

58th ISODARCO Course on:

**"GLOBAL SECURITY & REGIONAL DISORDER:
EVOLVING CHALLENGES, ELUSIVE SOLUTIONS?"**

“Europe between Disarmament and Non Proliferation”

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1. Why a European Union?

- During past centuries, a war among European states took place on average once every 25 years. Since the establishment of the process aiming at a unified Europe 62 years ago no conflict has taken place among countries party to that process.
- The reality of today's world is that only major players can have a say on the main world issues. No single European state has the critical mass to become a major player on its own. With a total population of 500 million inhabitants, the highest total GDP in the world, with combined active military forces totalling over 1,500,000 personnel, 28 votes in the main International Organizations, 4 EU votes in UN security Council (out of 15 members), the EU is a potential super power.
- We have not reached that stage yet and the construction of the European Union might be presently seen as losing ground. Brexit is a major blow for the UK, it might not necessarily be a loss for the EU.

2.The first steps towards political/security cooperation

- The construction of an European Union started in 1957 with the signature in Rome of the Treaty of Rome. Six countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands) are the founding fathers of what was at the time the EEC (Economic European Community). Its main area of interest was the establishment of a common market and a common trade area.
- Political and security matters were for many years excluded from Community area of action, they were mainly dealt with within the US dominated NATO. However Europe can be seen as a forerunner on a specific nuclear issue which became a pillar of the Non proliferation regime: since 1957 EURATOM established a mechanism to assure access by all members to the material necessary to produce nuclear energy and to control that such material is not diverted to military purposes.
- An informal consultation process among member states was initiated in 1970 through an European Political Co-operation (EPC). It was legally consolidated by the Maastricht Treaty in 1993 with the establishment of an “European Union” and of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Unlike the supranational European Economic Community, CFSP was based on intergovernmentalism, which meant that unanimity was necessary to adopt political and security decisions in the Council of Ministers.

3.The present Situation

- The Treaty of Lisbon (which is the present European “constitution”) created a High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, a position which combines the functions of foreign minister and defense minister. Federica Mogherini is the present High Representative. Since December 2011 the High Representative (HR) is in charge of the European External Action Service (EEAS), which was also created by the Treaty of Lisbon and which has become a fully fledged Foreign Office with its own Diplomatic Corps, its own embassies all over the world.
- The provisions of the Treaty include mutual assistance in case of armed aggression, use of military means for disarmament and peace keeping missions, Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), among EU countries with higher military capabilities for more robust security/ military initiatives.

4a.Arms Control and Disarmament

- Arms Control and Disarmament are part and parcel of the EU Foreign and security policy. Jacek Bylica is the EEAS Principal Adviser and Special Envoy for Non-proliferation and Disarmament. Since 2013 and he coordinates all EU activities in this field.
- The EU is active in all fields of disarmament chemical, biological humanitarian, conventional, outer space. EU plays an active role especially on non-proliferation. In 2003 it established a Non Proliferation Strategy (it needs to be updated), in 2017 a Global Security Strategy. In 2010 the EU also established a EU Consortium on Non Proliferation and a Network of European Think Tanks active in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation.

- Cooperation is active on all arms control issues with one exception: nuclear issues in general and nuclear disarmament in particular. In this field the positions and the status of EU countries is not homogeneous: France and the UK are recognized as NPT nuclear weapons states, most EU states are Nato members, 4 of the latter host US nuclear weapons on their territories. Among EU non Nato countries some have a neutralist background, and are contrary not only to nuclear weapons but even in some cases to nuclear energy.
- The negotiation on the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) in 2017 was an occasion in which the EU discrepancies came notably to the surface. All EU countries are however party to the NPT and have usually been able to speak with a single voice during NPT conferences.

5.The main challenges today

- **INF treaty:** it took almost 10 years of consultations with allies and of negotiation with the Soviet Union to finalize the INF Treaty. It took not much more than one tweet for the US to withdraw from this historic Treaty. No discussions in US Congress, within the EU, but final European acquiescence to the US approach in NATO. Lack of a political will to save the treaty by both contracting parties. Prospect of possible deployment.
- **Iran:** EU is a major economic partner of Iran and was a major player in the JCPOA negotiation. Profound disappointment for US withdrawal. Negative impact on promising financial, trade, industrial cooperation. US re-imposed primary sanctions against Iran but also secondary sanctions against European companies despite the fact that Iran is abiding by the JCPOA. "With no nuclear deal any negotiation with Iran would be much more difficult, not easier". To protect EU companies from the humiliating measures devised by the US, the EU invented the concept of a Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) to help facilitate trade with Iran. To implement it a new mechanism, called the Instrument in Support of Trade Exchanges (INSTEX) was announced recently.

- **DPRK:** The EU is not a major player, but cannot be indifferent to developments in East Asia. The EU has strong relations with all parties including ties with DPRK. The present Inter-Korean dialogue is the backbone of the present positive process. Europe should support it more vigorously and prevent it from being derailed by the more fragile and problematic US/DPRK dialogue. Should the negotiations with the DPRK succeed, the EU will be probably asked to pay part of the financial bill.

6.Future prospects

- Despite the fact that the construction of the EU reflects in many ways the creation of the USA, there are many signs indicating the wish of the US administration to delegitimize its traditional greatest partner (downgrading of the EU mission in Washington, support of Brexit and of anti- EU political forces..).
- The earlier Europeans take stock of this, the better. Imminent Europarlament elections. France and Germany are taking the lead in re-vitalizing European cooperation. Aachen Treaty opens the possibility of reciprocal assistance with “all available means” which can be read as a pledge to extend French nuclear deterrent to cover German territory in the case of armed aggression.