

Editorial

European Nuclear Disarmament

For a decade from 1982, *The Spokesman* journal became *ENDpapers* and often chronicled the END Conventions that moved around Europe from Brussels to Berlin to Perugia to Amsterdam, Paris and onwards. The founding European Nuclear Disarmament Appeal had included a call for a representative conference of signatories to explore how to remove nuclear weapons from Europe. Eventually, Presidents Gorbachev and Reagan got the message and the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty was signed in 1987, banning an entire class of nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, the United States continues to position nuclear bombs at airfields in Belgium, Germany, Italy, The Netherlands and Turkey, under auspices of its nuclear-armed NATO alliance.

Now, President Trump has announced that the United States is withdrawing from the INF Treaty, and President Putin quickly followed suit. **Katarzyna Kubiak**, in evidence to the UK Parliament, sets out why the Treaty matters, and what may be the consequences of its demise. For more than 30 years, the INF Treaty has been a pillar of nuclear security in Europe. Now it is being pulled down, without consultation of those countries most directly affected. In Romania, Russia's close neighbour on the Black Sea, the European Union's High Representative, Federica Mogherini, remarked that

‘What we definitely do not want to see is our continent going back to being a battlefield or a place where other superpowers confront themselves. This belongs to a faraway history that both the INF Treaty and also the European Union as such have contributed to overcome once and for all.’

Joseph Gerson charts some of this ‘faraway history’, while Ambassador **Vladimir Chizhov** sketches Russia's current view of the wider international order. Commander **Robert Green** probes how the UK might constructively respond to the growing nuclear deterrence and disarmament crisis.

For its part, in a wide-ranging resolution ‘on the future of the INF Treaty and the impact on the EU’, the European Parliament

‘Commends the entry into force of the UN Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, the universalisation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and the establishment of further nuclear-free zones as positive steps ... ’

Europe’s nuclear-weapons-free zone will surely stand high on the agenda of our renewed pursuit of European Nuclear Disarmament. We will make a start in Brussels in the autumn (see page 78).

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Faraway History?

Remarks by High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini at the press conference following the informal meeting of the EU Defence Ministers in Bucharest on 31 January 2019

Q. Was the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces [INF] Treaty discussed this morning? We expect the United States to announce its withdrawal this afternoon. What does that mean for European security? In the discussion on China, was there any talk of how to persuade Beijing to participate in this kind of arms control?

We did not discuss this at our meeting but obviously, as so many Foreign Ministers were gathered in the same room, this was an issue for discussion informally, bilaterally with some of them. As you might have heard, we discussed this with the Defence Ministers Wednesday night here in Bucharest, together also with the NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg, and I already had on Wednesday the opportunity of saying publicly what I would reiterate here: European countries and the European Union as such are not parties to the INF [Treaty] but Europe has been probably the one that has benefited the most from this Treaty that we have valued enormously, that we value enormously. Our wish and our call is for this Treaty to be preserved with full compliance by both parties and you know where the issue stands there. We are working on a common declaration at 28 [EU Member States] that might be released in the coming hours.

Q. The United States' withdrawal from the INF Treaty was based on Russia's non-compliance with the agreement. What is the EU's official position on this fact?

The European Union as the Union relies on the information that Member States share, including on this issue. As I had the opportunity of discussing many times, including during the NATO ministerial [meetings] and in the NATO headquarters in the last months, we have also had access to some of the information that NATO has shared with us. For the European Union – and then obviously Member States have direct sources of information and I am sure that especially those that are also NATO members or NATO allies might respond to this question also in their capacity as a NATO ally, which is true for the vast majority of the European Union Member States – what would be extremely important to see is full compliance with the INF Treaty and the preservation of the Treaty as a framework.

This is fully coherent not only with the security interests that Europe has. What we definitely do not want to see is our continent going back to being a battlefield or a place where other superpowers confront themselves. This belongs to a faraway history that both the INF Treaty and also the European Union as such have contributed to overcome once and for all. We definitely do not want to even consider the possibility of going backwards along this path, but this is also consistent with our overall approach that, we believe, is essential for the security of the world, and in particular an arms control architecture that is based on international treaties and multilateral treaties.

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‘We are dangerously close to a world without arms control agreements, which would increase the risk of nuclear use’

House of Lords Select Committee on International Relations, April 2019