow to adhere to the terms of the INF Treaty and, as a matter of priority, to agree an automatic extension of the New START Treaty. It could encourage the Council to echo this call at a global level.
- The EU traditionally aspires to appear as a unitary actor by coordinating its positions and voting jointly at the NPT. So far, maintaining EU consensus has proved possible at the cost of marginalising the disarmament pillar in favour of the others, where agreement among Member States was forthcoming. The Council's coordination machinery is remarkable, as evidenced by the number of statements made in arms control fora in Geneva, New York, The Hague and Vienna, totalling 192 in 2019 (Portela, 2020). Yet, after EU unity disintegrated at the 2015 NPT RevCon over the Humanitarian Initiative, the EU should focus on reconstituting its internal cohesion. The EP could aid this process by highlighting the inclusion of nuclear proliferation as a common threat when the Strategic Compass is drafted.
- The EP could also propose an expansion of the current mandate of the Special Envoy for Non-Proliferation and Disarmament to Special Envoy for Non-Proliferation, Disarmament and Arms Control. The inclusion of arms control in her job title and mandate will empower her to participate in the arms control debate on behalf of the EU while given a signal to the world that the EU is ready to engage in arms control issues.
- The EP can help the Council in the formulation of its nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament agenda by cultivating its practice of preparing a catalogue of priorities for the NPT RevCon. The EP can also endorse the 'Stepping Stones' initiative to foster agreement in the upcoming NPT conference, in the hope that an intra-European consensus can be exported to the NPT agenda. This consensus can be channelled via the links its members have in influential groupings in the NPT community, notably, the P-5, NAC, NPDI and Seven Nation Initiative. The hope is that this can help surmount the polarisation of the NPT framework.
- The EP can also encourage the Council to relax its opposition towards the TPNW and develop a modus vivendi with it. Because of the predominance of NATO allies protected by the US nuclear 'umbrella' among Council members, the position of the EU on disarmament appears closer to that of the European NWS than to the Humanitarian Initiative. The prevalence of conservative views on

disarmament accentuates the misalignment between the EU and NPT membership. As cautioned by former Italian Ambassador Carlo Trezza,

‘States would be ill-advised to try to delegitimise the [TPNW] treaty as it is a reflection of the deep frustration of a large majority of non-nuclear armed states over the lack of progress in the field of multilateral nuclear disarmament. The TPNW also represents a response to the inability of international actors to finalise consensual agreements in multilateral fora. Furthermore, by emphasising the humanitarian dimension in the discourse on nuclear weapons and disarmament, the TPNW legitimises a principle that is widely shared by the international community: that of achieving a world free of nuclear weapons’ (Trezza, 2017).

The EP can help bridge the cleavage between those who contest the compatibility of the Ban Treaty with the NPT – mostly NATO members – and those who defend it. As the TPNW approaches its entry into force, the EP can highlight that it does not rival the NPT, as its signatories remain active members in the NPT process. The EP could encourage the Council to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Ban Treaty as an expression of frustration at the pace of nuclear disarmament, persuading it to help rebuild an agenda that engages the entire NPT community. Other than having attracted 122 states to the negotiating table, the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons that supported the treaty received the Nobel Peace Prize.

Rather than vilifying the TPNW, the EP could entice the Council to promote an interpretation of the Ban Treaty that encourages gradual progress towards elimination and that emphasises compatibility with the NPT. Recent research suggests that adherence to the TPNW by non-nuclear weapons states and ‘umbrella’ states does not compete with the gradualist approach to disarmament favoured by nuclear powers and their allies, but complements it (Egeland, 2019). While TPNW adherence promises to make nuclear deterrence less salient, it does not eliminate it as a factor in strategic affairs (Egeland, 2019). Furthermore, the TPNW does not prohibit its parties from engaging in military alliances with nuclear powers as long as they refrain from assistance in nuclear-related activities.

4.5 Initiatives for the mid- to long term

- A central contribution the EU can make to arms control is to lay the intellectual and organisational groundwork for the next era. Arms control requires multilateralisation – notably to include China – and it must integrate emerging technologies. According to expert Oliver Thränert, the multilateral effort towards this conceptual thinking can be conducted by Europe (Thränert, 2019). Recognising that Europe is a beneficiary of arms control agreements, and that US and Russian arsenals remain sizeable despite substantial cuts (Neuneck, 2019), the EP could encourage EU Member States to convene a conference series to reflect on the future of arms control in Europe. Such conference series could take place under a format that replicates OSCE membership to ensure the participation of Russia and NATO’s North American allies. A seat could also be foreseen for Beijing, initially as an observer. Instead of calling on Moscow and Washington to agree on a follow-on treaty, the objective of the meetings should be the drafting of an agreement to replace the INF with the full participation of European countries. Limits on deployments could be agreed following the CFE model. While the EU played no role in nuclear arms control negotiations in the past (Kulesa, 2020), it can capitalise on its extensive experience in intergovernmental negotiations, and on the expertise acquired in drafting the JCPOA with Iran alongside Moscow and Washington. The EP can contribute to this endeavour by advocating publicly for such project. As a preliminary step towards this process, it could endorse the aptly titled ‘Rethinking Arms Control’ conference series launched

by Germany¹². While the ability of the EU to directly influence the attitude of Moscow and Washington is limited, cooperating with both key actors in the intellectual groundwork for a new treaty architecture can help Brussels carve a role for itself in the future.

- The EP has a key role to play in raising public awareness of the importance of arms control and its central contribution to the protection of Europe over the past decades. This role is not confined to dissemination efforts, but entails an educational element. The EP should advocate that arms control and disarmament education components are adequately represented in the curricula of relevant university degrees as well as in the diplomatic training of its Member States. As former arms control negotiator Alexey Arbatov points out, 'the current generation of leaders, political elites and military officials has an inadequate understanding of the history of the nuclear arms race and nuclear arms control, and therefore an insufficient appreciation of the dangers of the vicious circle of the arms race and the international crises it provoked' (2019, p. 8). Declining knowledge of arms control inevitably contributes to a de-emphasis of the file and limited awareness of the risks associated with its erosion, particularly, the increased risk of an arms race. The Council decided to fund educational and dissemination activities leading up to the 2020 NPT RevCon; however, they targeted foreign delegations scheduled to participate in the NPT RevCon (Council of the EU, 2019). Having promoted the allocation of a sizable budget to non-proliferation, it is the responsibility of the EP to scrutinise closely the Council's action in spending these funds as well as to monitor its diplomatic initiatives in the field.

¹² See conference website (<https://rethinkingarmscontrol.de>).

References

- Aderbahr, C. (2018), 'EU policy options in case of US withdrawal from the Iran nuclear deal', Carnegie Europe, 12 April 2018.
- Álvarez, M. (2006), 'Mixing Tools against Proliferation: The EU's strategy for dealing with weapons of mass destruction', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 11(3), pp. 417-438.
- Arbatov, A. (2019), 'MAD moment redux? The rise and fall of nuclear arms control', *Survival* 61(3), pp. 7-38.
- Ban, K.-M. (2010), 'Address to the European Parliament', 19 October, Strasbourg.
- Barbé, E. and Morillas, P. (2019), 'The EU global strategy: the dynamics of a more politicised and politically integrated foreign policy', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 32(6), pp. 753-770.
- Bartels, L. (2005), *Human Rights Conditionality in the EU's International Agreements*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Berger, A. (2015), 'Gangs of New York. The NPT RevCon', Commentary, European Leadership Network, London.
- Burford, L., Meier, O. and Ritchie, N. (2019), 'Sidetrack or kickstart? How to respond to the US proposal on nuclear disarmament', *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, April 2019.
- Bylica, J. (2019), European Union General Statement by Special Envoy for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, European External Action Service, Preparatory Committee for the 2020 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), 3rd Session, New York, 29 April-10 May 2019.
- Cirincione, J. and Bell, A. (2009), 'Prague and the transformation of American nuclear policy', in Vasconcelos, A. and Zaborowski, M. (eds), *The Obama Moment*, EUISS, Paris, pp. 91-110.
- Council of the European Union (2019), Council Decision (CFSP) 2019/615 of 15 April 2019 on Union support for activities leading up to the 2020 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT).
- Council of the European Union (2016), 'Shared Vision, Common Action: A stronger Europe. A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy', Brussels, June 2016.
- Council of the European Union (2015), Council Conclusions on the Ninth Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT): 8079/15, Brussels, 20 April 2015.
- Council of the European Union (2003a), EU Strategy against Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, 15656/03, Brussels, 10 December 2003.
- Council of the European Union (2003b), European Security Strategy, 15895/03, Brussels, 8 December 2003.
- Cottey, A. (2014), 'The EU's non-proliferation strategy ten years on', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 19(1), pp. 45-64.
- Dee, M. (2015), 'The EU's Performance in the 2015 NPT Review Conference: What went wrong', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 20(4), pp. 591-608.
- Denza, E. (2018), 'Non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction', in Blockmans, S. and Koutrakos, P. (eds), *Research Handbook on the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy*, Edward Elgar, Chentelham, pp. 182-204.

- Egeland, K. (2019), 'Arms, influence and the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons', *Survival*, 61(3), pp.57-79.
- Elysée (2019), 'Discours du Président Emmanuel Macron sur la stratégie de défense de dissuasion devant les stagiaires de la 27eme promotion de l'école de guerre', 7 February 2020.
- Erästö, T. (2019), 'Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons', *SIPRI Yearbook 2019*, SIPRI, Stockholm, pp.387-90.
- Esteban, M. and Portela, C. (forthcoming), 'EU Sanctions against North Korea: Making a stringent UN sanctions regime even tougher', in Casarini, N. et al. (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of EU-Korea Relations*, Routledge, Abingdon.
- European Parliament (2001), Proposal for a Council decision approving the conclusion by the Commission of an agreement between the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) and the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO). Rapporteur: Gawronski, J., 4 December.
- European Parliament (2002), Resolution on the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO), *Official Journal of the European Communities*, 7 November.
- European Parliament (2004), European Parliament resolution on nuclear disarmament: non-proliferation Treaty Review Conference in 2005 – EU preparation of third NPT PrepCom, New York, 26 April to 7 May.
- European Parliament (2005), Report on non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction: a role for the European Parliament, Rapporteur: Ģirts Valdis Kristovskis, A6-0297/2005.
- European Parliament (2009), Report with a proposal for a European Parliament recommendation to the Council on non-proliferation and the future of the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), A6-0234/2009.
- European Parliament (2012), Written declaration submitted pursuant to Rule 123 of the Rules of Procedure on support for the Global Zero Action Plan for the phased and verified elimination of all nuclear weapons worldwide, 0026/2012, Brussels, 10 September.
- European Parliament (2013), Resolution on the recommendations of the Non-Proliferation Review Conference regarding the establishment of a Middle East free of weapons of mass destruction, 17 January.
- European Parliament (2014), Motion for a resolution to wind up the debate on the statement by the Vice-President of the Commission/High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy pursuant to Rule 110(2) of the Rules of Procedure on the EU strategy towards Iran (2014/2625(RSP)), 31 March.
- European Parliament (2016), Resolution on nuclear security and non-proliferation (2016/2936(RSP)), 27 October.
- European Parliament (2019), Resolution on the future of the INF treaty and the impact on the European Union (2019/2574 (RSP)), 14 February.
- European Union (2016), 'Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe. A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy', European External Action Service, Brussels.
- Evans, G., Oglivie-White, T. and Thakur, R. (2015), *Nuclear Weapons: The state of the play*, Centre for Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Feliu, L. and Serra, F. (2015), 'The European Union as a "normative power" and the normative voice of the European Parliament', in Stavridis, S. and Irrera, D. (eds), *The European Parliament as an International Actor*, Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 17-34.

- Fernández, J. (2007), 'El Parlamento Europeo y la proyección exterior de la UE', en Barbé, E. y Herranz, A. (eds), *Política Exterior y Parlamento Europeo*, Institut d'Estudis Europeus, Bellaterra, pp. 135-148.
- Finaud, M. (2020), 'Traité New START: Vers le chaos ou la sécurité?', *Initiatives pour le désarmement nucléaire*, April 2020.
- Fiott, D. (2020), 'Uncharted Territory? Towards a common threat analysis and a Strategic Compass for EU security and defence', *Brief 16*, EUISS, Paris.
- Ford, C. (2020), 'Reframing Disarmament Discourse', Remarks at CEND Leadership Group Meeting, 3 September 2020.
- García Benasach, M. (2020), 'Hacia un nuevo orden nuclear?', in Garrido, V. (ed), *La no proliferación y el control de armamentos nucleares en la encrucijada*, Instituto de Estudios Estratégicos, Madrid.
- Gärtner, H. (2019), 'The Fate of the JCPOA', in Gärtner, H. and Shahmoradi, M. (eds), *Iran in the International System*, Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 56-76.
- Geranmayeh, E. (2019), 'How Europe can save what's left of the Iran Nuclear deal', *Foreign Policy*, 12 July 2019.
- Greilsammer, I. (1991), 'The non-ratification of the EEC-Israel protocols by the European Parliament', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 27(2), pp. 303-321.
- Goinard, M. (2020), 'The growing role of the European Parliament as an EU Foreign Policy Actor', in M. Westlake (ed) *The European Union's New Foreign Policy*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, pp. 107-124.
- Gottemoeller, R. (2007), 'The evolution of sanctions in practice and theory', *Survival* 49(4), pp. 99-110.
- Gottemoeller, R. (2020), 'When COVID-19 delays a nuclear non-proliferation conference, is there a silver lining?', Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, 26 March 2020.
- Grip, L. (2013) 'The European Parliament and WMD non-proliferation', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 18(4), pp. 563-584.
- Grip, L. (2015), 'The Performance of the EU in External Nuclear Non-proliferation Assistance', in Blavuokos, S. et al. (eds), *The EU and the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons*, Palgrave MacMillan: Basingstoke, pp. 117-140.
- Hajnoczi, J. (2020), 'The relationship between the NPT and the TPNW', *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 3(1), pp. 87-91.
- Hamel-Green, M. (2018), 'The Nuclear Ban Treaty and 2018 Disarmament Forums: An Initial Impact Assessment', *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 1(2), pp. 436-463.
- Hautecouverture, B. (2020), 'Nuclear Planet: the NPT and COVID-19', *Note 42/20*, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, Paris.
- Hautecouverture, B. and Maître, E. (2020), 'La France et la dissuasion nucléaire: le discours de l'Ecole de Guerre du président Macron', *Note 3/20*, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, Paris.
- Jasper, U. and Portela, C. (2010), 'European Union defence integration and nuclear weapons', *Security Dialogue*, 41(2), pp. 145-168.
- Jenkins, B. (2020), 'A farewell to the Open Skies Treaty, and area of imaginative thinking', Brookings Institution, 16 June 2020.
- Kadelbach, S. (2020), 'Possible ways to overcome tendencies of the Nuclear Weapons Ban Treaty to erode the NPT', in Black-Branch, J. and Fleck, D. (eds), *Nuclear Non-Proliferation in International Law*, TMC Asser, The Hague, pp. 305-22.

- Kane, A. and Mayhew, N. (2020), 'The Future of Nuclear Arms Control: Time for an Update', Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden/Development and Peace Foundation, Bonn.
- Keukeleire, S. and Delreux, T. (2014), *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills.
- Kienzle, B. (2009), 'Ideas, Interests and the Limits of Collective Foreign Policy Output: The Case of the European Union Non-Proliferation Policy', Doctoral thesis, Autonomous University, Barcelona.
- Kienzle, B. (2013), 'A European contribution to non-proliferation? The EU WMD strategy at ten', *International Affairs*, 89(5), pp. 1143-59.
- Kienzle, B. (2015), 'The exception to the rule? The EU and India's challenge to the non-proliferation norm', *European Security*, 24(1), pp. 36-55.
- Kulesa, L. (2020) 'The crisis of nuclear arms control and its impact on European security', *Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Papers*, No 66, SIPRI: Stockholm.
- Lafont, M., Varma, T. and Witney, N. (2018), 'Eyes tight shut. European attitudes toward nuclear deterrence', ECFR, Paris.
- Lanternier, M. and Maître, E. (2020), 'Les conséquences du Covid-19 sur la dissuasion nucléaire', Note 36/20, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, Paris.
- Luif, P. (2014), 'Der Konsens der Staaten der Europäischen Union in der Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik', in Frank, J. and Matyas, W. (eds), *Strategie und Sicherheit 2014*, Böhlau, pp. 289-303.
- Lundin, L-E. (2019), 'Inquiry into the consequences of a Swedish accession to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons', Government Chancellery, Stockholm.
- Maître, E. (2018), 'Retrait américain du JCPOA : conséquences stratégiques d'une décision politique', *Observatoire de la Dissuasion*, no.18, 11-13.
- Maître, E. and Tertrais, B. (2020), 'Le Traité New Start: bilan et perspectives', Note 59/20, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique, Paris.
- Meyer, P. (2019), 'Creating an Environment for Nuclear Disarmament Striding forward or stepping back?', *Arms Control Today*, April 2019.
- Meier, O. (2015), 'The 2015 NPT Review Conference Failure', Working Paper 4, SWP, Berlin.
- Mogherini, F. (2017), 'Speech at the European Parliament Plenary session on the situation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea', EEAS, Strasbourg, 12 September 2017.
- Murauskaite, E. (2015), 'Dynamics of the EU non-proliferation discourse in global context' in Tonra, B. et al (eds.), *SAGE Handbook of European Foreign Policy*, SAGE, London, pp. 952-66.
- Neuneck, G. (2019), 'The deep crisis of nuclear arms control and disarmament', *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 2(2), pp.431-452.
- Pacheco, R. (2012), 'Normal power Europe: Non-proliferation and the normalisation of EU foreign policy', *Journal of European Integration* 34(1), pp. 1-18.
- Panke, D. (2013), 'Regional Power Revisited: how to explain differences in coherency and success of regional organizations in the United Nations General Assembly', *International Negotiation* 18(2), pp. 265-91.
- Onderco, M. (2020), 'Nuclear Ban Treaty: Sand or Grease for the NPT?', in Sauer, T., Kustermans, J. and Segaert, B. (eds), *Non-Nuclear Peace: Beyond the Nuclear Ban Treaty*, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, pp. 131-48.

- Parsi, R. and Bassiri Tabrizi, A. (2020) State of play of EU-Iran relations and the future of the JCPOA, Directorate-General for External Policies, European Parliament, Brussels.
- Portela, C. (2003), 'The role of the EU in the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons: The way to Thessaloniki and beyond', Research Report 65, HSFK/Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, Frankfurt/Main.
- Portela, C. (2015a), 'The EU's evolving responses to nuclear proliferation crises', *Non-Proliferation Papers*, No 46, SIPRI: Stockholm.
- Portela, C. (2015b), 'The European Parliament and the external dimension of EU nuclear non-proliferation policy' in Stavridis, S. and Irrera, D. (eds), *The European Parliament as an International Actor*, Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 109-120.
- Portela, C. (2020), 'Revitalising the NPT: Preparing the EU for the tenth RevCon', *Brief 1*, EUISS, Paris.
- Portela, C. and Kienzle, B. (2015), 'European Union non-proliferation policies before and after the 2003 Strategy: Continuity and change', in Blavuokos, S. et al. (eds), *The EU and the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons*, Palgrave MacMillan: Basingstoke, pp. 48-66.
- Quille, G. (2015), 'A practitioner's view: The EU strategy on non-proliferation and disarmament', in Blavuokos, S. et al. (eds), *The EU and the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons*, Palgrave MacMillan: Basingstoke, pp. 67-73.
- Ritchie, N. (2019), 'Understanding the Ban Treaty and the power politics of nuclear weapons', *Contemporary Security Policy* 40(4), pp. 409-34.
- Romanyshyn, I. (2018), 'The EU in multilateral arms negotiations: Shaping the process or outcome?', *Journal of European Integration* 41(5), pp. 675-692.
- Ronzitti, N. (2017), 'Lo stato del disarmo nucleare', Osservatorio di Politica Internazionale no.77, Senato della Repubblica, Roma.
- Rosen, G. and Raube, K. (2018), 'Influence beyond formal powers: The parliamentarisation of EU security policy', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 20(1), pp. 52-68.
- Sauer, T. (2020), 'Power and nuclear weapons: The case of the European Union', *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament*, online first.
- Smetana, M. (2016), 'Stuck on Disarmament: The European Union and the 2015 NPT Review Conference', *International Affairs* 92(1), pp. 137-52.
- Taylor, B. (2010), *Sanctions as Grand Strategy*, IISS, London.
- Tertrais, B. (2019), 'La mort annoncée du traité FNI ou la fin de l'après-guerre froide', Note 02/19, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique: Paris.
- Tertrais, B. (2005), 'The European Union and nuclear non-proliferation: Does soft power work?', *International Spectator* 40, pp. 45-57.
- Thränert, O. (2016), 'A nuclear world out of (arms) control', *Strategic Trends* 2016, pp. 65-82.
- Thränert, O. (2019), 'Die Rüstungskontrolle ist tot', *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*, 18 July 2019.
- Trezza, C. (2017), 'The UN Nuclear Ban Treaty and the NPT: Challenges for Nuclear Disarmament', IAI, Rome.
- Verola, N. (2012), 'The new EU foreign policy after the Treaty of Lisbon', in Bindi, F. and Angelescu, I. (eds) *The Foreign Policy of the European Union*, Brookings Institution, Washington, DC, pp. 41-50.
- Vilmer, J. B. (2020), 'The forever-emerging norm of banning nuclear weapons', *Journal of Strategic Studies*, online first.

White House (2009), Remarks by President Barack Obama, Hradcany Square, Prague, 5 April.

Zanon, F. (2005), 'The European Parliament: an autonomous foreign policy identity?', in Barbé, E. and Herranz, A. (eds), *The Role of Parliaments in European Foreign Policy*, Office of the European Parliament, Barcelona.

Zwolski, K. (2015), 'Institutions and epistemic networks in the EU's non-proliferation governance', in Blavoukos, S. et al. (eds.), *The EU and the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons*, Palgrave MacMillan.

PE 603.496
EP/EXPO/SEDE/FWC/2017-01/03

Print ISBN 978-92-846-7409-1 | doi: 10.2861/97714 | QA-01-20-650-EN-C
PDF ISBN 978-92-846-7410-7 | doi: 10.2861/286447 | QA-01-20-650-EN-N