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IINSTITUTE NOTE

Towards a European Non-Proliferation Strategy

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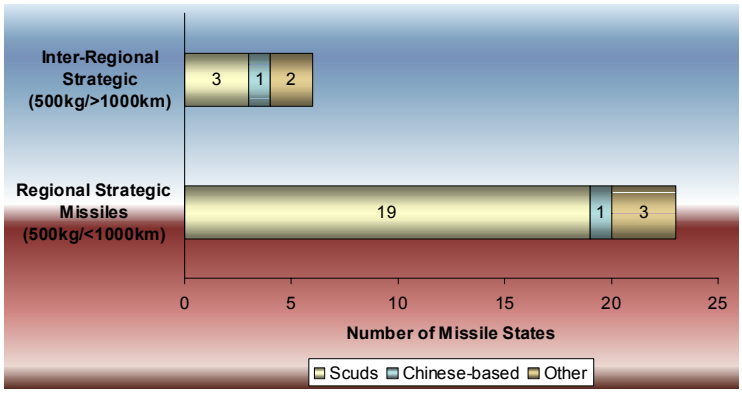
The seminar focused on three proliferation dimensions: missile technology proliferation, nuclear proliferation, and bio/chemical proliferation. Held at the premises of the Institute, it had several objectives. First, to analyse the nature and characteristics of WMD proliferation—paying particular attention to gaps in current non-proliferation measures. Second, to identify the main elements needed for the gradual development of an European non-proliferation strategy. Finally, to provide a platform for three Institute commissioned experts to present their chapter drafts for an upcoming Chaillot publication. This report summarises the speakers' principal findings and participants' reactions.

Assessing missile technology proliferation

In the area of missile technology, proliferation is mainly based on Scuds and their variant technologies. As the figure below shows, nineteen of twenty-three states with regional strategic missiles (defined as missiles with a payload of 500 kilos and a range up to 1,000 km) have Scuds in their inventory.

Scud technology was developed and proliferated prior to the 1990s. Most countries that acquired Scuds at that time no longer rely on imports to maintain their inventory.[1] According to the speakers, only four nations had developed longer-range missiles partially relying on imported technology since 1990. Among those identified were Egypt (partially supplied by the DPRK),



[1] J. Simpson and M. Smith, Mountbatten Centre for International Studies.

Iran (whose suppliers include DPRK, Russia, and China), Libya (potentially supplied by the DPRK), and Syria (relying on the DPRK and Iran). This illustrates that proliferators have set up their own cooperative networks to achieve autonomy vis-à-vis imports from countries that have sophisticated technologies but strict export policies. At the same time, it is evident that missile proliferation is a vertical rather than horizontal phenomenon. Thus, the risk of seeing new states developing missile programmes from scratch is less pressing than that of upgrades to existing arsenals (in terms of payload and range).

Several participants highlighted the potential threat posed by the proliferation of non-ballistic missiles. Sea-to-sea missiles, for example, could easily be transformed into sea-to-surface missiles. In combination with highly mobile platforms, they could then become a direct threat to EU countries. Other participants pointed out that any technical assessment of missile proliferation has to take into account both delivery systems and payloads. UAVs and cruise missiles, for example, are much more suitable for chemical and biological warheads than ballistic missiles (which have traditionally been the main concern).

Present gaps and potential policies

Given the ubiquity of mostly (older) Scud systems, current regimes—particularly the MTCR (Missile Technology Control Regime)—seem only partially effective. Since the MTCR concentrates on cutting off supply rather than demand, it is unlikely to cut back current levels of Scud proliferation. A general problem for the MTCR is the dual use character of ballistic missile technology, which makes it very difficult to define whether a technology is acquired for civil or military purposes.

The International Code of Conduct (ICOC) may fill some gaps, but as a relatively new instrument, it is too early to tell. Among its limitation is an overwhelming focus on ballistic missiles and the fact that several states with missile technology are not ICOC signatories.

Given these and other limitations, a possible EU missile proliferation policy should:

- Determine the specific reasons why individual states acquire missile technology. This information should be used to tailor country specific incentives to limit such procurement.
- Consider steps to control the spread of alternative missile types—in particular (sea-based) cruise missiles—to slow down the pace of overall proliferation
- Realise that in some cases ordnance is more critical than the missile (e.g. for long range missiles) and vice versa (short range missiles). Curbing proliferation may therefore require looking beyond missile technology.

It was generally agreed that missile proliferation is mainly driven by regional security considerations. Most countries with a Scud-based missile inventory have neither the intention to threaten Europe nor the technological know-how to develop missiles with a sufficient range to reach EU-territory. Moreover, the political impact of missile development and testing are generally much greater than actual military effects. However, because of its potentially destabilising effects for high-risk regions like the Middle East and Asia, missile proliferation remains a concern for European security.

Assessing nuclear proliferation

Nuclear proliferation remains limited to a few countries, but the nuclear programmes of these countries, namely North Korea and increasingly Iran, represent a major threat to international security. This threat is driven by several factors:

- Not all countries that export nuclear technology share the same threat analysis (see Russian exports to Iran)
- Certain U.S. policies may be seen to encourage nuclear armament
- Nuclear weapons are increasingly perceived as "trump" cards—especially against the United States

While this proliferation may be taking place far from Europe's borders, it is still of concern to the EU. There is a multitude of ways through which nuclear proliferation in Asia and the Middle East impact the EU.

Proliferation in Asia can destabilise the region to the point of impacting individual countries. Under one scenario, Japan's economy could be affected to a degree that spills-over to Europe. Under a different scenario, tensions in the Korean peninsula could "automatically" implicate European countries that are signatories of the 1953 Armistice Treaty.

In the Middle East, proliferation could potentially affect energy supplies to the EU or the Israeli-Palestinian peace process—both of which would impact EU strategic interests. From a different perspective, should EU forces be deployed to a proliferation prone region there would be a need to take certain force protection measures to adequately protect EU personnel.

Elements of an EU nuclear proliferation strategy

There was a broad consensus that the EU must use all available means to strengthen the nuclear non-proliferation regime. In this context, a couple of participants highlighted the inherent risks to the NPT should a nuclear test be performed (for example by North Korean and / or U.S.) or should another country withdraw from the regime. Others stressed that officially recognising India and Pakistan as Nuclear Weapon States would send the wrong political signal.

In general, an EU strategy on nuclear proliferation should initially raise public awareness over the dangers posed by nuclear proliferation. Such awareness should include procuring greater in-house expertise within European institutions.

An actual EU strategy should limit its reliance on "lecturing" would-be proliferators to avoid the reinforcement of tension between the *haves* and *haves-not*. Since states have very specific reasons for acquiring nuclear weapons, an effective approach should target those motivations. Finally, EU member that are part of the UNSC should take proactive steps to coordinate their positions concerning nuclear proliferation. Specific recommendations at the EU level include:

- Continuing promotion of the NPT, even in absence of U.S. engagement
- Cutting proliferation at the source through mechanisms such as the G-8's Global Partnership
- Studying whether EURATOM can be reproduced or adapted to other regions
- Strengthening export controls, especially in light of EU enlargement

- Restoring legitimacy to the UNSC to facilitate the management of nuclear proliferation issues
- Shifting from a "lowest common denominator" stance to a more ambitious policy that includes the engagement of proliferators through trade incentives and sanctions.
- Utilising a comprehensive approach that simultaneously strengthens multilateral regimes and export controls.

Assessing biological and chemical proliferation

While biological and chemical proliferation represents distinct challenges, they were grouped together for the purposes of the seminar. The 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibits the use of chemical and biological weapons (CBW). This regime has been strengthened by follow-on regimes, including the 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention and the 1993 Chemical Weapons Convention.

In spite of these regimes, there is a perception of an increased CBW threat. In contrast to missile and nuclear proliferation, this threat comes—at least for Europe—mainly from non-state actors. The difficulty in detecting such agents, coupled with their attractiveness to terrorist groups, translates to substantial doubts concerning the effectiveness of current measures. In the case of biological weapons in particular, the lack of inspection regimes complicates non-proliferation.

Policy options for the EU

In spite of the potential challenges posed by CBW, there are a host of policy options available to the EU. Summarised below, these range from judicial measures to crisis communication strategies.

Political and juridical measures, including:
- Issuing national preventive legislation
- Setting of standards for safe decontamination of sites
- Enhancing international juridical, political, and technical coordination.

Generic measures to counter the CBW threat
- Investments in health infrastructure and communication technologies for emergency services
- Establishment of specialized laboratories in geographically distributed hospitals for rapid identification of pathogens
- Familiarizing all doctors and first responders with unusual diseases and effects of specific types of toxic exposure in annual refresher courses
- Specialized equipment for rapid detection and diagnosis for civil emergency services
- Creation of sufficient stockpiles of medication and equipment

Specific measures to counter the CBW threat
- Training of (peacekeeping) troops to operate in CBW-contaminated environments
- Establishment of common standards and procedures for integrated European forces
- Stockpiling of antidotes against specific chemical agents
- Stockpiling of vaccines against low-probability, high-consequence diseases
- Identification of priority services and personnel

Independent assessment capabilities

- Necessity to develop independent European intelligence capabilities
- Interpretation of data in function of European security needs
- Adoption of common standards for interpreting risk and threat data
- Central agency for policy advice and warnings of security risks

Training and simulation

- Need to train emergency services, policy makers, media in crisis response and management
    - Tabletop exercises
    - Realistic, multiple day field exercises
    - Conduct exercises until their planned end

- Cross-border training exercises
    - Organization of emergency response procedures among EU members
    - EU-wide technical assistance programmes

Crisis communication strategies

- Development of communication strategies to inform the public in a responsible way
    - Identification of authoritative sources of information for public
    - Establishment of procedures to maintain communication
    - Prior agreements with different types of media
- Training of political authorities and personnel in crisis communication
    - Look at procedures at high-risk industrial facilities
    - Industrial evacuation procedures
- Important component of training and simulation

Emergency preparedness of civilians

- Question of adequate mental preparedness to deal with catastrophic events
- Analyse procedures and their impact in place in high risk areas (Japan, California)
- Communication and public debate of realistic assessments of threat and proposed measures

Conclusion

The proliferation of WMD represents a daunting challenge. Besides strengthening current regimes, the EU needs to consider its own non-proliferation strategy. A comprehensive strategy is needed to enhance the effectiveness of current measures and ensure that current proliferation trends do not negatively impact the Union in the future. This strategy should aim at threats from both state- and non-state actors and take into account the specificity of the various categories of WMD. Whereas BCW needs civil defence measures, the fight against missile and nuclear proliferation should imply the readiness to, if necessary, the EU's economic power for coercive diplomacy vis-à-vis proliferation.