

**The Roles of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States  
in Advancing Nuclear Disarmament from 2007 to 2013:  
Ideal Type Role Concepts as well as Germany's Role Conception and Role Performance**

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## **Dedication**

To science

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## List of Abbreviations

Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty	CTBT
Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organization	CTBTO
Conference on Disarmament	CD
Democratic People's Republic of Korea	DPRK
European Union	EU
Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty	FMCT
Foreign Policy (academic discipline of)	FP
International Relations (academic discipline of)	IR
International Atomic Energy Agency	IAEA
New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty	NSTART
No-First-Use	NFU
Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty	NPT
Nuclear-Armed State(s)	NAS
Nuclear-Weapon-Free World	NWFW
Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone	NWFZ
Nuclear-Weapon State(s)	NWS
Non-Aligned Movement	NAM
Non-Governmental Organisation	NGO
Non-Nuclear-Weapon State(s)	NNWS
Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative	NPDI
North Atlantic Treaty Organization	NATO
Negative Security Assurance	NSA
Preparatory Committee for the NPT Review Conference	PrepCom
NPT Review Conference	RevCon
Role Theory (academic discipline of)	RT
Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons	TPNW
United Nations	UN
United States (of America)	US

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## 1.) Introduction

The fourth wave of optimism regarding the abolition of nuclear weapons has been gaining endorsement worldwide since early 2007, when critical momentum was provided by American elites and especially the now famous group of George Shultz, Henry Kissinger, Sam Nunn and William Perry. Although tangible progress was reached in the following years, the hopeful atmosphere started to evaporate around 2013. A deteriorating strategic environment, marked by events such as the Ukraine crisis, caused states that possessed nuclear weapons in particular to view nuclear disarmament as elusive. The lack of progress that ensued and the still remaining threat of the use of nuclear weapons as well as their catastrophic humanitarian consequences motivated civil society and states without these armaments, by comparison, to engage more progressively in steps towards a nuclear-weapons-free world. Prominently, the so-called humanitarian initiative picked up momentum, leading to a new Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Although this divide has a long history, it has reached new depths in the past years and has witnessed stronger growth of the latter argumentation.<sup>1</sup>

With this shift, the more than 180 non-nuclear-weapon states (NNWS), which have traditionally been largely overlooked in terms of furthering the cause of disarmament, have gained increasing attention as actors here. To comprehensively analyse the roles of NNWS in general and of Germany as one significant representative of this group in advancing nuclear disarmament from 2007 to 2013 is the core and overarching objective of the present PhD project.

A way of anchoring the discussion on the roles of non-nuclear-weapon states in the present context is to go back to the 'grand bargain' of the NPT, which provides the widely acknowledged argumentative ground for the rift in the international community and the long-established dismissal of NNWS as major players in the disarmament process. The grand bargain, in essence, is described as a trade-off in which the five legally recognised nuclear-weapon states (NWS) are seen as being responsible for disarmament, while NNWS are regarded as being responsible for accepting non-proliferation rules to control their granted peaceful use of nuclear energy. However, this is not *the* but merely *a* description and

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter five for an extended and fully referenced analysis of the disarmament context as well as a discussion of the following argument on the provisions of the NPT.

interpretation of the duties under the NPT. Indeed, it is a historically inaccurate and politically unfortunate framing. As Scott Sagan puts it, such an interpretation “is historically inaccurate because both Article IV [concerning nuclear energy] and Article VI [concerning nuclear disarmament] were written to apply to both the NWS and the NNWS. This common description of the Treaty is unfortunate because it limits the prospects for crafting a more comprehensive and more equitable implementation of the basic NPT bargains, based on shared responsibilities between NWS and NNWS, in the future” (Sagan 2010, 3-4). The responsibility of non-nuclear-weapon states to engage in disarmament affairs named by Sagan could even be diversified further to include a legal, a moral, and a political/military dimension, as chapter five of the study aims to show.

Before discussing the central themes of the present study in more depth, the fundamental question of 'Why is it worth analysing the roles of NNWS and Germany in nuclear disarmament?' needs to be addressed.

Firstly, the present study will show that NNWS do indeed have an important function to fulfil in bringing about nuclear disarmament. In the face of increasingly complex challenges on the way towards nuclear abolition, which involve many more dimensions than the simple reduction of nuclear warheads by NWS, it is argued here that NNWS are at the very least helpful, if not actually necessary to advance the disarmament process. What is more, non-nuclear-weapon states, it will be shown below, also have the potential to take up their responsibilities in this regard. And while this may be true for many if not all states in this sub-category, the role of NNWS like Germany that share a Western orientation have particular potential due to their position as middle powers. The need for NNWS to join forces to bring forward nuclear disarmament and the potential of middle powers are described at length in chapter five. The potential of Germany as one specific and significant non-nuclear-weapon state in this group is detailed in chapter three.

Both the conceptual and the empirical investigations into the roles of NNWS are worthwhile endeavours, as they not only facilitate our understanding of the issue at hand, but also provide several instrumental benefits. Ultimately, the proposed research can also be used as a tool to support the process of nuclear disarmament.

Lastly, considerable gaps have been identified in the research concerning the roles of non-nuclear-weapon states in disarmament, despite the acknowledgement of its importance. In

line with Sagan's call for a 'shared responsibility' by NNWS and NWS in nuclear disarmament, authoritative experts assess the function of non-nuclear-weapon states in nuclear disarmament as 'great' (Perkovich/Acton 2009, 14), 'necessary' (Aboul-Enein 2009) or even 'critical' (ICNND 2009, 220 ff.). Although scattered writings on the roles of NNWS in disarmament follow up on such statements affirming NNWS' importance in this sense, the body of literature is marked by several shortcomings of which two stand out. As the literature review in chapter three shows, roles – either the general role concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states or the specific role of Germany – have not been established in a systematic, comprehensive, detailed and clear manner. What is more, a solid link between conceptual deliberations about roles and the empirical research on roles is missing. The proposed research of the present PhD is worthwhile not least because it aims to address these gaps in the literature.

The remaining paragraphs of this introductory chapter describe and state the research questions, outline the specific benefits of answering them and sketch out how the research questions will be addressed – and also further lay out the analytical framework. A definition of key terms as well as an outline of the structure of the PhD is given towards the end of the chapter.

### **1.1.) Research Questions, Analytical Framework and Benefits**

As indicated above, the central purpose of the study is to analyse<sup>2</sup> the roles of non-nuclear-weapon states in general and Germany in particular in the advancement of nuclear disarmament from 2007 to 2013. To this end, the PhD project aims to address two distinct research questions, which will guide the study and determine its organisational structure.

In a first step, the project aims to establish concepts for the role of non-nuclear-weapon states in advancing the disarmament process in the period between 2007 and 2013. Establishing such role concepts has the intrinsic analytical benefit, on the one hand, of

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<sup>2</sup> While talking about the purpose/objectives of the study, the term 'analyse' (or similar terms like examine, investigate, etc.) is used as a neutral word for enquiry, along the lines of Hollis/Smith 1990, 10. The term 'grasp' (German: *begreifen*) is used here interchangeably as it describes best the overall purpose of the study, i.e. exploring, identifying, or establishing role concepts (German: *Begriffe*). With regard to the role conception and performance of Germany the study follows the tradition of 'understanding' (not 'explaining'; for a detailed text about the two traditions, see Hollis/Smith 1990). Thus, 'grasp' and 'analyse' will be used in this regard interchangeably with 'understanding'. As the research on the role concepts in the expert community does not directly analyse the social world, such a distinction of 'understanding' and 'explaining' is here beside the point.

making it easier to grasp the functions of NNWS. On the other hand, the concepts provide a tool for systematically describing and comparing empirical roles as well as allowing for a basic normative assessment of them. By developing such concepts, the PhD project aims to close the gaps in the literature where it has failed to deliver a systematic, comprehensive, detailed and clear model of the functions of NNWS.

This aim is to be achieved by capturing how the roles are constructed within the current expert discourse and by translating the characteristics found into clear-cut ideal type concepts. As scattered research on the functions of NNWS is available in the nuclear expert community, a synthesis of the existing works can serve to establish analytically sound role concepts. Writings during the fourth disarmament wave from 2007 to 2013 in particular are examined, as this timeframe captures a distinct debate. The methodological and conceptual groundwork for developing such role concepts is to be found in the established scholarship on role theory. In addition, the present study conceives of the role concepts of NNWS in the form of ideal types, which is used as an analytical tool to specify in an accentuated way the aspects of particular concepts. These methodological and conceptual decisions are discussed in full in chapter two and chapter four.

The specific research question that follows from such deliberations and guides this first part of the study is: *What are the ideal type role concepts of NNWS in the process of achieving nuclear disarmament based on the concepts brought forth by experts on nuclear disarmament in the period from 2007 to 2013?*

In a second step, the conceptual role is applied to the empirical case of one specific non-nuclear-weapon state, namely Germany. This section of the study aims to explore the actual role of Germany in achieving nuclear disarmament. The intrinsic value of ascertaining Germany's role is that this provides for a better understanding of the actual role assumed by an important state in the process towards nuclear disarmament. Furthermore, the empirical case is instrumental in that it applies the construct of the roles developed, which can then serve as a basis with which to test the validity of the role concepts and ideal types as well as to identify refinement potentials. The research thus addresses the shortcomings in the literature regarding a solid understanding of Germany's role in the realm of nuclear disarmament as well as regarding a firm linkage between conceptual roles of NNWS in general and the empirical role of one specific NNWS, namely Germany.

In order to do so, the study identifies Germany's role in advancing nuclear disarmament in terms of its contemporary policies between 2007 and 2013 and behaviour during the 2015 NPT Review Cycle. Germany has been chosen, because it is a NNWS that, as a middle power, has significant potential to advance nuclear disarmament. The German view of its role as well as its actions as a state (role conception and role performance in role-theory terms) are looked at, because these are salient features in any role, something that is detailed in chapter four. In particular, German foreign policies from 2007 to 2013 are examined, in line with the selection made for the first research question. The country's external actions are analysed in the 2015 NPT Review Cycle (2010-2015), a full sequence of conferences closest to the timeframe under review. The conceptual basis for the empirical role of Germany are the role concepts constructed above and the related ideal types, which is also why the German role is to be aggregated into an ideal type as a final step in the analysis. The validity in terms of agreement and identifying refinements will mainly be tested in the process of applying the conceptual aspects of the roles to the German case. The sampling decisions related to the case study as well as the validity-testing procedures are elaborated upon in chapter two.

The specific research question guiding this part of the study is: *What is the ideal type role of Germany in the process of advancing nuclear disarmament based on its role conception in the period from 2007 to 2013 and based on its role performance during the 2015 NPT Review Cycle?*

To the extent that both steps rest on the structure of role theory, the study aims to examine its central concepts and their hypothetical relationship. One intrinsic benefit of this for the scholarly debate is the operationalisation of role-theory considerations. The abstract concepts of a role, its categories and characteristics found in role theory are fused and made more concrete with the substantive concepts of NNWS advancing nuclear disarmament. Moreover, by applying these abstract roles to both the role conception and role performance of Germany, the study employs two of the main descriptive tools of role theory and is able to validate the theoretical influence between them. These research aspects can be seen as making a positive contribution towards the descriptive as well as the explanatory potential of role theory in the academic literature, which have been limited to date, as well



as compensating for the lack of an application to the thematic realm of NNWS and the abolition of nuclear weapons.

To this end, the procedure applied in this study rests on the foundations of role theory, both conceptually and theoretically. In the process of answering the two main research questions, the conceptual model of role theory is applied to both the general, ideal type roles as well as the country-specific role with its two parts. By examining the congruence between the role conception and the role performance of Germany, the role-theory claim of a positive link between these two variables will be validated. An in-depth look at the features of role theory included in the present study is provided in chapter four.

No specific research question has been devised for this objective, because the aim can be achieved as part of the examination of the two guiding questions posed above.

## **1.2.) Central Definitions**

Before proceeding, it would be helpful to have a clear understanding of the central terms used in this study. With a view to the central purpose of the study, these terms are 'role', '(non-) nuclear-weapon states', 'nuclear disarmament' and 'achieving'.<sup>3</sup>

The understanding of 'role' and related central aspects rely on the understanding developed in role theory, which underpins the study and is discussed in greater length in chapter four. Following an authoritative German scholar, a constructivist, role-theoretical and actor-specific definition is adopted that views roles as "patterns of attitude and behaviour by states in international systems that are planned – i.e. collectively and individually conceptualised – and realised by representatives" (Gaupp 1983, 109). A role comprises a set of 'role categories' as its abstract building blocks, which in turn each contain a sub-set of 'role characteristics' as their content-related elements. The singular term 'role' as well as its plural version 'roles' is used to describe these patterns expressed in role categories and characteristics and does not necessarily determine the quantity of the conceptual or empirical roles investigated. In this sense, both terms can be understood as

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<sup>3</sup> As the study aims to *explore* role concepts, comprehensive and inclusive definitions need to be adopted. Thus, the definitions are to stay abstract, wide and limited only by essential boundaries.

interchangeable.<sup>4</sup> For the purpose of this study, a role is further differentiated for clarity. The roles derived from the research synthesis of the disarmament expert community are labelled 'role concepts', while the terms 'constructed', 'general', 'conceptual' and 'abstract' also refer to these roles. These role concepts are a fusion or concretisation of the role-theory structure of roles and its role categories and role characteristics with the concepts advocated by experts for a NNWS advancing nuclear disarmament. In contrast, the role derived from the case study on Germany is given markers such as 'actual', 'country-specific', 'empirical' and 'concrete'. The two sub-categories of the German role are branded 'role conception' (the country's own view of its role) and 'role performance' (the country's behaviour). The term 'ideal types' with regards to the role is understood as an idealised version of it. In order to clearly distinguish such an understanding from text passages referring to a functional, positivistic (not role-theoretical) and policy-field-related definition of role, the term 'function' will be used for those instances.<sup>5</sup>

The demarcation of states in relation to their nuclear weapon capabilities that is internationally recognised today is grounded in the text of the NPT, which is discussed in chapter five. In the most relevant article on this matter, the text of the treaty states that a "nuclear-weapon state is one which has manufactured and exploded a nuclear weapon or other nuclear explosive device prior to January 1, 1967" (Article IX, paragraph 3; Federation of American Scientists 2010a). In an extension to this, the line of demarcation applied in the expert community is whether or not a state has tested nuclear weapons.<sup>6</sup> In line with such a criterion and the NPT, the present study regards all states that tested a nuclear weapon before January 1, 1967 as nuclear-weapon states, while all states testing such devices - regardless of the date and membership in the NPT - are defined as nuclear-armed states. All states that have not tested nuclear weapon are by definition non-nuclear-weapon states (cf. ICNND 2009).

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<sup>4</sup> As a guideline, the singular terminology ('role', 'concept', etc.) will be used in order to refer to the empirical role of Germany. The plural terminology is employed mostly if references are made to the abstract roles of NNWS or specifically to the set of categories and characteristics of these roles.

<sup>5</sup> One example for the constructivist, role-theoretical and actor-specific role terminology can be seen in the sentence 'Germany views itself and acts according to a certain ideal type role concept in advancing nuclear disarmament'. One example of the functional, positivistic (not role-theoretical) and policy-area related function is that 'middle powers such as Germany have a function in advancing nuclear disarmament'.

<sup>6</sup> In more recent years, this classification is in competition with one that regards NNWS as those countries lacking enough fissile material for a nuclear bomb (also known as significant quantity or SQ; Hymans 2010). However, there is still a broad consensus for the definition stated first (leaving aside countries that are assumed to have a determined intent to acquire nuclear weapons).

What is meant by disarmament, in particular, nuclear disarmament? One important differentiation concerns the distinction between nuclear disarmament as an end state (cf. Allison 2011) vs. nuclear disarmament as a process (cf. Cortright/Vaeyrynen 2010, 25). The end state of nuclear abolition describes a factual, achieved situation in which no nuclear weapons exist. The path leading towards this situation is the process of nuclear disarmament. The present study uses the definition of nuclear disarmament as a process. More precisely, it is understood as the progressive marginalisation of nuclear weapons (cf. Walker 2012, 165). This understanding is able to encompass stockpile reductions/regulations and non-proliferation measures as well as a wide range of technical and political aspects. The context that promotes such a definition is stated in chapter five.

Finally, the term 'advance' needs to be clarified. The role of non-nuclear-weapon states in nuclear disarmament might manifest itself in different ways. NNWS might be active or passive; might work in favour of or against abolition; or might pursue cooperative or confrontational strategies, and so forth. In the most rudimentary and neutral form, NNWS 'act' in ways that pertain to nuclear disarmament and these encompass all kinds of behaviour. In line with the normative direction of this study, which is one of fostering disarmament, the term 'act' is too broad, as it might also include actions that slow or reverse this process. This is why the term 'advance' has been chosen. To avoid any ambiguity, this term is meant to convey the notion of progressing or transitioning – at the very least by intent – towards nuclear disarmament, not the notion of reaching a certain outcome, let alone the end state of nuclear disarmament. Synonyms that are used interchangeably are terms such as 'further' as well as compounds like 'bring forth'.

### **1.3.) Structure**

The remainder of the study is organised in the following way: chapter two addresses the sampling decisions made in the present study and details the methods and the approach applied in order to answer the research questions posed. The literature review on the study's central aspects of role theory, non-nuclear-weapon states and the advancement of nuclear disarmament, and Germany's position in this regard, is provided in chapter three. The chapter following that discusses and develops role theory and ideal types as conceptual, theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the study, before chapter five goes on to provide an in-depth examination of the roles of non-nuclear-weapon states in advancing

nuclear disarmament in the period from 2007 to 2013 on the grounds of concepts in the contemporary disarmament expert community. This section maps out the role concepts as well as the related ideal types and concludes the investigation of the first research question. The following chapter looks at Germany's role in advancing nuclear disarmament in recent years. By applying the role concepts as an analytical framework, chapter six determines Germany's role conception from 2007 to 2013, and chapter seven depicts its role performance during the 2015 NPT Review Cycle (2007-2015). Each chapter locates the findings in the ideal type scheme, which answers the second research question. The last chapter displays the overall conclusions of the study. It presents its major findings and gives details on their validity as well as stating the limitations of current research and pointing towards potential paths for future studies.

For the best possible understanding of the study, it may be worthwhile stating the fundamental style of how the arguments are presented in the following. The text is essentially structured 'from the abstract/general to the concrete/specific'. Chapters, sub-chapters, as well as specific points in and across paragraphs are mostly organised in this way. Thus, the bones of preceding outlines are enriched by adding the flesh, as it were, in subsequent elaborations.

## **2.) Sampling, Methods and Approach**

The Introduction has stated the empirical focus of the present project and outlined how the research questions posed are to be answered. The following chapter will detail the decisions taken by the author on the empirical selection and sampling, the methods, and the overall approach. Each of the three sections will start with a note on its organisation.

### **2.1.) Sampling**

The arguments put forward in this section justify the specific empirical focus of the research questions.<sup>7</sup> The initial paragraphs deal with the selections made concerning the first research question, i.e. the rationale for focusing on the expert community and its outputs in the 2007-2013 timeframe. The next part addresses the choices made in terms of the second research question, providing arguments explaining why Germany was selected as a case study, why the timeframe 2007-2013 was taken to establish the county's role conception, and why the NPT Review Conferences in the period from 2012-2015 have been examined as a basis for its role performance.

#### **Disarmament Expert Community**

The disarmament expert community<sup>8</sup> has been selected as a source with which to explore the role concepts of NNWS in nuclear disarmament, instead of another potential foundation, for three reasons. Firstly, individual experts and organisations have already produced insights into concepts of NNWS in this respect. To overlook this information would not only disregard their efforts, but would waste unnecessary energy in duplicating what is already available, at best. The task ahead is to put together these strands of work in a systematic and comprehensive way. Secondly, works by and ideas of recognised experts are most likely to influence the prospective thinking about the issue being examined. This holds for their influence on the academic debates as well as on decision-makers and, thus, the actual role that non-nuclear-weapon states may assume in the years ahead.<sup>9</sup> Thirdly, official policies of NNWS that aim to advance nuclear disarmament are to a large degree represented in

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<sup>7</sup> The arguments in the section do not intend to be relevant for anything else than the empirical selection and empirical sampling.

<sup>8</sup> The disarmament expert community is understood as comprising all individuals and collectives knowledgeable with regard to nuclear disarmament arguing in their own capacity. This definition excludes, for example, experts writing in their function as government officials.

<sup>9</sup> For the relation between theory and policy, see Walt 2005, in particular 28-34. For a more detailed work George 1993 might be consulted.

writings by the expert community. These empirical aspects are the ones that inspire experts and in which their concepts are partly rooted (apart from theoretical considerations).

The decision to examine the expert writings from the 2007-2013 timeframe is in principle down to the fact that it overlaps with the fourth 'abolitionist wave'. As chapter five outlines in detail, this renewed wave of optimism in the field of nuclear disarmament is marked by the now famous article written by George Shultz, Henry Kissinger, Sam Nunn and William Perry at the beginning of 2007. The international climate and debate on nuclear disarmament linked with this changed once again towards an ambivalent and more pessimistic outlook around 2013, waymarked by the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation in the beginning of 2014 and the strengthening of the humanitarian initiative at the international and institutional level in 2013 and 2014. Applying such a distinct timeframe for the examinations undertaken in this study allows it to analyse and depict a distinct discourse.<sup>10</sup>

## **Germany**

The introductory remarks already explained that Germany has been chosen as the empirical example because it is a NNWS that has significant potential to advance nuclear disarmament. It also stated that Germany's potential in this context is regarded as mainly stemming from its association with a group of Western NNWS whose members are classified by their position and behaviour as middle powers (cf. Hanson 2010). In accordance with this and in order to thoroughly justify Germany as a case study, the following paragraphs will look at Germany in the way that it relates to the concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states and middle powers.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> This is not to suggest that earlier (and later) writings within the disarmament expert community carry no value or are not fitting to provide grounds for establishing role concepts for NNWS fostering nuclear abolition. However, amidst the various possibilities, the study has to make a selection that is arguably best suited to satisfy the research interest and answer the posed research questions

<sup>11</sup> The selection is grounded in methodological research and can be expressed in related terms. The choice is made purposively and criteria-based, i.e., the PhD project selects the case of Germany specifically because it fulfils specific criteria. For more detailed descriptions of purposeful sampling, see Patton 1990 or the renowned work of Miles and Huberman 1994. The sampling strategy of criteria-based or criterion sampling is discussed in detail in this book.

Germany is deemed to conform with the definition of a non-nuclear-weapon state.<sup>12</sup> This is, in essence and from a legal point of view, because soon after West Germany regained its sovereignty in 1952 following World War II,<sup>13</sup> it renounced nuclear weapons. The signing of the Protocol to the Brussels Treaty (adding Germany to the Western Union Defence Organization) in 1955 as well as the NPT in 1969 (and the adherence to its provisions ever since) gave Germany's commitment not to acquire nuclear weapons a legally-binding form.<sup>14</sup> Going beyond its legal declarations of intent, two other strands of argumentation might be added to show that the country is genuine in its renunciation of nuclear weapons. The first one is the deeply rooted conviction within German civil society as well as in the broader political culture that the nation should not deploy nuclear weapons. An illustrative example of the strength of the anti-nuclear movement is the protest against the execution of the NATO Double-Track Decision in the early 1980s (Cf. Butterwegge/Jakubowski/Lentz 1986). Secondly, the German renunciation of nuclear arms rests on the firm stance of most of its politicians that its national security is best served if military power remains restricted to some extent. The very political balance that led to a stable Europe with Germany as one of its central actors is built upon Germany not being a dominant military power.<sup>15</sup>

Despite its ascertained status as a NNWS, nuclear weapons are widely believed to be hosted by Germany and within its borders. Most educated guesses are that the country hosts between 10 and 20 US nuclear weapons on its soil (Kristensen 2012b) and on the basis of a nuclear sharing agreement within the context of NATO (Kristensen 2005). As this may serve as a counterargument to the claim that Germany is a NNWS, this point should be addressed here.

In the interpretation of the United States and Germany, Germany remains an observant NNWS according to the rules of the NPT, which entails the most widely-shared definitions.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> It is necessary for the empirical investigation to focus on a NNWS as one of the main objectives of the case study is to test and refine the analytical construct of the role concepts of NNWS in nuclear disarmament. That the case to be examined represents a specific empirical phenomenon of the analytical construct is, thus, a minimum requirement.

<sup>13</sup> The present study refers by 'Germany' always to the Federal Republic of Germany. Whenever the period before German Reunification in 1990 is described, the text refers to West Germany, if not stated differently.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Häckel 1989; See also the respective paragraphs in chapter six for an elaborated argumentation.

<sup>15</sup> See the context section of chapter 6 for an enlarged argumentation.

<sup>16</sup> For an informed and detailed discussion, see (Butcher/Nassauer 2000 and Nassauer 2005). It should be noted that large parts of NPT member states do not necessarily share such an understanding. More on such diverging interpretation can be found also in Butcher/Nassauer 2000.

The underlying argumentation is put into writing in the so-called Rusk Letters, which were drafted during the US ratification process (Butcher/Nassauer 2000, 41 f). The letter states that everything that is not explicitly prohibited by the NPT is allowed. As no statement in the treaty actually explicitly forbids a country from storing its own (in this case, US) nuclear weapons on foreign soil (in this case, Germany), the hosting practice of NATO's nuclear sharing agreement is in compliance with NPT regulations. The same is true, according to the US and German interpretation, for the situation in which control over nuclear weapons is handed over to German authorities. Such a rationale is grounded in the assumption that the NPT is legally binding in peace time. As the NPT preamble states that its purpose is to prevent a nuclear war, the interpretation deducts that the treaty is no longer valid as soon as such an escalation actually happens, e.g. war breaks out.

Before going into detail on the arguments for choosing Germany, the concentration in this paper on its prospective to advance nuclear disarmament as a selection criterion may be justified. The first reason for this focus is that there are too many possible candidates for a case study on NNWS, as the category includes more than 180 states. A choice has to be made. Secondly, and in line with the normative orientation of the study to support nuclear abolition, the potential of Germany to foster the process towards disarmament is regarded as an adequate criterion to identify the most relevant states for a case study.

Germany is considered by the present PhD to have significant potential to advance nuclear disarmament. The concept of middle powers, which serves as the tool for assessing the prospective capacity of a state, in this case specifically a NNWS, to advance disarmament, is outlined and referenced in chapter five at full length. In order to relate Germany to the concept, it is sufficient to state at this point the four abstract factors that qualify a state as a middle power. These are its international willingness, functional abilities, power position, and ideological position (cf. Cooper/Higgott/Nossal 1993, Stairs 1998, Gecelovsky 2009).

Germany's willingness to advance nuclear disarmament has a long history.<sup>17</sup> When the Cold War ended and Germany reunited, disarmament – which had been a prominent issue in Germany's post-war society and political arena – was listed high up on the country's foreign policy agenda (Müller 2006), something that also goes hand in hand with its active

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<sup>17</sup> The willingness of Germany to advance nuclear disarmament is also a minimum requirement for it to be selected as a case study along the argumentative lines described in footnote five.



membership in several international disarmament fora (see chapter six). Throughout the last two decades or so, official statements have reaffirmed the priority placed on working towards nuclear abolition (ibid.). The government under Chancellor Angela Merkel (2005 – present), which is of particular interest for the present study, officially considering the goal to be an “integral” (Westerwelle 2011) part of its foreign policy.<sup>18</sup> Along with its commitment to nuclear disarmament, the functional ability of Germany to contribute to such an endeavour was established during this time. Several departments within the government have worked on the various aspects of nuclear disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation, and nuclear energy since the early 1990s (cf. Müller 2006) and have provided the government with policy analysis in those fields. As a state that actively uses nuclear energy, holds both low and highly enriched uranium for peaceful purposes (cf. NTI 2014) and is part of the Nuclear Suppliers Group that manages the transfer of such nuclear material, Germany has also developed considerable relevant expertise in non-proliferation matters. Its active participation in relevant international institutions is likely to have added further expertise within the government.

Although assessing the global power position of a state is a complex task and any such assessment is subject to debate, it is sufficient for the present purpose to point to the leading position occupied by Germany both in view of its material and immaterial capabilities.<sup>19</sup> Calculated using six prominent aspects of material capabilities, Germany occupies a top power position amongst non-nuclear-weapon states (COW 2012). A comparison of several aspects of its immaterial capabilities also paints a similar picture (McClory 2010). Lastly, Germany occupies an ideological position somewhere between those states that demand clear steps towards nuclear disarmament – represented best by the NNWS organised in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) – and those that place stronger emphasis on non-proliferation measures in their agenda – represented best by the NWS (Knöpfel 2014; see also chapter five). On the one hand, Germany is a member of NATO and supports the nuclear deterrence doctrine of the Alliance. It also maintains close relationships

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<sup>18</sup> More evidence for Germany's willingness to advance nuclear disarmament in the timeframe of 2007-2013 can be found in chapter six within the meta aspects to the role conception and role performance.

<sup>19</sup> A general discussion is given by Guzzini 2009, while Treverton/Jones 2005 provide an empirical-orientated overview. Material capabilities are discussed by Singer et al. 1972. For more on immaterial capabilities, see Nye 2004. COW (2012) calculates as material capabilities: total population, urban population, iron and steel production, energy consumption, military personnel, and military expenditure of all state members. McClory (2010) bases his analysis of immaterial capabilities on the factors: business/innovation, culture, government diplomacy and education.

with the NWS France and the United States. On the other hand, the government in Berlin actively advocates nuclear disarmament, most recently by pushing within NATO and other fora for the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from its territory (cf. Meier 2009). Its membership in the Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative (NPDI), a group of states formed in the context of the NPT to take disarmament forward as well as non-proliferation measures, is just another expression of its position right at the heart of these objectives (cf. NPDI 2010).

The timeframe investigated for the first part of the case study on the German role conception is 2007-2013. Like the selection made in regard to the disarmament expert community, this recent timeframe is opted for because of the aforementioned overlap with the fourth 'abolitionist wave' in the nuclear field.

In addition to examining Germany's policies in the realm of nuclear disarmament, the second part of the case study looks at the country's role performance in a specific and relevant situation.<sup>20</sup> To this end, the 2015 Review Cycle of the Non-Proliferation Treaty has been selected. The Review Cycle has been picked because of its importance for the nuclear disarmament process and its suitability to validate the many characteristics of the analytical construct of the role of NNWS.<sup>21</sup>

The NPT, opened for signature in 1968 and extended indefinitely in 1995, is widely seen as the cornerstone of the international regime on nuclear disarmament (see chapter five for more information on the NPT). With its 189 members, the text is by far the most widely adopted treaty on nuclear issues, including nuclear disarmament. The last Review Conference of the treaty in 2010 produced an action plan (NPT Action Plan 2010) that is considered to comprise the main points of the internationally agreed agenda in terms of nuclear disarmament.

The second reason for selecting the 2015 Review Cycle is methodological in nature. In order to adequately validate the analytical construct of NNWS that advance nuclear disarmament, the situation chosen has to potentially overlap with as many characteristics of the ideal type

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<sup>20</sup> A specific and relevant situation has been chosen as a criterion because a large number of potential situations could be identified in which nuclear abolition activities by NNWS have a function. Thus, it is seen as necessary to choose one that is fitting for the purposes of this work. In line with the PhD's normative orientation, an instance has been chosen that appears particularly important for the process towards disarmament.

<sup>21</sup> Expressed in methodological terms, the selection is made purposively and criteria-based; see footnote four.

role concepts as possible. Only then can statements regarding the meaningfulness of the ideal types be derived from the behaviour of a NNWS.

The text of the Non-Proliferation Treaty contains provisions that not only concern nuclear disarmament, but also deal with nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear energy. All Review Conferences of the treaty since 1975 have discussed a wide range of issues related to all three of those 'pillars'. In accordance with the description of the NPT as the cornerstone of the disarmament regime, the 2015 Review Cycle can be regarded as the most comprehensive international forum in which states such as Germany aim to advance nuclear disarmament.<sup>22</sup>

The timeframe investigated with regard to the second part of the case study on the German role performance is 2012-2015, which corresponds with the timeframe of the main conferences related to the 2015 Review Cycle.<sup>23</sup> As for the other selections and based on the same rationale, the fourth 'abolitionist wave' remains a central reference point for choosing an overall period. The clearly determined times of the international conferences made a slight adjustment to the time period necessary.<sup>24</sup>

## **2.2.) Methods**

The following section details the methods applied in the present study. The basic design of the study and decisions concerning the collection and analysis of data are then described and discussed. Each of those elements is specified in regard to the two research questions posed in the introduction, whose distinct features make a variation of the methods reasonable. Lastly, remarks on the applied validation of research results are given.

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<sup>22</sup> The selection of the 2015 Review Cycle as an instance for Germany's role performance does not imply that this is the only important or methodologically possible selection. Indeed, other avenues fulfilling the named criteria are conceivable, including other international regimes as well as bilateral contacts to NWS/NAS or NNWS.

<sup>23</sup> The 2015 Review Cycle is understood to have begun with the First Session of the Preparatory Committee in 2012, entailing also the second (2013) and third (2014) of these Committees, and ending with the NPT Review Conference in 2015.

<sup>24</sup> The more general analysis given on the NNWS role concepts (chapter 5), the German role view and behaviour (chapter 6) as well as the NPT (ever more concrete in chapter 5, 6 and 7) soften the time difference to the German role conception. These analyses also show that both role parts are stable enough over the period of several years that the difference in examination period is assessed as not influencing the research and its outputs in a significant way.

## Basic Design

The basic design of the study<sup>25</sup> is a combination of a research synthesis and a case study. The first research question is approached by way of a research synthesis, which is understood as a scientific tool to answer a specific question.<sup>26</sup> To recap, the first research question concerns the establishment of ideal type role concepts by NNWS in the process to advance nuclear disarmament based on the ideas to be found in the contemporary disarmament expert community. The research synthesis is viewed as an adequate basic design as it allows for a summary, synthesis, and transformation of the writings by the expert community into ideal types and, thus, can also be applied to analyse data in the way proposed by the present PhD project (see below). The second research question, focusing on the role conception and role performance of Germany, is approached by applying the basic design of a single case study (Yin 2009). The design allows for a naturalistic, fieldwork-friendly, holistic as well as deep understanding of the issue at hand, which the analysis aims to achieve, and which is necessary in order to explore the beliefs and ideas that influence the two role aspects of a state. A single, instead of multiple, case study is envisaged because such a design provides sufficient knowledge to achieve the research objectives guiding this study.<sup>27</sup> With the basic design of a single case study on the German role, the two integral role parts – namely the state's conception and its performance – are examined.

## Data Collection

In its collection of data, the study relies, in most general terms, on documents (cf. Finnegan 1996). In regard to the first research question, the views of the disarmament expert community of the role concept are not only widely accessible in the form of published writings but are presented there in an accurate and detailed way – that is, with sufficient information on the concepts of NNWS in nuclear disarmament for the present research process. Specifically, a number of policy-orientated and evaluative writings that relate to the

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<sup>25</sup> Flick 2002, 44 ff and Flick 2006, chapter 12. Also referred to as 'type of inquiry' or 'overarching research method'.

<sup>26</sup> Petticrew/Roberts 2006; Cooper/Hedges 2009. Understood in such a way, it goes beyond a simple discussion or summary of the literature. This distinct part of the PhD project is not to be confused with the classic literature review carried out in chapter three.

<sup>27</sup> As the role conception and role performance of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament has not been comprehensively investigated so far (see chapter three), the single case study of Germany in this regard can be viewed as revelatory. Moreover, Germany is a representative case for Western NNWS (see sampling decision above). Both criteria (being revelatory and representative) justify a single case study in general (Yin 2009) and as being relevant for achieving the empirical objectives of the study.

role concepts of NNWS in nuclear disarmament have been chosen as the central data source. Why policy-orientated? The overall context of the study is the actual progress towards Global Zero. Therefore, writings about this process and its specifics are regarded as the most valuable text sources for an assessment of the role concepts of NNWS on the way to nuclear abolition. Why texts from experts who take an evaluative standpoint? The PhD project seeks to specify concepts of a group of states *advancing* a certain political objective. Authors who endorse the described role elements as being in line with such a normative aim are seen to be the most suitable for inclusion in the development of the concepts, particularly as they are likely to have been engaged in a reflective assessment process grounded in the same normative orientation.<sup>28</sup> What documents have been selected? A representative sample of the literature produced within the expert community in the applied timeframe had to be chosen.<sup>29</sup> In order to make the sample representative and encompass the full scope of the different debates and expert opinions,<sup>30</sup> the present study has selected papers on general and country-specific aspects from authors from the several different NWS and NNWS,<sup>31</sup> from different establishments within these countries as well as from different argumentative strands in the field.<sup>32</sup> Further, a certain number of documents has been examined, because a single or even a few texts would unlikely sufficiently cover the entire role concepts. The PhD study examines at least 10 documents; any fewer than that

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<sup>28</sup> Experts who, for instance, merely describe the role concepts of NNWS in nuclear abolition might include, without notifying the reader, role characteristics that hinder the advancement of that goal. Inclusion of such role elements would not establish the role concepts the present PhD study aims for. For more information on how this evaluative bias and related collection method can be thought together with the non-judgmental ideal type, see the chapter on role theory.

<sup>29</sup> In the best case, concepts are comprehensively stated in the selected documents. However, if the selected material does not sufficiently illuminate the role concepts of NNWS in nuclear disarmament, claims are further investigated in other writings or literature that pertain to the specific theme in or earlier than the focus period of 2007-2013. Moreover, in order to provide a discussion of the conceptual role and its elements, the broader literature on the respective role element or background aspect might be referenced.

<sup>30</sup> This is in line with the sampling strategy of 'Maximum Variation Sampling' that is one way of satisfying the criteria of representativeness (cf. Miles/Huberman 1994; Creswell 2002).

<sup>31</sup> Due to availability and language barriers, the focus lies on documents from authors originating or writing on NWS and NNWS that share a Western orientation. Availability of sufficient documents on the topic in regard to NNWS is secured – other NNWS often lack a discussion on the issue. Several NWS have a strong expert community on the topic of concern that is not to be neglected, foremost the US. NNWS literature from Germany, Japan, Australia, and Canada is examined in detail, while writings from other Western NNWS are included if particularly relevant. NNWS are chosen as their domestic expert community is most likely to address the role of their own states in nuclear disarmament. The selection method of certain NNWS is similar to the one outlined in the empirical selection and sampling chapter with regards to Germany.

<sup>32</sup> The establishment includes think tanks, IOs, NGOs and civil society. The main argumentative strands considered (and distinguishing feature of the debate) are the 'strategic camp' and the 'humanitarian camp', respectively. Please see the literature review on NNWS for more information on the establishment as well as the camps and their arguments.

would heighten the risk of not grasping important aspects of the role, thus rendering the data set less reliable (cf. Holsti 1970, 256). A complete list of documents is provided in Appendix 2.

In terms of the case study and the second research question, documents are also regarded in most general terms as the major means through which data is acquired. Specifically, the study examines two distinct bundles of authorized foreign policy documents that were published by high-level decision-makers in the realm of nuclear disarmament during the timeframe of the case study,<sup>33</sup> one specifically on the role conception and another one on the role performance. Why the focus on high level and documented outputs by policymakers? Both are seen to reflect the official position best and, thus, are considered the most reliable source for assessing the official and national role parts (Holsti 1970, 256; Frenkler/Harnisch/Kirste Maull/Wallraf 1997, 11-12).<sup>34</sup> Further, and as with the documents by the expert community, at least 10 documents have been considered, because a single paper is unlikely to comprise all of the role facets (cf. Holsti 1970, 256). The documents represent the entire timeframe, i.e. at least one document has been selected for each year. The scope of the content in the individual documents has been considered with a view to making the selection as representative as possible.<sup>35</sup>

For the German role conception, this translates into a selection of official reports and speeches by high-level German bureaucrats. Due to the varying scope of the documents available, at least three documents per year have been selected to represent the role conception as precisely as possible. Official statements and working papers submitted during the NPT Review Conferences have been chosen on the basis of the abstract criteria they provide to depict the German role performance. In addition to inputs directly from German diplomats, those by the European Union and the Non-proliferation and Disarmament Initiative have also been consulted. These additional selections make sense, as Germany does unconditionally align itself with both (see Chapter 6.3) and they are regarded as useful in order to depict the role performance as accurately as possible. As various speeches

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<sup>33</sup> The timeframe in which documents are selected may be widened in accordance with the comments provided for the collection of data for the disarmament expert community (see respective footnote).

<sup>34</sup> It should be noted that the role performance may be more substantially reflected in 'hard' data such as financial records. However, the 'soft' data of political statements is considered more adequate for the present case study research as it is available for the entire spectrum of the role concepts that underlie the analysis.

<sup>35</sup> A superficial pre-analysis is conducted on all the documents fitting the abstract selection criteria in order to assess their scope.

contain a general or superficial depiction of activities, the broadest range of non-repetitive spoken inputs has been selected.<sup>36</sup> Where the behaviour remains unclear, more detailed working papers have been added to the examined documents. A complete list of documents can be found in Appendix 3 and 4, respectively.

## **Data Analysis**

Data has mainly been analysed by applying the method of qualitative content analysis (Mayring 1997, Krippendorff 2012).<sup>37</sup> Qualitative content analysis is an empirically and methodologically controlled analysis of text that follows specific rules, proceeding in a step-by-step approach. The techniques are suited for the basic designs of both research synthesis and case study, not least because they fit in with their mostly qualitative orientation.

Before outlining in more detail qualitative content analysis and its use in regard to the present study, it is important to answer a more fundamental question that pertains to the relationship between roles and the chosen methods of data analysis as well data collection: Can roles be accessed by analysing the content of documents? The study assumes that the communication expressed in documents and analysed by content analysis allows one to make inferences to social and non-communicative phenomena such as roles (Mayntz/Holm/Hübner 1978, 151-167). Communication expresses not only aspects of personality traits or other specifics of the individual or group, but their attitudes, beliefs, etc. These are in turn also shaped by the broader situation and society around them. Roles, which are made up of these socially established worldviews and principles can thus be derived from an examination of such communication.<sup>38</sup>

The method involves, in essence, the three steps summary, explication, and structuring (cf. Mayring 1997, 56 ff). The objective of the summary is to reduce the material to its essentials and abstract from it a representative body of text. Explication aims to substantiate relevant

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<sup>36</sup> This includes general speeches as well as those on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. Excluded are those concerned specifically with nuclear energy because these aspects are not part of the abstract role concepts.

<sup>37</sup> An English and updated version of Philipp Mayring's excellent book is also available; see Mayring 2014.

<sup>38</sup> This statement is regarded as valid for both parts of the role, conception as well as performance. It should be noted that, in particular, the depiction of role performance on the basis of diplomatic communication lies close to the depiction of role conception. Thus, great attention was given in the process to both selecting meaningful documents as well as analysing them in terms of role performance in order to grasp specifically the concrete behaviour. The various steps taken are incorporated in the research design, such as considering only statements made officially and aimed directly at the empirical situation.

text passages in order to make them more easily understandable, while structuring filters certain aspects from the text in accordance with a previously specified analytical grid. The precise procedure by and large follows the methodological pathway suggested by Mayring, and the most important elements of the method for answering both questions are detailed in the following paragraphs.

The coding process for both the first and conceptual as well as the second and empirical part of the study has been carried out using the software NVivo (in its version 11).

The expert discourse is analysed inductively for the most part. This means that, although the abstract role categories of role theory (see chapter four) are taken as a framework,<sup>39</sup> the content-related characteristics of the role concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states in advancing disarmament are generated from an analysis of the expert texts. The procedure used to analyse the outputs of the expert community applies the first two essential steps of qualitative content analysis.

First, the ideas put forward by experts are summarised. More precisely, text passages stating any content that may be related to the predefined role categories are paraphrased. References by experts that cannot be adequately covered by the order or structure of the abstract categories are also noted. If the difference relates to the form of role categories, the abstract role concepts are specified accordingly. Whenever the differences relate to substance, the new role category is to be considered outside of the role concepts for the purpose of the study.<sup>40</sup> Multiple paraphrases are then abstracted into role characteristics, a process during which nonessential paraphrases are dropped.<sup>41</sup> Each of those characteristics is then explicated. This involves giving a definition as well as stating the narrower and/or

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<sup>39</sup> This makes sure that the study conceptualises a 'role' as described by role theory. These categories are also referred to as an (abstract) analytical grid (cf. Maull/Kirste 1996, 301-303).

<sup>40</sup> It should be noted that only those role characteristics and role categories can be regarded as part of the role concepts that match the theoretically-derived ones in substance. Role characteristics as well as sub-sets of role categories need to always represent the overarching role category in order to keep within the boundaries of what constitutes role concepts. Substantially new role characteristics as well as role categories, which may be summarising role characteristics of more than one separate category, can be established for representing the source material of the expert community adequately and for informative purposes, but need to remain outside of the role concepts itself for the same reason. However, these themes may be highlighted as ideas for further research.

<sup>41</sup> Only text passages that explicitly detail the role concepts of NNWS are included in the summary. If the relation of NNWS to NWS and NAS is advocated, the inclusive term NAS is used.



wider context.<sup>42</sup> Both steps are done in a factual manner, meaning that interpretation and relation to other aspects are kept to a minimum. As the PhD project goes beyond merely summarising and explicating the expert discourse and aims to abstract the role characteristics into a set of ideal types, something must be said about the process of establishing these. The role concepts found in the expert community is the basis on which the ideal types are generated. The elements of ideal types as developed within these pages are outlined in chapter four. The very process of transforming the concepts into ideal types is governed by the same rule that is applied in the summary-step of the qualitative content analysis (Mayring 1997, 59 ff.), i.e. it is an abstraction that provides a representative picture of the original material.

The third content-analysis step of structuring the ideas of reviewed experts is already prepared by operationalising the role characteristics ascertained. The abstract role categories gleaned from the deliberations on role theory, as well as the concrete role characteristics and respective definitions and coding rules of the expert community that are summarised and explicated here are the fundamental elements of the codebook, which is the common form of operationalisation in qualitative content analysis. The codebook with these and aforementioned details can be found in Appendix 1.<sup>43</sup> Such a placement in the Appendix is considered sensible and more linear, as the building blocks of the codebook are discussed, established and refined throughout chapters 4, 5 and 6.

The step of structuring is carried out focusing on Germany as the case study. The role concepts, with their role categories and characteristics, serve as the analytical grid used to structure the documents selected. In addition, and in the case of the German role performance, elements identified during the analysis of the countries' role conception are also considered to foster the validation process. As the discussion of the characteristics has already fundamentally operationalised the role, this step can proceed directly to filtering corresponding aspects of the German policies and summarise them.<sup>44</sup> Both negative and

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<sup>42</sup> The lexical references are based on the Oxford Dictionaries, which can be accessed on [www.oxforddictionaries.com](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com) (accessed 04.04.2014). Text passages referred to are identified in the form of examples due to the high volume of coded text.

<sup>43</sup> The codebook was drafted according to standards proposed by Mayring 1983, 75-92. Further details on the content of the codebook are given in the footnotes of the codebook itself.

<sup>44</sup> The substantiated analytical grid is tested and aligned in a pre-test on German documents. This ensures that the categories in the grid capture the ideas represented by them (Mayring 1997, 42 ff.; Frenkler/Harnisch/Kirste/Maull at al. 1997, 30 ff.).

positive mentioning of the role aspects is coded in order to allow for better overall judgement on the extent to which Germany shares these facets. As with the analytical procedure in regard to the expert community, the empirical role aspects that are not covered fully, adequately or clearly by the general role concepts are also noted. If the difference relates to the form of role categories or characteristics, the concepts as well as the codebook is specified accordingly. Whenever the differences relate to substance, the new role aspect is to be considered outside of the role concepts established here. The coding procedure focuses on the text in the documents, an analysis of the context of the specific characteristics is only provided to support the understanding of those codes.<sup>45</sup> Similarly - and both in line with the main objective of the thesis to validate the abstract role concepts and the methodological action of 'structuring' - cross-analysis, analysis over a time period or another more in-depth examination of German role characteristics is only carried out if it enhances the understanding of the general roles of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament and its ideal types. These instances are highlighted in chapter six.

In order to provide a nuanced analysis and reflect the empirical data in a way that is as detailed as possible on the conceptual level, the extent to which a role characteristic is found in the documents examined is assessed. Four degrees of endorsement, including a colour code for better visualisation, are envisaged: great extent (green), significant extent (blue), limited extent (orange) and not found / negated (red). A role characteristic is assessed as being endorsed to a 'great extent' if it accumulates the most references in one role (sub-) category or similar numbers of references, while a 'limited extent' is attested for features that are cited across all reviewed texts to the lowest degree within one role (sub-) category and usually only a few times. Quantities between those are labelled 'significant extent'. All those characteristics that are either not found at all in the empirical data, or are even denied by it, are judged to be 'not found / negated'.<sup>46</sup> The colour code is applied to the visualised

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<sup>45</sup> A detailed description of the overall context of the German role is given in chapter 5.2. (abstract framing condition of the nuclear disarmament realm) and 6.1. (concrete framing condition of the German behaviour in fostering nuclear abolition, including in the NPT Review Conferences).

<sup>46</sup> The gradation of the assessment of specific role characteristics is referential to the total amount of references in one (sub-) category. This is done in order to account for the expected natural fluctuation in amounts of references amongst role categories, which is due to their varying definitional scope. For example, the total number of references that qualifies a characteristic in one category as being endorsed to a great extent may be high or lower than the total number of references that qualifies a characteristic in another sub-category in this way. However, the numbers of citations have also been cross-checked across role categories in order to spot any outstanding imbalance.

summary of the German role conception and German role performance in chapter 6 (see Table III and Table V).

The operating procedure of examining both the German role conception and the German role performance are closely aligned in order to foster consistency. This is made possible as both investigations follow the same methodological pathways in several aspects – they serve the same objective, apply the same basic design as well as data collection and data analysis procedures. Moreover, it is beneficial to move forward in a consistent manner. A comprehensive test of the abstract role concepts is carried out by looking at the items of the analytical grid in both parts of the empirical role one-by-one. The subsequent validity-check of the established roles of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament as well as the role-theory claim of a correlation between role conception and role performance can be performed in a fluid manner. This decision results in a similar overall structure for the two parts of the case study and the individual structural elements within the chapters.<sup>47</sup>

The codebook is constantly enriched and refined throughout the process of coding the empirical material. Not only are typical examples listed, which serve as a representative illustration of the respective role characteristic. In accordance with the note above, role categories and definitions are also further specified in as much as new manifestations to the same role aspect are found in the empirical context. Specifications to the role characteristics in term of operationalisation also include an adaptation of the language.<sup>48</sup> The final version of the codebook, including adaptations, can be found in Appendix 1.

## **Validity**

In order to test the quality of the proposed research, the validity of the results of the content analysis is examined.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> An alternative approach would be to analyse the role performance in a contextual manner, resulting in a different structure centred on events. One example of this process is the study on the civil power role concept by Hans Maull and colleagues (e.g., Frenkler/Harnisch/Kirste/Maull/et al. 1997). As the present study relies on a qualitative analysis of the content of documents also for the central examination of the role behaviour, the structure chosen makes sense.

<sup>48</sup> As role characteristic definitions are taken from mostly country-unspecific writings in English and applied to the empirically-concrete documents in German adaptation of the definitions is due. The Oxford Dictionaries were used for the translation.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Krippendorff 1980, 155-168. An updated and expanded version of the text is available in Krippendorff 2012, specifically chapter 11 (reliability, p. 211-256) and chapter 12 (validity, p. 313-383).

Validity as a qualitative criterion is partly chosen over reliability as the latter “is a necessary though not a sufficient condition for validity” (Krippendorff 1980, 129), making the former a superior standard. Moreover, it is very much in fitting with the research design – a combination of conceptual research synthesis and empirical case study – as the outputs of the empirical case study directly relate to the findings of the conceptual research synthesis. From a variety of validation efforts (cf. Krippendorff 1980, 156-159), a validation of the results of the content analysis is regarded as most conclusive, because it represents the main outputs of the study. Following Krippendorff, results of a content analysis may be validated by “product-oriented validity”. In this validation scheme the “overall success of a content analysis is established by showing that its results correlate or agree with what they claim to represent” (Krippendorff 1980, 157).

On the one hand, and most importantly for the validation of the current study, the general role concepts claim to represent the roles of non-nuclear-weapon states in fostering nuclear disarmament. This can be validated through measuring “predictive validity”, which is the “degree to which predictions obtained by one method agree with directly observed facts” (Krippendorff 1980, 157). Regarding the first research question and conceptual part of the study, the predictions are the formal categories and characteristics of the general role concepts and its idealised form of ideal types, while the directly observed facts are the empirical conception and performance of the German role. The agreement – or congruence – between the two is tested by applying the general role concepts as an analytical framework to both parts of the country-specific role. It should also be noted that even a high level of agreement between the general role concepts and the country-specific role will validate the study mostly in terms of meaningfulness or applicability of the NNWS role concepts and only start to validate it in terms of generalisability. This is because the general role concepts cover, based on its definition, all cases of non-nuclear-weapon states that advance nuclear disarmament. This sample potentially comprises all of the more than 180 NNWS. Measuring the general role concepts against one case out of this many is, therefore, greatly limited in terms of validating generalisability. Moreover, it should be kept in mind that the procedure is not designed to provide a falsification of the general role concepts. The country-specific role is highly unlikely to fulfil all the different ideal type roles, which are utopias by design (see chapter four). Its strength lies in validating the meaningfulness of the

newly developed concepts and its elements in the sense that they do indeed correlate to some (testable) degree with what they claim to represent.

On the other hand, and with regards to the validation of the case study, the country-specific role conception claims to represent the role of Germany as one of fostering nuclear disarmament. Matching the second research question and second part of the research design with validity language, the predictions are the contents of the categories and characteristics of the German role conception and its ideal type, while the directly observed facts are the role performance of Germany with regards to advancing nuclear disarmament. The agreement between both is tested by applying the same abstract role concepts to both parts of the empirical case study.

As congruence between these parts of the German role is also the main claim of role theory, which is under scrutiny, the validation process intrinsically provides the grounds for assessing the hypothetical and theoretical influence of a state's role conception on its role performance, which is laid out in detail in chapter four. This process follows the example of other role-theory works with the same objective (e.g., Maull/Kirste 1996, 303).

In accordance with Krippendorff (1980), a high level of agreement is interpreted as validating the results and, with that, the research carried out in the thesis as a whole. Noteworthy is that a low level of agreement / disagreement with regards to the substance of certain parts of the role also has benefits. These instances flag anomalies in the research results, which can provide a basis for proposing pathways for further refinements to be investigated in future studies. More concretely and in the case of the conceptual NNWS roles, changes to the contents of the role categories and characteristics can be mentioned. In the case of the empirical German role, ideas for further analyses and normative assessments may be the result.<sup>50</sup> These refinement pathways are described in the concluding chapter.

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<sup>50</sup> The present study focuses on the analysis of the NNWS roles and German role, respectively, with the objective of establishing both. The research design is not capable of recommending conceptual changes to the NNWS roles or policy changes to the German role. The reason being, on the one hand, that merely one empirical case (Germany) is examined with the established role concepts, meaning that conclusive changes to concepts that span ideally over 180 cases (all NNWS) on such a basis do not make sense. On the other hand, the conceptual roles do not contain normative criteria against which the German role can be assessed and, subsequently, policy changes proposed.

### 2.3.) Approach

The proceeding section sheds light on why a role-theory approach was chosen in combination with the ideal type method. It begins by situating the study within the academic tradition of foreign policy and identifying the constructivist approach of role theory in conjunction with ideal types as the most suitable underpinnings for the study. The function of these theoretical claims in the present PhD project is described at the end of the chapter. A thorough discussion and development of role theory and ideal types is provided in chapter four.

With its focus on the foreign policy of states, the study can be firmly rooted in the academic tradition of the study of foreign policy (FP) as a sub-field of international relations (IR).<sup>51</sup> The engagement with foreign policy has a long and active tradition in the academic subject of International Relations (Smith 2011; Carlsnaes 2012, 299-304; Thies 2018). Various different approaches are gathered under the umbrella of FP, but the focus of the field has remained on the notion of foreign policy (cf. Carlsnaes/Guzzini 2011).

In the tradition of foreign policy, a constructivist approach is chosen as it has proved in past studies to be well-suited to exploring state roles. Consider in this regard the overlap between the characteristics of a role and the broader theory of constructivism. The adopted role definition by Gaupp (Gaupp 1983, 109) illustrates several characteristics that can also be found in a similar expression in other definitions (cf. Holsti 1970, Walker 1987). Roles are 'projected', 'collectively normalised', 'patterns of attitudes and behaviour', their subjects are 'states'. Although much more could be said about constructivism as a major IR theory and approach to foreign policy,<sup>52</sup> it is sufficient for the current purpose to state some core ontological assumptions of the theory. Constructivism holds that an "actors' actions are guided by norms, i.e. by intersubjectively or socially shared, value-based expectations of appropriate behaviour" (Boekle/Rittberger/Wagner 1999, 4). Both the theory of

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<sup>51</sup> The study refers to the study of foreign policy as 'foreign policy' or FP and refrains from using the still common term of 'foreign-policy analysis' or FPA. The latter term refers to a specific approach to the study of foreign policy that focuses mainly on decision-making and psychological processes (the major proponent of this approach is Valerie Hudson, see particularly Hudson 2007). The scope of the field of study is larger, including a variety of other approaches (for this argument and a summary of approaches, see Carlsnaes/Guzzini 2011; Alden/Aran 2011; Carlsnaes 2012)

<sup>52</sup> For an introduction and overview of constructivism as a major IR theory, see Reus-Smit 2009, 212-236; Adler 2012, 112-144). For constructivism as an approach to foreign policy, see Checkel 2008; Boekle/Rittberger/Wagner 2001, 105-140.

constructivism and the concept of roles highlight the importance of norms, share the basic elements of their definition, and are actor-centred. The statement that roles and related theoretical considerations share “a natural affinity” with constructivist IR theory is made by two leading role theorists (Thies/Breuning 2012) and supported by others (e.g., Kirste/Maull 1996; Harnisch 2001) therefore does not come as a surprise.

The constructivist approach of role theory (RT), in combination with ideal types, ultimately provides the specific underpinnings for the study. Although different theoretical traditions have developed under this name (see chapter three), the strands are united by their support of the proposition that the idea of role is central to social life (Thies 2009, 4). With this focus, it is not a surprise that studies concerned with role theory have also addressed important issues related to the idea and have produced insights into it. The approach is, thus, a valuable source and provides appropriate grounds for illuminating the foreign-policy roles of states. Despite role theory providing the largest part of the underpinnings for the present study, it is complemented by the ideal type method in order to specify the role concepts produced on the basis of opinions in the expert community. Ideal types not only fit in well with role theory and the objectives of the study, but also provide several benefits in terms of methodology and content (see chapter four).

The function of those theoretical considerations is to provide fundamental guidance along the pathway from the research questions posed towards producing answers to them. In line with such a theory-led approach,<sup>53</sup> RT is employed as a basic guide mainly for the conceptual (i.e., what is a role?) aspect of the study, but is to a lesser extent also consulted on related theoretical (i.e., what factors influence a role?) and methodical aspects (i.e., how can these factors be measured?).

It should be noted that the study does not aim primarily to verify and/or refine the theoretical supposition, as is common for theory-led approaches. Instead, and in accordance with the outlined research questions, it establishes general role concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states in their advancement of nuclear disarmament as well as testing and refining

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<sup>53</sup> The theory-led approach might be contrasted with historic-descriptive or theory-informed proceedings. A main characteristic of the theory-led approaches is their full concentration on theoretically derived factors, whereby theory-informed approaches adopt a limited, but explicitly stated, conceptual access to the phenomenon under study but make selective use of it. Historic-descriptive avenues do not explicitly use theory at all. For a short overview of these classifications, see Schmidt, Hellmann, Wolf 2007, 10. Note that constructivist approaches might make the distinction between these classifications blur.

these against the backdrop of the empirical case of Germany's role conception and role performance. A validation of the central role-theory hypothesis, that is, the influence of the role conception on role performance, can be observed in this process nonetheless and will be described as a secondary output. In this sense, it follows the traditional, positivistic, and often-called scientific-research process.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> See chapter four for more details on role theory, ideal type and the traditional research process. In addition to the primary reference point for the present study in terms of the application of RT, i.e. the works of Kirste and Maull, other scholars have reconciled constructivist with positivist approaches. A prominent example in the field of nuclear issues is Jacques Hymans, e.g. Hymans 2006.



### **3.) Literature Review**

The following chapter provides a review of the literature with regard to the central aspects of the present study. These main themes are role theory, non-nuclear-weapon states and the advancement of nuclear disarmament, including Germany in such a process. All three matters are dealt with subsequently. Within each sub-section, the general literature, i.e. publications with a looser link or lower similarity with the specific PhD research, are reviewed first. Gradually, the more specific literature, i.e. publications with a closer link or higher similarity, is examined. Moreover, benefits as well as shortcomings of the body of literature are pointed out, as are the contributions of the present research project to it. The literature up until the end of the research period in the first half of 2019 is considered in order to embed the study in the most current state of research. In line with the research interest in the years from 2007 to 2013 and to lay the foundations for a more in-depth analysis of this period in chapter 5 and 6, literature pertaining to this timeframe is highlighted.

#### **3.1.) Role Theory**

The review of the literature on role theory comprises a short section on its development up until the present time as well as a more detailed section on existing works that touch upon the aspects of the present study. An extended discussion and critique as well as the establishment of role theory as the theoretical and conceptual foundation of the current study is presented in chapter four.

RT is an established theory in sociology and social psychology for explaining and understanding individual or group behaviour in social contexts and relationships.<sup>55</sup> The first scholar to import role theory into the academic realm of foreign policy (FP) was undoubtedly Kalevi Holsti (1970).<sup>56</sup> The first academics that employed role-theory considerations in FP were largely concerned with transferring and adapting the existing language to the new realm of states and policies as well as exploring the explanatory value of the theory.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> For overviews of what constitutes a 'role' in sociological terms, see Dahrendorf 1965 and Schäfers 2002; for an early investigation, see Biddle/Thomas 1966. A comprehensive summary of sociological concepts and theory is provided by Gaupp 1983.

<sup>56</sup> For other extensive literature reviews by other scholars, see Walker 1987a, 242-259; Kuzma 1998; Thies 2010a; Breuning 2011. The most recent developments in theory and methodology are excellently summarised in Breuning 2017.

<sup>57</sup> Walker 1979, 1981, 1987a, 1987b; Wish 1980; Hermann 1987; Rosenau 1987; Shih 1988.

Although most of these scholars were based in the United States, it is sometimes overlooked that German scholars, most prominently Gaupp (1983), also transported RT into FP at a very early stage.

These fundamental works can still be considered the anchor and “appropriate starting point” (Breuning 2017, 4) for the applied definitions and fundamental contents of role theory in contemporary studies. The present PhD project relies on the two fundamental works by Holsti and Gaupp, particularly when defining role-theory terms as well as several other fundamental theoretical and conceptual features (see chapter four).

The renewed interest in actor-specific theories at the end of the Cold War has led to role theory being given increasing attention (cf. Hudson 2005, Breuning 2017). In the period of the 1990s up until today, studies applying RT on both sides of the Atlantic have continued to be published and they have built upon the “great potential” (Walker 1987a, 2) of role theory in FP as a descriptive, organisational, and explanatory instrument for studies in this area.<sup>58</sup> The interest and research in this second phase culminated in an edited volume on role theory and the developed approaches (Harnisch/Frank/Maull 2011) and a special issue in the journal *Foreign Policy Analysis*, spearheaded by Thies and Breuning (2012). However, Thies and Breuning (2012) rightly summed up the use of RT in the overall FP literature as being somewhere between intermittent and sparse – and even as largely unfamiliar to scholars in international relations (IR).<sup>59</sup> Whereas role theory is disregarded to a large extent by the FP research community, the term ‘role’ is applied much more widely. Referring to a ‘role’ is a handy way of broadly referring to a function or position of something/somebody. Unfortunately, many studies touching upon ‘role(s)’, actually use the term to describe a function and do not or only to a very limited extent consider the richness of role theory.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Among the most prominent are Maull 1990; Walker 1992; Breuning 1995; Maull/Kirste 1996; Le Prestre 1997; Thies 1999, 2001, 2003; Elgstrom/Smith 2006; Thies 2010a, 2010b; Breuning 2011; Harnisch/Frank/Maull 2011; Wehner/Thies 2014. A number of widely-known publications have also appeared in the *Role Theory and International Relations Series* (Thies/Kaarbo (Ed.), Routledge) since 2010.

<sup>59</sup> Due to the localisation of the present study in FP, the establishment within IR is not illustrated any further. For a detailed analysis of the role theory in IR and the potential integration of IR and FP through role theory, see Thies/Breuning 2012, volume 8 (2012) of the journal *Foreign Policy Analysis*, and an authoritative account of the evolution of role theory within international relations and FP by Walker 2017.

<sup>60</sup> A simple search in major library catalogues and a subsequent review of the hits illustrates this point. Random examples of FP studies that refer to ‘role’, without using the Role Theory, include Razoux 2011; Youngs 2011; Cameron 2012; Dale 2013.

One might trace this reluctance to engage with the theory back to the rather complex and manifold role-theory approaches that have developed.<sup>61</sup>

Considering this underlying shortcoming, it is hardly surprising that Thies (2009) states that the great potential of role-theory approaches to FP still has to be unlocked, even with the renewed interest of more recent years. The conceptual and the theoretical domain, in particular, show deficiencies (cf. also Walker 2017). Role theory provides a rich set of concepts built around the main term 'role'. However, most studies do not take advantage of even a small range of the conceptual language, but limit themselves to one of these, in particular the role conception or role performance. In his authoritative overview of the literature, Thies goes on to note that, rather than "selecting out an individual concept for what largely amounts to a descriptive exercise, future research should take advantage of the explanatory power of role theory's many rich concepts ... Role theory could be reinvigorated in the study of foreign policy simply by drawing upon the hypotheses already embedded in its existing conceptual structure" (Thies 2009, 13). This PhD study strives to employ the theory in such a manner and aims to test and show its value as an instrument.

As the major focus of the present study is on the role concepts of non-nuclear weapons states in nuclear disarmament, writings applying role theory to such a group of states and/or to nuclear abolition are of great interest. To this end, related literature is reviewed in the following.

Most foreign-policy studies focus on identifying and exploring role conceptions of states (ibid., 9). Indeed, although a large body of the RT literature focuses on powerful states – in particular those with nuclear weapons – in international affairs,<sup>62</sup> some writings include middle-power states that possess no nuclear weapons.<sup>63</sup> Small powers are also examined in some studies, though to a much lesser extent taking into consideration the entirety of

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<sup>61</sup> This conclusion is reached by Thies in 2009, 34. For a different theoretical tradition of role theory, see Biddle, 1986, 68-76. The main strands are symbolic interactionist and cognitive approaches (e.g. Walker 1887, 1992) and the original structural as well as functional approaches (e.g. Sarbin/Allen 1968).

<sup>62</sup> Roles of powerful states with nuclear weapons include "superpower" (Hermann 1987, Jonsson/Westerlund 1982, Jönsson 1984) or "Hegemon" (Cronin 2001). Scholars also focus on roles of individual NWS such as Russia (Chafetz 1996/1997; Grossman 2005; Zajackowski 2015), China (Shih 1988, Harnisch/Bersick/Gottwald 2015, Michalski/Pan 2017), United States (Chotard 1997, Keane/Wood 2016, Malici/Walker 2017), Pakistan (Ghose/James 2005), United Kingdom (MacLeod 1997b), or France (Thumerelle/Le Prestre 1997; Sampson/Walker 1987).

<sup>63</sup> Scholars have done various small-n or single case studies investigating the roles of non-nuclear middle states such as Canada (Donneur/Alain 1997), Netherlands and Belgium (Breuning 1995, 1997, 1998), and Japan (Catalinac 2007; Debroux 2018).

scholarly research on state roles.<sup>64</sup> Analyses of the empirical case examined in the present study, Germany, can be found in the literature.<sup>65</sup> However, none of the studies that employ role theory examine explicitly the role concepts of the specific category 'non-nuclear-weapon states'.

The studies named are of value at the theoretical and methodological level as they can provide ideas, suggestions and models for further role-theory studies. For example, many of these studies can greatly advance the understanding of the assumptions of role theory and can be useful for generating a theoretical and conceptual model applicable to other contexts. This PhD project relies on several of these works in this regard (see chapter four). In terms of substantial knowledge of the role concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states in fostering developments such as global denuclearisation, the literature is only of limited benefit. This is mainly because insights gained from their content can in most cases not be transferred to the tightly focused investigation of the present project. Past works do not share the objective of identifying the role concepts of the state group of NNWS and, accordingly, provide different insights. The proposed research aims to close this gap in the literature by building role concepts that are founded on a clear-cut definition of NNWS and investigates only those conceptual aspects that relate directly to the sub-group of non-nuclear-weapon states.

In addition to studies examining certain groups of states, RT literature with the substantive focus on nuclear disarmament can also contribute answers to the present research questions.

The most comprehensive text that explicitly applies role theory in the context of nuclear issues in general is provided by Chafetz et al. (1996). These scholars discuss the Belarusian and Ukrainian compliance with the non-proliferation regime based on role-theory considerations. Other authors who, implicitly and explicitly, apply the theory in relation to the nuclear topic are Harnisch, Müller and Meier.<sup>66</sup> Harnisch focuses on several aspects of

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<sup>64</sup> Small states appear mostly in large-n studies, e.g., Wish 1980; Holsti 1970; Ingebritsen/Neumann/Gstohl/Beyer 2006, Gigueux 2016 or Thies 2017.

<sup>65</sup> LeTourneau/Rakel 1997; Tewes 1998; Harnisch 2001; Hyde-Pierce 2004; Malici 2006; Folz 2010; Beneš/Harnisch 2015; Eckersley 2016, Klein 2018. For more, see works from Maull et al. cited in the footnotes below.

<sup>66</sup> See Harnisch/Maull 2000; Harnisch 2007, 2011; Harnisch/Wagener 2010; Harnisch/Rösch 2011 and Müller 2001, 2010.

states' policies and behaviour in regard to nuclear non-proliferation, mostly with an empirical focus on North Korea or Iran. Müller examines general role concepts of NWS and NNWS in terms of the NPT and Germany's policies on nuclear non-proliferation. Meier (2001) also looks at the German nuclear non-proliferation record and relates his analysis to Germany's role conception and performance. A more recent study by Schmitt (2017) reviews a European, including a German, role conception in the topical area of the nuclear programme of Iran.

Most of the benefits from these studies for the present endeavour come from highlighting individual aspects of the role concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states in disarmament.<sup>67</sup> Relevant insights in this respect will be applied as supplementary information in chapter five. However, none of these studies - and by extension, no scholarly work based upon solid role-theory grounds - has as its objective a comprehensive exploration of the role concepts of NNWS in specifically fostering nuclear disarmament, including the manifold characteristics of such role concepts. By carrying out an inclusive and systematic investigation of role concepts reduced to the narrow area of nuclear disarmament, the present PhD aims to address these shortcomings in the literature.

As mentioned above, one of the major benefits to be taken from previous RT works for the present project are their suggestions concerning an appropriate research approach, including conceptual, theoretical and methodical considerations. Thus, the present thesis draws on these insights from several of the named sources. The main point of reference comes from Hanns W. Maull and scholars around him. The investigations by Maull et al. were conducted within the research project "Zivilmächte" (Engl.: Civil Powers) from 1994-1997. The project was financed by the DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft; Engl.: German Research Foundation) under Maull's supervision. Building on previous theoretical ideas about the concept of civil power by Maull himself,<sup>68</sup> the project focused thematically on a comparison of Germany, Japan and the US in the period from 1985-1995 with respect to their compliance with the role concept of civil power.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Although focusing mostly on nuclear non-proliferation, these studies also generate insights into role concepts in disarmament. For the link between non-proliferation and disarmament, see chapter five.

<sup>68</sup>Maull 1990, 1992a, 1992b.

<sup>69</sup> Major outputs of the research project are the final report (Frenkler/Harnisch/Kirste/Maull/Wallraf 1997), a journal article (Kirste/Maull 1996), and a book (Kirste 1998). Various other working/conference papers

The present project relates to the research by Maull et al. by applying several conceptual, theoretical and methodological aspects that these scholars used in their research. Specific references can be found in chapter two and chapter four. Employing these features is possible and advantageous, as the overall objectives of Maull's work and this PhD project are the same, i.e. to establish analytical role concepts, test these against an empirical role conception and role performance and compare the analytical and empirical roles. Moreover, the present study employs the fundamental building blocks of role-theory approaches. These essentials, which were very precise and progressive for their time when used by Maull et al., still remain widely applied building blocks for contemporary role theorists (cf. Harnisch/Frank/Maull 2011, Breuning 2017). Thus, the PhD is placed amid the current debate on role theory even though inspired by an older scientific work. The substantial part of this investigation (the role concept of a civil power) is not further considered in this PhD project. This is due to its focus on a different actor and a different subject matter in the role concepts than the one established here (of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament).

### **3.2.) NNWS and the Advancement of Nuclear Disarmament**

This section provides a review of the literature on non-nuclear weapons states and the advancement of nuclear disarmament. Literature in and pertaining to the main period under investigation in the study (2007-2013) will be highlighted, while the current state of research and the post-2013 scientific writings are also incorporated. Please note that the content of the role concepts of NNWS and related discussions are dealt with comprehensively and in depth in chapter five and only touched upon here.

The idea of nuclear disarmament and its advancement is as old as the nuclear age itself.<sup>70</sup> Accordingly, a myriad of writings on the subject can be found in publications from the beginning of the first nuclear age, to the dawn of the second nuclear age, right up to the present day.<sup>71</sup> Scholarship on nuclear disarmament was particularly active during the “abolitionist waves” (Krepon 2009, 158 ff.), which are outlined in chapter five.

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published intermediate results of the project. A selection is available under [www.deutsche-aussenpolitik.de/resources/conferences/](http://www.deutsche-aussenpolitik.de/resources/conferences/) (accessed on 20 April 2013).

<sup>70</sup> Most scholars differentiate between the first nuclear age (1945 until the end of the Cold War) and the second nuclear age (starting around 1990), see Gray 1999 and Bracken 2000.

<sup>71</sup> The first writing on the subject the author viewed is from 1946 (Carnegie Endowment 1946). A summary of the works at the beginning of the 1990s is provided in Miller 1999.

The debate about the process of nuclear disarmament in the period from 2007 to 2013 – the period that is under investigation in the present study – was heated, and publications are widely available. A vast number of writings (newspaper articles, essays, books, etc.) can be found in library catalogues<sup>72</sup> and in the outputs of new and old research schemes from think tanks and NGOs.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, collaborative and large-scale reports were commissioned during this period and provide cornerstones for the debate.<sup>74</sup> The themes these publications address are as diverse as the topic of nuclear disarmament itself. Starting from the current state of affairs in which nuclear disarmament might take place as well as associated risks and opportunities, many of the works discuss central issues such as nuclear energy management, verification, or enforcement in order to conclude with concrete policy recommendations, sometimes even entire road maps, which allude to the steps that might advance towards Global Zero.<sup>75</sup>

This range of fundamental nuclear disarmament issues – from an assessment of the state of affairs to ways to advance nuclear disarmament in such a context – are also addressed by scholars in the period from 2013 until today.<sup>76</sup> A new and increasingly characterising theme of this time period is the humanitarian initiative and related developments. As such, these deserve special attention here.

A recast of the discourse on nuclear disarmament emerged effectively around 2013 with what has been called the “humanitarian initiative”. It continued to be increasingly pervasive with the subsequent international conferences on the “Humanitarian Impacts of Nuclear

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<sup>72</sup> The bibliography of the present study project provides an overview.

<sup>73</sup> A comprehensive list of NGOs and related organisations is offered in Daley 2010, 273-276. To grasp the scope, see also a list of current nuclear projects in the US provided by the American Academy of Arts and Science ([www.amacad.org/content/Research/researchproject.aspx?d=643](http://www.amacad.org/content/Research/researchproject.aspx?d=643); accessed 11.12.2013).

<sup>74</sup> The three main reports are Shultz/Andreasen/Drell/Goodby 2009, ICNND 2009 and Datan/Hill/Scheffran/Ware 2007.

<sup>75</sup> A good overview of the issues at stake can be gained by studying the reports named in the previous footnote and Perkovich/Acton 2010. It should be noted that many of these works also address issues in the realm of nuclear non-proliferation next to nuclear disarmament aspects. Non-proliferation facets are, therefore, considered as well in the course of the literature review as they are considered in discussions on the role concepts in chapter five. For an examination of the link between disarmament and non-proliferation, see chapter five.

<sup>76</sup> A significant study, which gives an overview of these fundamental issues, particularly from a strategic camp point of view, is Dunn 2017 and the responses to his viewpoints in *The Nonproliferation Review* 24:5-6 (2017). A good overview from members of the humanitarian camp are works by John Borrie (e.g., Borrie 2018), while more analytical perspectives can be found in issue 25:1-2 of the *Nonproliferation Review* (2018). The state of affairs on nuclear weapons more broadly is perhaps most comprehensively recorded in the so-called Hiroshima Reports, which is published yearly since 2013 by the Japan Institute of International Affairs (e.g., Hiroshima Report 2017).

Weapons” (2012, 2013, 2014) as well as a UN Open-ended Working Group on multilateral nuclear disarmament negotiations (2016), and resulted in the creation of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (2017), to name the main waypoints of its evolution.<sup>77</sup> A detailed tracking of the evolution of the humanitarian initiative and the TPNW is receiving more and more attention among scholars (see Potter 2017; Gibbons 2018).

The humanitarian initiative and surrounding aspects mark a distinct shift in the debate on nuclear weapons and the disarmament process (e.g., Müller 2016; Dunn 2017). This change affects several layers of the debate, which will be touched upon in the following paragraphs as well. In essence perhaps, the humanitarian initiative increasingly changed the discourse surrounding nuclear weapons and their disarmament to one which is “fundamentally humanitarian, rather than security-oriented” (Borrie 2014; Caughley 2013). With this, the characterisation of nuclear weapons shifts away from “normal” towards a characterisation as “inhumane, morally unacceptable, and ... abnormal” (Hanson 2018, 465).

Although topics of publications on the humanitarian initiative in the period from 2013 onwards are wide-ranging, some aspects of the new debate are worth mentioning. As such, it may be noted that a great number of publications are of an advocacy nature (cf. Potter 2017). However, scholars also aimed to analyse the Initiative as a process with a complex interrelation with the existing state of affairs in nuclear disarmament.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, the momentum in place with the successful campaign for nuclear disarmament on humanitarian grounds led a somewhat wider range of analysts to engage with the topic of nuclear abolition. Within the context of the international conferences on the “Humanitarian Impacts of Nuclear Weapons”, lawyers, medical personnel, and environmental activists (to name just a few professions) provided information on the consequences of nuclear use and the imperative for nuclear disarmament.<sup>79</sup> More recently, analysts have begun to directly address “perhaps the biggest challenge” (Williams 2018) in the current nuclear disarmament debate. This is the different language and related lack of understanding between supporters

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<sup>77</sup> Comprehensive information and references of all the relevant documentation on the main international events of humanitarian initiative and the process leading to the TPNW are assembled and excellently edited by Reaching Critical Will (<http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/disarmament-fora/nuclear-weapon-ban>; accessed 14.11.2018). The text of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons can be found in TPNW 2017.

<sup>78</sup> For example, Borrie/Caughley 2013; Williams/Lewis/Aghlani 2015; Egeland/Hugo/Lovold/Nystuen 2017.

<sup>79</sup> Prominent examples include Fihn 2013; Helfand 2013; Mills/Toon/Lee-Taylor/Robock 2014.



of the humanitarian initiative (most NNWS and civil society actors) and its opponents (NWS and allied NNWS) (cf. Borrie 2018).

This body of literature on nuclear disarmament in general has tremendous and manifold value for the present study as it shares the greater normative aim of fostering nuclear disarmament. Considerations can be found in regard to various issues the present PhD touches upon, such as the definition of nuclear disarmament, specifics of the fourth 'abolitionist wave' and the current context, the NPT dynamics, as well as the NAS-NNWS and civil society-NNWS relationship.<sup>80</sup> The main benefit of these works is that they provide the necessary background and context knowledge to embed the actor-specific concepts of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament, which are developed in chapter five. However, the major shortcoming in this more general body of literature is that discussions mostly fail to provide a sufficiently detailed view of the concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states in advancing nuclear disarmament (exceptions are analysed in the following paragraphs). The various issues are mainly discussed in a generalised, actor-unspecific, manner. The insights found therein can therefore not be readily transferred to a work that seeks to determine the role concepts of a specific actor. The present study aims to bridge this gap by making establishing specific role concepts of NNWS within the overall process of nuclear disarmament its overarching purpose.

An attempt to structure the just outlined general body of literature is worthwhile at this point. It has the organisational benefit that discussions of the nuclear disarmament process, particularly in the years from 2007 onwards, can be captured in overarching terms and, where helpful, more easily referred to.<sup>81</sup>

Two large camps might be distinguished.<sup>82</sup> These camps can be thought of as accentuated categories containing certain literature that is concerned with the further progression

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<sup>80</sup> Specific references are given in the related passages in the PhD project, which can mostly be found in chapter five.

<sup>81</sup> This also has a methodological benefit. As the PhD project aims to establish role concepts that are representative of the ideas in the general disarmament literature, the distinction helps to make sure that the major parts of the research community are incorporated adequately (see chapter two).

<sup>82</sup> Of course, the literature could be distinguished in many more categories, including the research strands associated with international law, ethics, psychology, and so forth. However, the proposed two categories are assessed as being sufficient to represent the main approaches to the advancement of nuclear disarmament. Perspectives such as international law might be subsumed under these two categories and are by no means excluded.

towards global nuclear zero. Works associated with one or the other camp share an origin, a perspective on disarmament, and a set of core arguments and goals they advocate.<sup>83</sup>

The first camp might be referred to as the 'strategic camp'. Proponents here include individuals from the security establishment, ranging from government officials to most of the experts in think tanks and universities and other elites. They write within the traditional and state-centric security and strategic discourse (Baylis/Wirtz 2009; Garnet 2009). Arguments focus on relevant issues in this discourse, such as deterrence, and advocate a focus on high-level diplomacy by NAS, in particular the US and Russia, to proceed in an incremental or evolutionary way. This camp was by far the dominant one in the years from 2007 to 2013 (Minor 2015). On the other hand, the members of the second or 'humanitarian camp' can be found in civil society, including NGOs as well as peace movements and experts related to them. Their main discourse is a humanitarian one, focusing on the paradigm of human security (Williams 2012, Introduction; Hampson 2012). Their proposals emphasise the function of civil society while advocating a planned disarmament process or a nuclear weapons convention. With the increasing attention being given to the humanitarian initiative and the related change to a "humanitarian, rather than security-oriented" discourse surrounding nuclear weapons and their disarmament, this camp took the centre stage in debates on nuclear disarmament in the years after 2013 (Gibbons 2018).

Moving from the general literature to the corpus of texts more narrowly related to the objectives of this PhD, those works are reviewed which highlight NNWS in the pursuit of nuclear disarmament or related aspects.

It needs to be clear at the outset that the two major groups of actors in the focus of the disarmament literature in the period of 2007 to 2013 were NAS and civil society.<sup>84</sup> Whereas

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<sup>83</sup> For significant proponents of each camp, see ICNND 2009 as well as Dunn 2017 (strategic camp) and Datan/Hill/Scheffran/Ware 2007 as well as Ware 2016 (humanitarian camp). For other scholars distinguishing one or more of the named aspects, see Freedman 2010; Ware 2010; Ogilvie-White/Santoro 2010 (pre-2013) and Minor 2015; Hanson 2018 (post-2013). A similar distinction is proposed, for example, by Johnson 2012, 30-32.

<sup>84</sup> For the same typology of major actors in nuclear disarmament (NAS, NNWS, civil society), see ICNND 2009, 219-222. Other actors and structures influence, of course, the progress on nuclear disarmament as well, including international institutions like the IAEA (Zedillo 2009), international law (Krieger 2010b), and norms (Müller/Wunderlich 2013).

the strategic camp discusses and advocates mostly and primarily actions by NAS,<sup>85</sup> the humanitarian camp, due to the weight attributed in the strategic debate to NAS, does discuss and respect NAS as actors in the disarmament process, but advocates stronger involvement of civil society.<sup>86</sup> This situation changes in the post-2013 debate. Unlike previous efforts to push for nuclear disarmament on humanitarian grounds (Hanson 2010), it was a strong and collective effort by NNWS (supported by civil society actors) that drove the campaign. Following such a prominence, analysts from the humanitarian camp (and increasingly also from the strategic camp) have re-centred their attention to recognise and reflect NNWS as being among the main protagonists in the contemporary global nuclear debate.<sup>87</sup>

More specifically, the issue of non-nuclear-weapon states as actors that advance nuclear disarmament was most effectively re-initiated within the debate from 2007 onwards by Scott Sagan in his piece 'Shared Responsibilities for Nuclear Disarmament', first published in autumn 2009. In the article he offers a "new conceptual framework that is needed to encourage NWS and NNWS to share responsibilities for ... contributing to the eventual elimination of nuclear weapons" (Sagan 2010, 3). Sagan argues in favour of such an active partnership between NWS and NNWS, without which states will fail in their aspiration to realise Global Zero, he maintains. The significance of NNWS for disarmament is also acknowledged by other experts in the timeframe from 2007 to 2013 by a range of experts on the topic.<sup>88</sup> This pioneering call from Scott Sagan has been echoed increasingly in the discourse in the post-2013 period and with the prominence of the humanitarian initiative as well as the TPNW. It has been argued that the significance of the humanitarian initiative and especially the treaty is that "it starts by harnessing the agency of non-nuclear-weapon states" (Sauer/Pretorius 2014) and provides an imperative for "concerted nuclear disarmament" (Johnson 2012). The treaty and its underlying focus on humanitarianism applies universally to all states and in doing so empowers NNWS in the nuclear order

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<sup>85</sup> Well-known volumes that highlight NWS as actors include Cortright/Vaeyrynen 2010; Perkovich/Acton 2009; Trilateral Commission 2010; Kelleher/Reppy 2011. Please note that also members of the humanitarian camp promote NWS actively, such as the Global Zero Campaign.

<sup>86</sup> Concrete publications include the collaborative volume by Krieger 2010; ICAN 2011; UNODA 2012.

<sup>87</sup> Hanson 2018; Williams 2018; For a significant and widely known study by a proponent of the strategic camp that recognize and engage NNWS (US allied NNWS as well as supporters of the TBNW) as among the main actors in nuclear disarmament, see Dunn 2017.

<sup>88</sup> Choubey 2008; Perkovich 2008; Perkovich/Acton 2009; Shaker 2010; Müller 2010; Hanson 2010.

(Hanson 2018). Analysts firmly embedded in the strategic camp are also coming to see the need for a “joint enterprise” between NWS and NNWS (Goodby/Pifer 2015).

However, the recognised level of significance of NNWS in the advancement of disarmament is yet to be matched by the quantity of research investigating their function. Going back to the early years of the fourth abolitionist wave, this discrepancy is also the starting point for Sagan in his article. He states that a discussion of what non-nuclear-weapon states can do to support nuclear disarmament is missing from the expert discourse (Sagan 2010, 8). In close relation, Ogilvie-White and Santoro, for example, state that it is “essential to make room for a policy-relevant analysis of the place and role that key governments will give to nuclear disarmament” (Ogilvie-White/Santoro 2010, 19). These ‘key governments’ include explicitly NNWS. In the years following 2013 and considering the increasing momentum of the humanitarian initiative, NNWS are much more widely recognised to be significant actors in bringing about nuclear disarmament. Despite that, the foundation for such recognition appears to be mostly the function these states have in strengthening the humanitarian argumentation and translating it into concrete results such as the TBNW. Responsibilities other than those following from the moral imperative were not a focus.

Such a limitation in the research on the topic of NNWS’ significance for advancing nuclear disarmament is regarded as a shortcoming of the academic literature. The present PhD aims to mitigate this inadequacy. To this end it will explicate the importance of NNWS in nuclear disarmament more comprehensively and explore their function in detail.

The perceived relevance of the issue has led a relatively small number of experts to take a more in-depth look at the policies and behaviour of non-nuclear-weapon states in the process of advancing nuclear abolition. These texts are most closely related to the present PhD endeavour and shall be looked at in the following.

Besides the objective of the current literature review to embed the study in the contemporary literature, it also aims to lay the foundations for a more in-depth analysis into the works of disarmament experts on the role of NNWS in nuclear disarmament in the 2007 to 2013 timeframe. Therefore, the following paragraphs will first review the scientific writings pertaining to the later-on investigated timeframe from 2007 to 2013. The section will then proceed to locate the shortcomings of this body of literature to the current state in

the debate, thus extending the benefits of the present research to the contemporary debate.

Before engaging with the literature in the period from 2007 to 2013 it should be noted that a comprehensive analysis of the texts selected to carve out the role concepts of NNWS in nuclear disarmament will be carried out in chapter five. A list of all texts consulted in this regard can be found in a separate section in the bibliography. This leaves for now the task of pointing to the relevant sources used, the benefits and deficits of this literature, as well as the contribution of the present study to this body of works.<sup>89</sup>

The literature relevant for the construction of role concepts can be structured into two broad categories, each of which contains works from the strategic camp as well as the humanitarian camp. The first body of publications from 2007 to 2013 might be regarded as broad literature on non-nuclear-weapon states in nuclear disarmament. Included in this category are publications that address NNWS in an encompassing, general and broad manner. Writings in the first category tend to be published, cited, and acknowledged in the international expert discussions. Examples include the pioneer article by Sagan (2009) and an encompassing book by Loodgaard (2011) on nuclear disarmament. In contrast, country-specific literature – addressing in detail individual or small sets of NNWS – form the second category. Publications in the second category are often issued by authors from the respective country and tend to be cited mostly within national borders. The German scholar Oliver Meier (e.g., 2010; 2013) offers insights on Germany's disarmament efforts while Regehr (2007) gives his analysis before the Canadian Foreign Affairs Committee, to name just two examples.

A special mention must be given to writings that are somewhat less accessible and more often overlooked in international debate. These include papers and transcripts of speeches at various conferences, such as those organised in support of the Middle Powers Initiative (e.g. MPI 2010), which brings together eight NGOs that work primarily with “middle-power” governments to foster nuclear disarmament. This literature is considered within the broad and country-specific categories just identified.

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<sup>89</sup> The process applied to utilise this body of literature is described in detail in chapter two. The structuring of the specific research on the role concepts of NNWS has the same benefits as those listed above for an organisation of the general literature into two camps.

It is also worth explicitly mentioning two studies by Choubey (2008) and Hanson (2010) that specifically examine the conceptual aspects of NNWS in nuclear disarmament. Whereas Choubey analyses NNWS views on disarmament issues in respect of new bargains that might be attainable in conjunction with NWS, Hanson looks exclusively at non-nuclear-weapon states in fostering nuclear abolition. Both studies are consulted in the analysis of chapter five in order to identify the role concepts of NNWS.

The benefits of the literature that relates more narrowly to non-nuclear-weapon states in nuclear disarmament cannot be overestimated. These works serve the present study as a foundation for constructing and discussing the role concepts of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament from 2007 to 2013.

Two major shortcomings in this corpus of literature must be pointed out. Firstly, systematic, comprehensive, detailed and clear role concepts have not been defined. The majority of studies base their conceptualisation of NNWS in the advancement of nuclear disarmament on the analysis provided in the same text. As this analysis deals mostly with much bigger issues than NNWS and their efforts towards nuclear abolition (e.g., Lodgaard 2011) and/or focuses only on certain conceptual elements (e.g., Meier 2010), the resulting concepts are also limited. In relation to the narrower focus of their analysis, authors address different conceptual aspects such as behavioural style or policy objectives (see chapter five) and do not rely on a systematic analytic scheme such as provided by role theory. Choubey (2008) and Hanson (2010), who gain their insights by analysing the official views and policies of NNWS respectively, can be mentioned in this respect. The characteristics found by experts are, in turn, described in a divergent manner.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, a perfunctory look at the policies and behaviour of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament makes a detailed description difficult. The concepts and its characteristics remain unclear as they are often not explained in full (e.g. MPI 2008). Secondly, a link between the conceptual level and the empirical level is missing. Studies that describe the policies and behaviour of NNWS in the nuclear disarmament field in most cases do not reconcile this empirical picture with (theoretically induced) concepts. Many country-specific writings such as Kurosawa (2009) on Japan or Becker (2003) on Ireland can serve as examples in this regard. And where such concepts

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<sup>90</sup> Compare, for example, statements on the policies and behaviour of NNWS in regard to nuclear deterrence in Endo 2009; Lewis 2009; Sagan 2010; MPI 2010; Acton 2010.

have been developed to some extent, the empirical measurement or validation is missing.<sup>91</sup> A refinement or test of the analytical concepts is, thus, in most cases not possible.

Despite the changed thematic focus on humanitarian arguments in the literature from 2013 onwards and the highlighted significance of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament, these two major shortcomings are still present. It needs to be recognised that the wide array of literature which reflects on the reframing of nuclear weapons as a humanitarian problem and the momentum created by the humanitarian initiative/the TPNW does indeed almost always touch upon the policies and behaviour of NNWS. This is because NNWS, with the support of civil society, are the main actors in such an endeavour.

However, these remarks remain mostly on the analytical surface in terms of conceptualising NNWS in the advancement of nuclear disarmament. Analysts deal most often with larger topics than the efforts of NNWS in the present push for nuclear disarmament (e.g., Ware 2016; Dunn 2017), which leads to a brief or narrow examination of the question of how NNWS may behave. The polarisation of the international community on nuclear weapons and the proposal for bridge-building policies by NNWS and NWS can serve as an increasingly prominent example in this regard (cf. Shetty 2017; Berger 2017; Borrie 2018). Although scholars are starting to look at the possible policies for NNWS from a more conceptual point of view (e.g., Williams 2018), no study could be found that engages with the issue using a full-blown analytical framework such as provided by role theory. Therefore, the assessment of a lacking systematic, comprehensive, detailed and clear analysis of role concepts is viewed as valid in the debate from 2013 onwards.

Moreover, and in line with this state of the literature, no firm link between the conceptual level and the empirical level of NNWS as actors in advancing nuclear disarmament has been established in the contemporary debate. Various studies during the time span from 2013 to today do indeed examine individual NNWS or groups of NNWS, in particular concerning their policies and behaviour regarding the humanitarian initiative and the TPNW.<sup>92</sup> However,

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<sup>91</sup> Example works include large reports (ICNND 2009 or Acton/Perkovich 2009) as well as smaller pieces (Dhanapala 2008).

<sup>92</sup> One country receiving outstanding attention is the Netherlands, as it is the only NATO member that participated in the negotiation conferences of the TPNW (Güven/van der Meer 2015; Shirobokova 2018). Other NATO members and/or US-allies are also examined (e.g., Dall 2017; Sauer 2017; Tosaki 2017). Non-aligned countries such as Mexico also receive scholarly attention (e.g., Lomonaco 2017).

these examinations are for the most part organised by the actual or recommended behaviour of the particular NNWS and not linked to pre-defined analytical concepts.

The present study aims to overcome these deficits. In addressing the first shortcoming, the PhD project will identify the conceptual aspects of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament in a comprehensive and systematic way, examining a wide range of different sources on the theoretical/conceptual foundation of role theory. After drawing out relevant information, these aspects are described in a detailed and clear manner before being assembled or synthesized into complete ideal type concepts of the role of non-nuclear-weapon states in the advancement of disarmament. The second shortcoming is mitigated in a subsequent part of the thesis, in which the empirical role conception and role performance of Germany as one NNWS is investigated in great detail. The empirical insights gained will also be matched with the analytical role concepts, in an aim to validate the theoretical as well as the empirical output of the study.

### **3.3.) Germany and the Advancement of Nuclear Disarmament**

This section provides a review of writings on Germany's foreign and security policy in the field of nuclear disarmament with a focus on the literature published both in the timeframe from 2007 to 2013 as well as from 2013 up to the present day. As the relevant literature is produced largely by German scholars, the review will focus on the German research community but will also include English literature.

Since German Reunification in 1989 at the latest, there has been intensified debate on the country's place in and relationship with the world (e.g., Rittberger 2001; Webber 2001). Up to the present day, discussions about the foreign and security policy of Germany within the strategic community remain lively. Writings range from analysis of the overall policies of certain governments<sup>93</sup> to investigations of several policy areas<sup>94</sup> and, taken together, they

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<sup>93</sup> See, for example, Garais 2010; Pfetsch 2012; Hefendorf 2012; Herkendell 2012; Zohlnhöfer/Saalfeld 2019.

<sup>94</sup> Some few examples include publications to climate policy (Ott 2007; Kemfert et al. 2018), arms policy (Heider 2008; Moltmann 2015), and cyber security (Klocke 2011; Bendiek 2016). Many more can be found in archives or the comprehensive collection of papers by several German institutions covering Germany's foreign and security policy such as SWP ([www.swp-berlin.org/](http://www.swp-berlin.org/)) or DGAP (<https://dgap.org/en>).



are part of the ongoing debate about the (new) orientation and responsibility of German foreign policy.<sup>95</sup>

Considerations on nuclear issues can be found in these broader debates. This might, not least, be because of the priority the German government has attached throughout the post-1989 era to these issues and the strong influence of peace research on Germany's academic and intellectual community.<sup>96</sup> Nuclear issues are mentioned in several publications on German foreign and security policy as a whole, and are also dealt with in a much more detailed way in works that focus on the subject. The literature covers many different aspects, among them an examination of official German policies and action<sup>97</sup>, conceptual questions,<sup>98</sup> and other states' positions on nuclear issues, to name just a few.<sup>99</sup>

The literature on the narrower topic of the present study, namely Germany and nuclear disarmament, is more limited. Within the timeframe of 2007 to 2013, a comparatively large amount of attention is placed on the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from German soil. This issue was highlighted by the Merkel administration as one of the important objectives in the area of nuclear-related policy. Following this high-level support, the literature clearly illuminated the implications of this for nuclear disarmament, the NPT, nuclear sharing, NATO, and Germany's nuclear dossier. Discussions took place within the German community as well as outside of it.<sup>100</sup> However, other aspects around Germany and

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<sup>95</sup>Öztürk 2012, Editorial. For the named discussion see, among many others: AK Internationale Sicherheitspolitik 2011; Maull 2011; Sandschneider 2012; Meier-Walser / Alexander Wolf 2012. The discussion is still ongoing; good and authoritative overview of related issues can be found in Hellmann/Jacobi/Stark Urrestarazu 2015 and Ischinger/Messner 2017.

<sup>96</sup>For official statements, see the annually published report of the German administration on its efforts in the field of arms control, disarmament, and non-proliferation (German: Jahresabrüstungsbericht), e.g. the most recent report from 2017 in Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2017. For a secondary analysis endorsing this view, see Müller 2001. The peace research strand in Germany is reviewed by Schlotter/Wisotzki 2011. A historic overview of peace research on arms control and disarmament can be found in Rosert 2011.

<sup>97</sup>The promptest and most investigative commentator today is Meier (e.g., 2009, 2012a, 2012b, Meier 2016. Accounts of the nuclear policy of entire administrations are also available, e.g., Weber 1994.

<sup>98</sup> For example: Krause 2009; Franceschini 2010; Müller/Scharper 2009; Meier/Suh 2016; the German Journal 'Security and Peace', Volume 36, Issue 2, 2018; and a whole range of articles in Meier-Walser 2010, which includes both proponents and opponents of Global Zero.

<sup>99</sup>The most prominent partner states examined are the US (e.g., Müller 2008; Fey/Franceschini/Müller/Schmidt 2010; Thraenert 2010; Paul 2012; Meier 2017) and Russia (e.g., Schmidt/ Müller 2010; Klein 2010). Problematic countries and their developments, most notably Iran (e.g., Perthes 2010) and North Korea (e.g. Thraenert 2013), are also covered.

<sup>100</sup> Early accounts that anticipated the political endorsement of the withdrawal are Nassauer 2005 and Meier 2007; later ones are Keller/Schreer 2010 and Paul 2010. A non-German and widely cited article on the issue is Miller/Robertson/Schake 2010.

nuclear disarmament were also dealt with in the 2007-2013 timeframe.<sup>101</sup> The most prominent approach is an examination of the domestic policies on the topic.<sup>102</sup> In the years following 2013, two major issues in the German debate on nuclear disarmament were the humanitarian initiative/Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons as well as the Ukraine crisis and its consequences. In view of the dominance of the humanitarian initiative and the TPNW in the nuclear disarmament discussion in general, the stance of Germany as both a NNWS and a NATO member was the subject of discussion by proponents and opponents of such a course of action.<sup>103</sup> The Ukraine crisis and perceived Russia aggression represent a reverse mirror-image of the discussions on the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from German soil in 2008. Against this backdrop, disarmament-averse developments such as the enhancement of NATO's deterrence policies and the disintegration of the INF Treaty were discussed.<sup>104</sup> Even deliberations of Germany acquiring nuclear weapons or not in order to strengthen its sense of a nuclear deterrent capability could be found on the opinion spectrum.<sup>105</sup>

The named and relevant literature has value for the present project. Its main benefit lies in the background information and knowledge it can provide in terms of localising Germany's role in nuclear disarmament, which precedes investigations of its role conception and role performance in the present study. However, this body of texts does not address explicitly the function and characteristics of Germany in the field of disarmament.

An even smaller number of (in-depth) writings deals with the actual field of the present project directly – the policies and behaviour of Germany in advancing nuclear disarmament.<sup>106</sup> Within the timeframe of 2007 to 2013, studies by Müller (2000; 2011), Meier (2010; also Meier/Neuneck 2010) and Lewis (2009) deserve special mention in this regard. While Müller looks at the motivations for and interests behind the German stance on

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<sup>101</sup> The literature review concentrates on the works in or close to the examined timeframe (2009-2015) in the present study. Earlier writings on virtually all issues of concern and also on the complex of Germany and nuclear disarmament are available (Müller/Kelleb/Frank/Meier/Scharper 1997 and Mey 2001 to name only two examples out of a significantly large body of works).

<sup>102</sup> Scharper 2010; Schmidt 2010; Paul 2012, 68-75; Müller 2018.

<sup>103</sup> Kubiak 2015; Meier 2015b; Deep Cuts Commission 2015; ICAN 2017; Ganser 2017; Hach 2015; Hach 2017.

<sup>104</sup> Prominent voices on the issues include Meier 2014; Meier 2016; Mölling/Brauß 2019.

<sup>105</sup> Proponents of a "nuclear weapons option" for Germany include Kohler 2016, Shalal 2016, Terhalle 2017; a good overview of arguments against the idea can be viewed in Kühn/Volpe 2017.

<sup>106</sup> Germany's stance on nuclear disarmament is also characterised by opponents of the Global Zero idea, most prominently by Rühle 2009. Due to the focus of the present project on advancing nuclear disarmament, these are not considered further.

nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament and gives broad (2000) as well as more specific (2011) recommendations regarding how to push those interests, Meier examines how Germany (and Japan) can advance nuclear disarmament and, together with Neuneck, looks at the operational framework and the resulting opportunities for Germany in the field, respectively. Lewis (2009) provides a broad analysis of Germany's position towards several aspects of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, in particular as a member of NATO and the EU. Following 2013, the prominent political developments in particular were taken as a framework to consider the German policies and action in advancing nuclear disarmament. Meier (2016) examines how the country may navigate best between backing supporters of the TPNW or those in favour of an enhanced nuclear deterrent strategy, while two other papers contemplate Germany's function in advancing nuclear disarmament in the face of the Ukraine Crisis (Meier 2014) and considering the weaker link to the United States and deepening trenches among NWS and the majority of NNWS (Meier 2017). Kubiak (2015) looks specifically towards generating and assessing hypothetical scenarios for Germany in light of the humanitarian initiative.

All of the texts give plenty description of Germany's function on disarmament in general and proposals for policy in specific relevant situations. These will be used to localise and embed Germany's role conception and role performance. Moreover, publications on the timeframe of 2007-2013 will be consulted as secondary literature for the ideal type role concepts of NNWS in nuclear disarmament as well as the German role conception and role performance, which both cover this time period specifically. In all regards, the texts are of significant value.

Despite the usefulness of the reviewed writings, the literature has one significant shortcoming. It does not provide anywhere a conception of Germany's role in nuclear disarmament in a systematic and detailed manner. The relevant studies take a somewhat superficial look at German efforts in the nuclear disarmament field (e.g. Krause 2010), which is also down to the fact that a multitude of aspects related to (or even going beyond) the policies or behaviour of Germany are addressed in rather short writings (e.g., Lewis 2009; Müller 2000 and 2011). Some studies pick and choose the disarmament aspects they highlight in a seemingly unsystematic manner (e.g., Meier 2010).

The present study attempts to address this shortcoming by a method-led, systematic examination of the German role conception and role performance in a rather short timeframe that allows a detailed and in-depth review.

#### **4.) Role Theory and Ideal Type**

The following chapter discusses and develops role theory in combination with the ideal type method as conceptual, theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the study.<sup>107</sup> After outlining the basic meaning of roles, the chapter addresses the transferability of role theory into the realm of foreign policy and defines this central area in relation to role theory. The section following that describes the major concepts within role theory as well as the broader conceptual model of role theory. Moving on, the section after that looks at the definitions of role-theory terms applied in this paper, as well as discussing the merits/drawbacks of role theory, the analytical construct of ideal types and its relation to the theory.

##### **4.1.) Role Theory**

Originally, 'role' is a term used in theatrical performances. However, it was taken up by sociologists and social psychologists, who created a complex theoretical construct which came to be known under the name of 'role theory'.<sup>108</sup> Roles are in more general and perfunctory terms seen as "repertoires of behaviour, inferred from others expectations and one's own conceptions ..." (Walker 1992, 23). Meant is the behaviour of a holder of a certain social position, i.e. a father, lecturer or boss, which is expected by others (Gaupp 1983, 21). Despite there being this straight-forward description for the common usage of the term, the different strands of RT are not settled on one specific definition.<sup>109</sup> Whereas functional, structural, and organisational versions of the theory highlight the position of an individual as most significant for its role characteristics, symbolic interactionist and cognitive versions point to the social category of actors in this regard (Thies 2009, 3-4). To what degree either the structural and/or the agency elements are more prominent in shaping a given actor's role varies widely (cf. Breinung 2017, 6). Both meanings can, however, be subsumed under the term 'role' as they aim to "analyse social phenomenon from the perspective of participants in social processes" (Stryker/Statham 1985, 312). In order to be as clear as possible, the present study will differentiate the term 'role' from such terms as 'function' or 'position' according to the definitions adopted and described below.

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<sup>107</sup> The broader approaches as well as the methods are described in chapter two. In line with the extent to which the study relies on RT, this chapter concentrates on conceptual questions.

<sup>108</sup> For overviews of role concepts in sociological terms, see Dahrendorf 1965 and Schäfers 2002; For an early investigation, see Biddle and Thomas 1966. A comprehensive summary of sociological concepts and theories is provided in Gaupp 1983.

<sup>109</sup> Some academics have counted about 40 distinguishable approaches within role theory (Schäfers 2002).

Turning towards the topic of this study, a significant conceptual question is whether the role-theory considerations can be transferred to the realm of foreign policy, in particular to the behaviour of states. It is conceivable that differences between individual actors, for example persons or collective actors such as states may be found. Aspects of the role behaviour, like the degree of involvement in one role and the number of total roles an actor holds, vary as does the process by which the role is formed, to name just a few examples (Gaupp 1983, 157 ff.). However, the identity of states emerges to a large extent from collective and shared socialisation. Values and orientations of sub-state groups and actors form - through a process of mediation - a political culture that is shared by the whole of society (Katzenstein 1996). The resulting role conception of a society impacts substantially on the role conception of the elites and decision-makers as well as on their role performance. Thus, their role conception is a derivative of the shared role conception of the nation and makes it possible to speak of a 'state role'.<sup>110</sup> The application of roles in such an adapted form in the academic realm of foreign policy by a range of scholars speaks in favour of such or similar argumentations. Starting with a paper by Kalevi Holsti (1970), academics have employed role-theory considerations in FP by adapting the existing language to the new sphere of states and their policies.<sup>111</sup>

For the purpose of ensuring clarity concerning a term that is used widely in these pages, the expression 'foreign policy' needs to be defined. This study works with a definition of the term that highlights the actions and policies of actors - in contrast to one focusing on the decision-making process.<sup>112</sup> The adopted definition of role with its focus on behaviour clearly suggests that a role is concerned not with the procedure but the output, action, undertaking, decisions, or just behaviour of actors. This focus is also confirmed by the vast majority of role theorists (for an overview, see Thies 2009). Going further, the present project adopts the definition by Christopher Hill, which shares this basic perception. He claims that foreign

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<sup>110</sup> For the same argument and an extended investigation of the question, see Kirste 1998, 33-35. The process presented here of establishing state role conceptions is shortened to make the overall point that such an establishment is possible; other influences factor into this process, such as the environment and alter-ego perspectives.

<sup>111</sup> A sketch of the developments and further references are provided in the literature review. Among the most prominent proponents employing RT are Walker 1979, 1981, 1987a, 1987b; Wish 1980; Hermann 1987; Rosenau 1987; Shih 1988; Maull 1990; Walker 1992; Breuning 1995; Maull/Kirste 1996; Le Prestre 1997; Thies 1999, 2001, 2003; Elgstrom and Smith 2006; Thies 2009, 2010; Breuning 2011; Harnisch/Frank/Maull 2011.

<sup>112</sup> For a differentiation between the two main definitions of foreign policy – foreign policy as decision-making process and foreign policy as policy – see Carlsnaes 2009. Whilst the former is “centred on the foreign policy decision-making (FPDM)” (Hudson 2007, 165), the latter defines foreign policy as the purposeful action that is the product of this process (Hermann 1978, 34) or simply political activity (Hill 2003, 1-5).

policy can be defined as "the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually a state) in international relations" (Hill 2003, 3). This classification is broad enough to potentially include major schools of thought in FP and role theory as well as appeal to non-academics and policy-makers. Moreover, it captures the specifics of the role-conceptual aspects in the expert community as well as the case study. Following Hill, using the term 'independent actor' makes it possible to include states as well as other entities; 'policy' is the sum of official relations and not every particular action; 'official' allows outputs from all parts of government or enterprises to be incorporated; lastly, the policy is 'foreign' as it is directed at outside communities (Hill 2003, 3-4).

### **Concepts and Theory**

The concepts and theoretical propositions employed by role theorists in FP are wide-ranging. To even describe the language tools and explanatory approaches in sufficient detail would fill many pages, as attempts illustrate (e.g., Gaupp 1983; Thies 2010; Breuning 2017). The present study, however, does not make use of the full spectrum available. For the present purpose, highlighting the most important and applied aspects of it and outlining the broader conceptual model is deemed to be sufficient.

The major concepts in RT as employed in FP are role expectation, role conception and role performance (cf. Harnisch 2011b). With regards to the dependent variable, most studies look at the role performance (also referred to as 'role enactment'). This refers to the specific behaviour of a role holder in a given situation. In empirical inquiries, which often take the form of case studies (e.g., Chafetz/Abramson/Grillot 1996, Beasley/Kaarbo/Solomon-Strauss 2016) or statistical measurements (e.g., Holsti 1970, Cantir/Kaarbo 2012), scholars aim to identify and specify the concrete role played by the role holder being examined. On the side of the independent variables, the most significant and often employed concepts are those of role expectations and role conception. Generally, and abstractly speaking, role expectations "consist of norms, beliefs and preferences concerning the performance of any individual in a social position relative to individuals occupying other positions" (Sarbin and Allen, 1968: 497). Two types of expectations need to be differentiated, based on who holds them. If the expectation comes from the role holder himself, it might be labelled ego-part. The ego-part includes the role occupant's domestic or own view of what his role is. If the expectations emanate from others, they might be called alter-part. This part comprises demands and cues

from external actors and structures. Together, the ego-part and the alter-part expectations are the essential components that make up the role conception of an actor, which may also be employed as an independent variable by itself.<sup>113</sup>

These aspects are essential pillars around which role theorists build a broader conceptual model. As a grasp of this model is necessary to more comprehensively understand the functioning of roles, a summary is provided here.<sup>114</sup> At the very beginning of the development process of a role are internal and external variables. These comprise a complex mixture of an actor's identity - including its history, values, domestic norms, etc. – and its environment – including the political system, international regulations, and so forth. These are the sources from which role expectations are shaped. This holds true for both the own, self-generated, ego-part expectations of a given role as well as the ascribed, alter-part expectations of the role by others. The resulting overall definition or view of an actor's role is grounded in the two sets of expectations named and comprises both elements. This encompassing perception of the own role is the role conception. It materialises itself in and can be accessed through the rhetoric of a state's officials and leaders.

A role consists of a certain set of categories made up of the characteristics that constitute and specify it.<sup>115</sup> The categories used vary from author to author and might include duties and responsibilities; national mission, interstate relation, stability; status, motivation, issue area. Common to all is that these categories attempt to capture the ideational or cognitive elements of an actor that are relevant to its social position or function in the realm of foreign policy. The role definition thus shaped translates into the preferences of a state, which in turn affect its behaviour, which is conceptualised as role performance. Its manifestation or expression is visible in concrete actions by officials.

This short overview highlights already one of the main internal, theoretical propositions of role theory, namely the link between the role conception of a state as an independent

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<sup>113</sup> To speak of ego-part, alter-part and role conception appears to be more common in FP works from Germany, including texts by Maull (1996), Harnisch (2011) and scholars that are associated with them. However, it is preferred here due to possible confusion if labelled differently. Sometimes ego-part expectations are termed national role conception, following Holsti (1970). The proximity of "national role conception" and "role conception" potentially might lead to conceptual ambiguity and mix-ups.

<sup>114</sup> A similar, if shallower model is given by Breuning 2011. The model presented here builds on a review of Wish 1980; Gaupp 1983; Walker 1987; Le Prestre 1997; Maull/Kirste 1996; Kirste 1998; Thies 2010; Harnisch et al 2011 as well as background information from several of the other role-theory studies named in the literature review.

<sup>115</sup> Put into research terms, these are indicators of the role.



variable and its role performance as a dependent variable (cf. Thies 2009). Following the assumption of sovereignty in the relations between nations, the foreign-policy actions of a state are thought to “derive primarily” (Holsti 1970, 243) from its role conception, its ego-part expectations. The alter-part expectation, on the contrary, may be thought of as an intermittent and secondary influence. Continuing from such an assumption, the central hypothesis is that a state’s own view of its function in the international system and its actions in this realm should be congruent (Walker 1979). In the framework of a recent and prominent effort to theorise this relationship, this is the hypothesis that the “mental world of beliefs” and the “social world of behaviour” have a strong tendency towards convergence (Walker 2011, 245). Although a particular nation is likely to have multiple roles (Holsti 1970 277, which may lead to various behaviours in different situations, it is still assumed to have an overarching role conception that incorporates these and influences the broader role performance.

## **Definitions**

If one accepts that roles work as outlined above, any definition of what constitutes a role in foreign policy, which is then to be applied as an analytical instrument, must capture the major components described. As the understanding of the theoretical model of roles provided here is widely shared, a variety of definitions could potentially be adopted. The classification given by Gaupp, an authoritative German author on the theoretical development of roles in the realm of foreign policy, and Holsti, the first scholar to bring role theory into foreign policy, is used for several reasons. Their definitional elements and premises are well developed in their works from 1983 and 1970, respectively, and these works are based on a thoughtful review of the sociological research on the topic, making the resulting definition both an inclusive and well-grounded classification. It is detailed enough to show the proximity to constructivist theories that provide the broader approach here. Further, the premises outlined fit in with the understanding of the author and are intelligible for the community the present work is addressed to. Lastly, it is the basis for many of the German works on role theory, including the texts by Maull et al (Maull/Kirste 1996, 289-293) that inspired the present PhD, and which will be consulted to further specify the definitional elements by Gaupp and Holsti. Applying a shared definition makes Maull's and related works readily compatible with the PhD project. What is more, these fundamental works can still be

considered the anchor and “appropriate starting point” (Breuning 2017, 4) for the widely applied definitions and fundamental contents of role theory in contemporary studies. Thus, the PhD study is placed amid the current debate on role theory even though it is inspired by foundational scientific work.

Gaupp's definition of a role is the following:

International roles are patterns of attitude and behaviour by states in international systems that are planned – i.e. collectively and individually conceptualised – and realised by representatives.<sup>116</sup>

Following Gaupp, Holsti and Maull/Kirste, the collective normalisation of roles stems from external as well as internal factors. The external factors comprise the alter-part expectations, i.e., the prescriptive expectations from other actors or the systemic environment surrounding the appropriate role of a given role holder. Internal factors include the ego-part expectations, i.e., the self-image about one's own appropriate role. Both factors are based, in turn, on a process of historical socialisation that involves a magnitude of influences from the domestic and international sphere.

The term ‘role concepts’ is employed here to depict specifically the roles of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament derived from the research synthesis of the concepts within the disarmament expert community from 2007 to 2013. As such, role concepts are a fusion or concretisation of the role-theory structure of roles and its role categories and role characteristics with the concepts advocated by experts for a NNWS advancing nuclear disarmament. This terminology is considered helpful within the PhD study in order to separate the general and conceptually-derived roles of NNWS from the country-specific and empirically-derived role of one individual NNWS, namely Germany.

The term role conception refers in the present work to an actor's own or an individual conceptualisation of its role in foreign policy. This conceptualisation incorporates both ego- and alter-part expectations of the role, but focuses on the ego-part. Following Holsti, the ego-part influences the role conception more than environmental features.

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<sup>116</sup> Gaupp 1983, 109. Originally in German: "Internationale Rollen sind geplante – d.h. kollektiv normierte und individuell konzipierte – und von Repräsentanten realisierte Einstellungs- und Verhaltensmuster von Staaten in internationalen Systemen."

The actual behaviour of a role holder in specific situations is captured by the term of role performance. Role performance is grounded in the role conception of a given actor. The focus of the PhD makes it sensible to limit this and other concepts of the role-theory model to state actors. This excludes an in-depth examination of individual roles outside of them being a representation of the respective country's broader role.

All three terms – role concepts, role conception, and role performance – are based within the conceptual framework of role theory and the definition of roles adopted here. As such, they are understood as a constructivist and actor-specific terminology. In order to clearly differentiate such an understanding from a functional, positivistic and policy-area related definition of a role, the term 'function' will be used for those instances.<sup>117</sup>

The theoretical relationship between a role conception and role performance is marked by the central propositions that a state's role conception influences its role performance by establishing a framework for possible behaviour (Maull/Kirste 1996, 292). Role conceptions do entail statements on what objectives and means are acceptable and desirable and thereby provide the framework for the role performance.

A role is understood as encompassing five role categories, which also constitute the analytical grid of roles. Inspired by writings originating from the research project by Hans Maull,<sup>118</sup> the first of those, the 'Will to Shape International Affairs', comprises role characteristics that relate to the form of a state's will and its intent to take on an international role. 'National Objectives' is the category for all goals that are directed at domestic issues.<sup>119</sup> Characteristics in relation to institutions and actors that are to be worked with in order to achieve international goals are subsumed under the category 'International Objectives (Organisational)'. In a similar way to its national counterpart, the category

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<sup>117</sup> It should be noted that the present PhD study differs in this distinction from Holsti, who used the term 'role' interchangeably with the term 'function' for better understanding of his research (Holsti 1970, 245-246).

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Kirste 1996, 51-52. A thus-defined set of role categories is necessary in order to operationalise the role and use it as an analytical grid. Unfortunately, the scope of categories described by Maull and associated authors is not defined, but rather needs to be interpreted on the basis of the spectrum of aspects the categories entail. Further, even the estimated scope that results from such an examination cannot be applied without adaptation in the present PhD project. This is because, either the level of abstraction does not fit the role of NNWS in nuclear disarmament, and/or the scope of certain categories makes limited sense in such a context. In line with such an assessment, the scope of categories by Maull et al. is adjusted in order to suit the present analysis.

<sup>119</sup> Although the PhD project is firmly situated in and concerned with the realm of foreign policy, domestic policy is worth including in an examination of the role of states. This is because both spheres are closely linked on various dimensions; see Hill 2003, 219 ff.

'International Objectives (Contentual)' groups goals that are directed at regional or international issues. Aspects in regard to the style of the international behaviour of a state are to be found in the category 'Foreign Policy Style'.<sup>120</sup>

### **Merits and Drawbacks**

Both the theoretical advantages and disadvantages of role theory are looked at in the following paragraphs.<sup>121</sup> In face of the ever more complex and individualising foreign policies of states today, one of the great merits of RT is that it is able to deal adequately with this development and realise the call for a more focused and narrower theory.<sup>122</sup> This results in a better understanding of the various concrete policies and behaviour. Another merit of role theory is that it can integrate systemic or environmental influences as well as actor-specific or actor-generated influences into its theoretical framework. In bringing together the micro-level and macro-level analysis, the theory can bridge the level-of-analysis problem that is so prominent in international relations and foreign policy (cf. Hudson 2007; Walker 2011; Breuning 2017). A last theoretical merit that should be emphasised here is the fact that role theory can also treat values, norms, principles and ideas analytically in an adequate manner. Whereas systemic theories can hardly incorporate them, other constructivist approaches find it difficult to systematically analyse them. By operationalising these variables and incorporating them into an empirically applicable concept in particular, RT is able to more satisfactorily deal with these ideational aspects (cf. Kirste/Maull 1996, 295; Harnisch/Frank/Maull 2011).

However, role theory has several prominent theoretical disadvantages. The predictive value of it is unclear. Several past studies have shown (cf. Walker 1987a; Holsti 1970) the ability of role theory to predict behaviour to be flawed, especially where the role conceptions ascertained were weak or about to change. In cases where role conceptions are based on long-term patterns of policies and behaviour, predictions of behaviour were more accurate

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<sup>120</sup> Originally in German in the order of their naming in the text: 'Gestaltungswille', 'Nationale Zielsetzungen', 'Internationale Zielsetzungen (organisatorisch)', 'Internationale Zielsetzungen (inhaltlich)', 'Außenpolitischer Stil'. A sixth category envisaged by Maull et al. is that of 'Foreign Policy Instruments' (German: 'Außenpolitische Instrumente'), which is not used in the present project. The relevant aspects encompassed by this category can be subsumed adequately in other categories used.

<sup>121</sup> Why the constructivist approach of role theory and the academic tradition of the study of foreign policy is chosen to inform the study is laid out in chapter two.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Rosenau 1987, 53 ff. but also the long and extensive history in the foreign-policy literature that sees middle-range theories as their main theoretical reference point.

(cf. Wish 1980). The complexity and great number of role conceptions held by one actor can partially account for these theoretical difficulties. Another weakness is that the process of establishing specific role conceptions in reality is not entirely clear. To what extent the ego-part and alter-part influence an actor's view of its function is hard to pin down in abstract terms and must be assessed individually in each empirical case (Kirste 1998, 44).

Further, RT - by itself - does not provide specifications of the content of a role.<sup>123</sup> However, such substance is needed in the present research. Firstly, the major objectives of the study concern content-related roles, i.e. the role played by non-nuclear-weapon states in the advancement of nuclear disarmament. Secondly, the research process selected, in which certain role concepts are tested and defined, is not easily conceivable without content. This link can be established by applying role theory using the analytical construct of ideal types.

#### **4.2.) Ideal Type**

Max Weber is known as one of the chief designers of modern social science.<sup>124</sup> Of particular interest here is Weber's methodology (Bruun 1972), which was developed in the period of the *Methodenstreit* (English: 'methods dispute') in Germany. One of his most significant academic contributions is developing an approach to social science that involves the ideal type methodology, and it is on this that the following paragraphs will concentrate.

One limitation must be noted before such a discussion. Weber's thinking on ideal types and related aspects can be viewed as the draft of a methodology that includes a way to create concepts. However, to a larger extent, it is a reflection on the epistemological, methodological, and theoretical status of concept formation and of those concepts that are already in use (Mittelstraß 2008). The subsequent description does not intend to provide a statement on epistemological questions. And it also does not aim to give a comprehensive account of the ideal type methodology, which needs to address its philosophical, theoretical, and related facets.<sup>125</sup> For the purpose of outlining the ideal type as a method to complement RT, it is sufficient to give the reader an understanding of its central principles as well as describe its relation to role theory and the specific benefits of this combined approach.

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<sup>123</sup> Of course, many studies that apply role theory develop content-related roles, starting from Holsti 1970. The purely theoretical claims, however, remain abstract as the section on role concepts illustrates.

<sup>124</sup> A neat overview of core themes is provided by Kim 2012.

<sup>125</sup> For a good and comprehensive coverage of what ideal types are, see Von Schelting 1934 and Rogers 1969. A 'contemporary reassessment' of the ideal type idea can be found in Hekman 1983 and Gerhardt 2001.

Ideal type is a term used to characterise the formation of concepts in social science as coined by Weber. The best way to depict the essential principles of ideal types might simply be to give Weber's own definition of them. The most thorough description can be found in his work *Objectivity* from 1904:

This conceptual pattern brings together certain relationships and events from historical life into a complex, which is conceived as an internally consistent system. Substantively, this construct in itself is like a *utopia* which has been arrived at by the analytical accentuating of certain elements of reality.

An ideal type is formed by the one-sided *accentuation* of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent *concrete individual* phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasised viewpoints into a unified *analytical* construct (Gedankenbild). (Weber 1949[1904], 90)

In summary, these passages identify the essential attributes of the ideal types as being constructed by the *accentuation* (Steigerung) of selected, *one-sided points of view* (*einseitige Perspektive*) into a *mental image* (Gedankenbild). This construct is *unreal* (Utopie) and characterised by *internal consistency* (*widerspruchslos*).<sup>126</sup>

Highlighting the one-sidedness of the construct also brings to the fore the subjective nature of scientific knowledge and, by doing so, asks for a clear value commitment. This ethical commitment is central to Weber's thinking. The specific and established ideal type concept is explicitly designed to include a clear statement on a subjective value judgement. This is, however, not to say that the ideal type in itself is to be regarded as synonymous with a model of what ought to be. As Weber says, it is "'ideal' in a strictly logical sense of the term" (Weber 1949 [1904], 92).

### **Role Theory and Ideal Type**

*But* what is the relationship between role theory and the ideal type method and its essential aspects? What are the benefits of using both in combination? What are the theoretical implications? Role theory provides the largest part of the conceptual, theoretical and

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<sup>126</sup> Support for this selection can widely be found in the academic community, see, for example, Brunn 1972, Ch. 4.

methodological underpinnings of the present study and is, hence, the focus of this chapter. Ideal types are used as an additional instrument to complement and particularise that theory. The part where the ideal type comes in mainly concerns the role concepts produced on the basis of opinions in the expert community, but also extends to the role conception and performance arrived at via the German case study. The study establishes distinguishable and analytically clear role concepts by means of the ideal type. In concrete terms, it idealises the role concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states in advancing nuclear disarmament as ideal types. The research on the role conception of Germany is an empirical investigation that does not employ the ideal type in its main concept formation, though the research findings are aggregated and expressed in terms of ideal types as well in order to classify them. The ideal type (and its method) has been applied in such a way by a variety of other scholars, in particular by researchers around Hans W. Maull.

That role-theory considerations and the ideal type methodology fit well together, which can be seen by looking at the centrality both ascribe to images. Remember from the paragraphs above that role conceptions are an actor's views of its role. RT and constructivist theories akin to it aim to investigate images or worldviews. At the core of any ideal types are such *mental images*. The proximity is striking. Speaking in terms of the present PhD, the role of NNWS (and Germany) in fostering disarmament is the concrete mental image that will be established.

The remaining principles of ideal types can also be connected to role theory and the roles developed in these pages. The *one-sided points of view* that characterise any ideal type translate into the clear frame of the role (certain actors, certain normative aims). Only very specific role concepts are to be established in this study. Moreover, this construct shows *accentuated* role elements in as much as the final role is to be abstracted and idealised from the writings of the expert community and German policy-makers. The division of non-matching role characteristics found in this material into separate and distinctive characteristics, categories and roles ensures the *internal consistency* of each ideal type.

RT by means of an ideal type develops an *unreal* idea of a role that is a construct that cannot be found in reality (past, present or future). It is the expression of an idea that is rooted in historical life. What can be found in reality (and only there) is the role performance. These are the actions of a certain actor in a concrete situation. The last ideal type element is the

inherent normativity. As said, the ideal type by itself asks for an expression of *subjective value*, but is not normatively loaded by design. The concrete ideal type developed in this PhD project, though, is. It argues in favour of adopting the normative premise that the function of NNWS and Germany in advancing nuclear disarmament is important. Not the abstract ideal type described by Weber, but the concrete ideal type constructed here is evaluative and normatively biased.

The benefits of applying role theory in combination with the ideal type can roughly be grouped into two categories: methodological benefit and other benefits from the specific ideal type principles. A first methodological advantage is that it aids the research in terms of establishing the specific content of certain role concepts. It helps by giving the basis for the systematic description of the role as well as the basis of advanced normative assessment (cf. Weber 1995 [1904]; Kirste/Maull 1996, 296). Further, adherence to the chosen process of research is made easier. Content-related expectations regarding the definite role concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states in nuclear disarmament can be thought of, tested and potentially refined. On a related point, ideal types offer the possibility of generalisation (Kirste 1998, 43). The ideal type role concepts remain explicitly abstract and can, therefore, be applied to a range of empirical actors that live up to the basic definitional requirements of the role concepts. Several of the research objectives of this study can only be achieved with such general role concepts.

Other paybacks of the chosen approach can be thought of that relate directly to the essential aspects of ideal types. Two of them will be outlined here. The accentuation of one-sided points of view can counterweight the emphasis on the function of NWS (strategic camp) and, to a lesser extent, of civil society (humanitarian camp) in the 2007-2013 expert discourse. Such a characteristic provides the clearly distinguishable role concepts that can serve well to emphasise the importance of non-nuclear-weapon states. A further advantageous element of the ideal type is the focus on mental and unreal images. Against the backdrop of the great potential that Western NNWS have to bring nuclear disarmament forward, a cognitive image and a purposive idea of a role can paint a forward-looking picture. Instead of conceptualising merely the past and present role of these states, an informed vision has the ability to highlight fresher, wider and less-restricted aspects of their prospective role.



Lastly, the very theoretical proposition of RT can be specified in more tangible terms by adding the ideal type methodology to it (cf. Maull/Kirste 1996, 303-304). To the extent that a concrete ideal type role concept of a NNWS advancing nuclear disarmament, which is based on the abstract role categories derived from role theory, are found in an empirical case, it can be inferred that this actor's declaratory policy (role conception) and/or behaviour (role performance) is driven by the very parameters that make up the ideal type. The basic and more conceptual assumption is that a particular state does indeed employ a specific role-theory ideal type. In this regard, the building blocks of the idealised concepts of NNWS advancing nuclear abolition would be the primary guideline for an actor's formulation of foreign policy. The more sophisticated and theoretical hypothesis is that this role conception also impacts the role performance. The empirically derived ideal type on the basis of policy statements by a particular nation would strongly influence its conduct in the international realm, which can also be idealised in one of the pre-defined types. Based on this hypothesis, the dependent variable of role performance can be explained by the striving of a state for compatibility with its own role conception as an NNWS in fostering the disarmament of nuclear weapons, the independent variable in the role theoretical construct as understood in the present study.

## **5.) Roles of NNWS in Advancing Nuclear Disarmament**

This chapter explores the role concepts of NNWS in the process of advancing nuclear disarmament during the years 2007 to 2013. To this end, in a first step it gives reasons why non-nuclear-weapon states do indeed have a function in the process of disarmament. A short overview of the nuclear disarmament context up until today is then given, before the role concepts found in the expert community from 2007 to 2013 are laid out and transformed into a set of ideal types. Each segment provides details on its specific content and the way in which it proceeds.

### **5.1.) Rationale**

This section will further detail why non-nuclear-weapon states have a function in advancing nuclear disarmament. It will start by introducing the distribution of functions among states in the pursuit of disarmament. As the Non-proliferation Treaty is considered to be the primary reference point in this regard, its provisions and prevalent discussions are outlined. The segment begins by explaining the rationale behind looking to NNWS as actors in the nuclear-disarmament process. To this end, arguments in favour of their function as well as the need for an involvement of NNWS and their potential to make an impact are described.

As the rationale is unorthodox, a short summary may help to navigate the line of thought that unfolds in the upcoming paragraphs. The chapter will argue that NNWS should assume a function in nuclear disarmament because they have a legal, moral, and political/military responsibility to do so. Further, it will aim to show that an involvement of NNWS is either necessary or at least helpful for advancing the disarmament process. Taken together with their potential as middle powers to effectively advance this objective, the arguments presented are given in order to strengthen the claim that NNWS have a position in nuclear disarmament.

#### **5.1.1.) NPT and Distribution of Functions**

The PhD thesis at hand is about actors that assume a function in nuclear disarmament. One of the most fundamental questions that needs to be addressed in this regard is the overarching allocation of function to different actors in such a process. Or to put it differently: Who is seen as responsible for advancing nuclear disarmament?

A prominent answer to this question in the international sphere can be found in an international treaty brokered more than 45 years ago, namely the Non-proliferation Treaty. The legal text and the discourse around it established the fundamentals of the distribution of functions among members of the treaty. Together with its hinted-at centrality with respect to the broader themes of nuclear disarmament as well, a more in-depth look into the treaty text and surrounding debates is required at this point.

The NPT is one of the earliest multilateral accords concerned with the containment of nuclear weapons and is the principal cornerstone in the international regime around nuclear non-proliferation, nuclear disarmament, and nuclear energy (FAS 2010a). After being negotiated over several years in the 1960s, the treaty was opened for signature in 1968 and entered into force in 1970. It is almost universal in terms of its membership, which numbers 189 states, with India, Pakistan, Israel and North Korea remaining outside of the treaty.

The regime was originally planned by its two sponsors, the US and Russia, as an instrument solely concerned with halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons (Goldschmidt 1980). The name of the treaty points towards this early focus. In the course of negotiations, the text widened to also include regulations on nuclear disarmament and nuclear energy. These three elements or pillars represent the core themes of the accord.

Against the backdrop of the importance given to non-proliferation measures, an important division between NWS and NNWS that is embedded in the treaty can be understood. The initial sponsors of the treaty in particular aimed to limit the number of countries possessing nuclear arms as much as possible (Cortright/Väyrynen 2010, 36). The politically agreed and final text declares that only those states are allowed to hold the weapons that acquired and tested them before 1967, the year the final version of the treaty was brokered. It recognises these states – USA, Russia, France, UK, and China – as nuclear-weapon states. All other states, which had neither tested nor acquired nuclear weaponry until that date, are described by the NPT commonly as non-nuclear-weapon states.<sup>127</sup>

Dividing the world into NWS and NNWS in this way is, by itself, obviously discriminatory. The NWS are legally permitted to hold nuclear arms, at least temporarily, while NNWS are not

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<sup>127</sup> In addition, the present PhD project has established the category of Nuclear-Armed States (NAS), which comprises all states that have tested nuclear weapons, despite the date of the test. These comprise also those states that are not signatories to the NPT. The rights and obligation of the NPT do, however, only apply to the NWS as defined in the treaty.

allowed to obtain the same weapons alone or with the help of those NWS (Article I and II). Furthermore, only NNWS are obliged to accept inspections of safeguards to ensure compliance with the treaty prescription (Article III). The other two pillars of the treaty, nuclear energy and nuclear disarmament, are designed to diminish this disparity in rights and obligations. All parties, NNWS and NWS, are given the right to own and operate civil nuclear power technology (Article IV and V), and doing away with all nuclear weapons is established as an objective (Article VI). As such, this trade - which is known as the 'grand bargain' - is an expression of the fundamental interest of the parties to the NPT and the connection between the three pillars upon which it rests.

This was a neutral and close reading of the text, but the NPT's grand bargain is generally described a little differently. A related section in the now-famous speech by US President Barack Obama in Prague in 2009 may serve as an example. Obama stated that "the basic bargain is sound: Countries with nuclear weapons will move towards disarmament, countries without nuclear weapons will not acquire them, and all countries can access peaceful nuclear energy" (White House 2009b). The allocation of functions conveyed is clear: Those states that have nuclear weapons are portrayed as bearing the main responsibility for nuclear disarmament, while the main task of states without them is seen to be nuclear non-proliferation as well as admitting safeguards pertaining to their nuclear programmes.

Such an understanding of the distribution of functions is widely held and not without factual reference. As such, for example, the positions of states while the NPT was being negotiated and at virtually every one of its review conferences since then have largely coincided with this perspective.<sup>128</sup> In general, NWS have in the past mostly pressed for NNWS to be more active on non-proliferation and accept stronger measures in this area. And the NNWS, particularly those organised in the Non-Aligned Movement (Potter/Mukhatzhanova 2012), have mainly pressurised the NWS to make progress on disarmament.

However, a strict allocation of this kind is nowhere to be found in the NPT treaty. With the exclusion of the obligation to safeguard their nuclear facilities, responsibilities in all three pillars of the NPT are assigned to both the NWS and the NNWS. Article I and II describe the

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<sup>128</sup> Comprehensive documentation and reflections on NPT conferences are gathered by the Acronym Institute and can be accessed via <http://www.acronym.org.uk/directory/building-security/nuclear-non-proliferation-treaty> (accessed 18.03.2018).

non-proliferation obligations for NWS and NNWS, respectively. The nuclear energy paragraphs as well as the disarmament section refer to 'All the Parties to the Treaty'.

The prevalent interpretation of the treaty, thus, appears to confuse the position expressed by member states during the life of the NPT and the common belief in the wider disarmament community, in particular amongst the proponents of the “strategic camp”, with the actual text. This is not the place to analyse such a phenomenon and its causes in more depth, which other scholars have fruitfully attempted (Hanson 2018). Instead, it is important to note that the NPT does not codify the commonly articulated distribution of functions, but allots the task for progress on disarmament as well as non-proliferation NWS and NNWS more or less equally.

It is worth indicating explicitly that the group of NAS, including but not limited to the NWS recognised by the NPT, are seen as having the lead responsibility for nuclear disarmament by large parts of the expert community. The common highlighting of the narrower group of NWS is mostly due to a concentration on the dynamics of the NPT. However, as indicated by the quote from President Obama above, statements on the overall disarmament process (not only the NPT process) point to NAS as the most important actors in such an endeavour (cf. ICNND 2009, 219).

### **5.1.2.) Responsibilities**

The argumentation that non-nuclear-weapon states have – in contrast to the widely shared understanding – a function in the further progression towards nuclear disarmament needs to include statements arguing in favour of the normative rightfulness of such a responsibility. In other words, should provide arguments as to why NNWS should take up some function in the process. The following segment will provide arguments that speak in favour of nuclear disarmament more generally but also look at NNWS as actors in that process in more detail.<sup>129</sup> At least three aspects can be identified in this regard and might be framed as responsibilities of NNWS in the advancement of nuclear disarmament: a legal responsibility, a moral responsibility, and a political/military responsibility.

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<sup>129</sup> The PhD discusses arguments in favour of nuclear disarmament in order to make the normative basis clear and to anchor the responsibilities of NNWS in such an endeavour. As the project aims to answer questions in the realm of 'How nuclear disarmament might be advanced' instead of 'Should nuclear disarmament be advanced' the section does not discuss arguments against a NWFN or steps towards it at length. An overview of such claims is provided by Tertrais 2010 and O'Hanlon 2010.

## Legal Responsibility

The first aspect is founded in international law and refers to the responsibility of non-nuclear-weapon states stemming from these accords. The most significant nuclear treaty is the just-discussed NPT. Indeed, the argument of a legal responsibility for NNWS to engage in disarmament pertains in part directly to the quarrel about a valid interpretation of the treaty text.

Prominently put forward by Scott Sagan in the debate from 2007 onwards, a close reading of the NPT text refers not only to NWS in Article VI, but to all parties to the treaty, including the NNWS. The paragraph reads in full:

Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. (FAS 2010a)

Despite the often-heard position of large parts of the NNWS that NWS and NAS in general should disarm faster and more comprehensively, they themselves are also given the task by the NPT of advancing disarmament as well. The treaty text ascribes, as Sagan phrases it, a "shared responsibilities between NWS and NNWS" (Sagan 2009, 4).

This legal responsibility is founded in other international legal documents, too, though they are not legally binding. The 1996 Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on the "Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons" (ICJ 1996) declares in its final operative section unanimously that there "exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control". The ICJ, in viewing all relevant international legal measures, concludes its Opinion with a passage similar to Article VI of the NPT - and does not single out individual states or groups of states in assigning an obligation to advance nuclear disarmament. Another pool of legal texts can be found in the United Nations General Assembly Resolution. Starting from the very first resolution in 1964 "Establishment of a Commission to Deal with the Problems Raised by the Discovery of Atomic Energy" (UNGA 1946), several subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly call for nuclear disarmament and affirm the shared commitment of all parties to that goal. Both NNWS and NAS, the two

main categories of states in the nuclear realm, are expected to work towards nuclear disarmament and take on responsibility in this respect.

A second, fully binding legal text that deserves to be mentioned is the body of law known as International Humanitarian Law (IHL). Although a central element of the ICJ Opinion from 1996, the IHL was not a major subject in discussions on nuclear disarmament until a recent revival through the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) (Maresca 2013). The IHL does not contain any specific regulation in relation to nuclear weapons or disarmament. However, the use of such weapons is referred to in its rules governing the conduct of hostilities more generally.

Considering the thermal, blast, and radiation effects over a wide area of any use of nuclear weapons, it is "difficult to envisage how any use of nuclear weapons could be compatible with the requirements of international humanitarian law, in particular the rules of distinction, precaution and proportionality" (IRC and RCD 2011). Moreover, not only the use, but also the threat of using nuclear weapons might well be in contradiction of IHL. The ICJ already made clear in 1996 that, if the use of force itself in a given case is illegal, then the threat to use such force is likewise illegal.

Following such argumentation, any state – NAS or NNWS – that takes part in either the use or the threat of use of nuclear weapons is carrying out an illegal act under the IHL. The alternative is to disengage from any application of nuclear weapons. A legal responsibility for nuclear disarmament, understood broadly, also on part of the Non-Nuclear-Weapon States is the consequence.

### **Moral Responsibility**

The second normative aspect in favour of NNWS assuming a function in nuclear disarmament refers to their moral responsibility. These arguments are a central aspect for and primarily put forward by proponents of the ‘humanitarian camp’, go hand in hand with an emphasis on the IHL and include the themes of the humanitarian initiative and the TPNW.

Embedded in a complex context,<sup>130</sup> the moral considerations in relation to nuclear disarmament have been gaining increasing attention and support since the NPT Review

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<sup>130</sup> A comprehensive tracking of the context of the humanitarian perspective on nuclear weapons is given by Coughley 2013 and Sauer/Pretorius 2014. An extensive view on the argumentation is provided by Fihn 2013.

Conference in 2010. The final document of the conference, which was agreed by consensus, expressed "deep concern at the continued risk for humanity represented by the possibility that these weapons could be used and the catastrophic humanitarian consequences that would result from the use of nuclear weapons" (NPT RevCon 2010). A significant recast of the discourse on nuclear disarmament followed. Starting around 2013 with what has been called the "humanitarian initiative", the moral arguments of the 'humanitarian turn' (Gibbons 2018) continued to be increasingly pervasive with the subsequent international conferences on the "Humanitarian Impacts of Nuclear Weapons" (2012, 2013, 2014) as well as an UN Open-ended Working Group on multilateral nuclear disarmament negotiations (2016), and resulted in the creation of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (2017), to name just the main way points of the evolution (cf. Potter 2017).

The moral argumentation is essentially based on the cited idea of "catastrophic humanitarian consequences" and concerns the protection of civilians from particular and persistent harm and combatants from superfluous injury and unnecessary suffering, respectively.<sup>131</sup> Evidence for this 'unacceptable harm' (a related idea used widely in the debate) comes from various perspectives.<sup>132</sup> The blast of a nuclear explosion would result in direct human injuries by incinerate them as well as shooting objects and people that are further away with high velocity through the air. The following fireball, likely reaching degrees in the double-digit million range and covering a wide area, would not only burn anything in its way to ashes but would consume all oxygen, which is the basis for all living organisms. Neutron and gamma rays would radiate what is left. Additionally, the electric pulse from the detonation would destroy electronic devices in the immense impact region, leaving telecommunication measures, computers and health-care equipment unusable, resulting in even more casualties. Animals would suffer in the same way that humans would. Plants that survive the direct radiation and non-radiation consequences would be genetically altered. Moreover, it might trigger severe disruption of the climate worldwide, leading to a decline in food production capabilities and starvation, to name just one example. Economic consequences would be felt intensely. Immense sums of money would not only be wasted by the material destruction of buildings, infrastructure, and so forth, but also consumed by attempts to rebuild the pre-detonation status quo, including environmental and human

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<sup>131</sup> Based on a working definition by Borrie/Caughley 2012.

<sup>132</sup> For a good overview, see Fihn 2013. The following paragraph is based on information in this text and various other studies that are cited within it.



factors. The costs of the disruption to all aspects of everyday life would add large amounts to this. Economic and administrative systems – regionally, nationally, and globally – over the entire range of institutions might be interrupted, causing potentially even higher follow-on costs than the destruction caused directly by the detonation itself. The expenditures that would be incurred by reacting to the aftermath of such a nuclear explosion in the mid- and long-term are almost impossible to assess without a concrete scenario at hand. However, the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Centre and the costs of the 'War on Terror' that have resulted in reaction to them might give an idea of how immense such sums might be if a nuclear bomb were to explode in a similar situation.

The link to the International Humanitarian Law is evident. However, the idea should not be thought of as being based solely on IHL and, therefore, entailing only a legal responsibility for NNWS to engage with nuclear disarmament. It is correct that the humanitarian argumentation presented was anchored in IHL as a recognised international (legal) norm and presented by the ICRC and following bodies within this framework. However, as John Borrie and Tim Caughley argue, it is hard to give evidence that related processes had a particular IHL basis, contrary to the long-standing forum for these matters such as the UN Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons. Instead, the real point of distinction is that a "humanitarian basis for curbing weapons goes beyond the legal to encompass moral and political imperatives as well" (Borrie / Caughley 2012, 37). The short sketch of arguments outlined above shows the ethical considerations that lie at the heart of the humanitarian approach and make it more appropriate to speak of a moral responsibility instead of a legal one.

The connection between the consequences of a nuclear attack and calling for nuclear disarmament emerges for the effect-based humanitarian approach from the unacceptable harm this category of weapons would potentially caused if used. Taken together with the assumed inability of preventing a nuclear explosion, "the elimination of all nuclear weapons is the only credible way to protect humankind against the scenarios [and similar ones depicted above]" (Fihn 2013). This line of argumentation has remained firm among proponents of the humanitarian perspective since the first prominent text in the fourth abolitionist wave was published in 2011 by ICRC and the Red Crescent Movement (IRC and

RCD 2011). Indeed, the humanitarian discourse has been taking centre stage in the debates on nuclear disarmament increasingly since 2013 (Gibbons 2018).

The increasing momentum of the humanitarian initiative resulted also in a new structural element of the disarmament machinery, namely the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Although the treaty created in September 2017 is a legal accord (once it enters into force) and is explicitly based on International Humanitarian Law, it is considered more appropriate to see in it a moral responsibility to engage in nuclear disarmament. Such an assessment goes hand in hand with the just outlined reason to understand the broader humanitarian initiative as a moral imperative. The TPNW purports – despite its name and widely held misconception in the disarmament community – not to abolish nuclear weapons, but rather to reframe nuclear weapons and their disarmament and the way we talk about them (Borrie 2014, 625-646). The new frame is one focusing on the inhumane and immoral humanitarian consequences of using nuclear weapons. Besides this point, the accord is legally binding only for those states that signed it. With the low number of signatories up until now, none of which are NWS or allied NNWS, the TPNW can be considered essentially a declaratory statement that is moral in nature for the time being (Highsmith/Stewart 2018). However, this does not imply that there are no consequences of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. It is the hope of proponents of the treaty that the notion of nuclear weapons being inhumane and morally unacceptable will become a stronger norm in the mid- to long-term (Fihn 2017). In this, the treaty itself is and may increasingly be a moral statement in its own right.

Generally speaking, the humanitarian perspective and the appeal to act upon it is not limited to this particular group of states. In fact, part of the hopes behind the argumentation is that it resonates better with a wider range of individuals, groups and states than the technical, sophisticated and state-centric debates in the strategic camp (Borrie / Caughley 2012). The projected moral responsibility speaks to all actors, including non-nuclear-weapon states: it applies either directly, as nuclear use would cause direct harm, or indirectly, because others would suffer, triggering a responsibility to protect.

However, the moral responsibility in the form of the humanitarian argumentation is developed, fostered, and assigned significance by NNWS and civil society. These actors are the primary driving force behind and important subjects to the humanitarian initiative and

the TPNW. This means, for one thing, that without them the notion would lose its strength dramatically. Thus, NNWS can be understood as having a particularly important function and responsibility in the disarmament process based on the moral considerations outlined here. More important and secondly, the significance of NNWS in the process of the humanitarian initiative marks a shift in agency (Hanson 2018, 479 ff.). The focus on humanitarianism makes the Initiative and the TPNW applicable to all states universally. As a result, the new discourse perceives nuclear weapons and their disarmament as affecting the entire world and not only a selected few states that have control over the strategic stability these weapons are thought to provide. The global nuclear order has been changed, with the humanitarian argumentation empowering NNWS and making them firmly responsible for nuclear disarmament.

### **Political/Military Responsibility**

The last reason why NNWS should take on a function in nuclear-disarmament matters revolves around political and military considerations. In contrast to the moral arguments, whose proponents come mainly from the 'humanitarian camp', the political/military responsibility described below occupies the centre stage in debates within the 'strategic camp'.

The political/military responsibility of NNWS is, like the preceding duties, anchored in broader arguments for nuclear disarmament. Two main groups of points that are made by its proponents can be distinguished. The first concerns aspects of nuclear deterrence, the second has to do with errors, unintended use, or theft involving nuclear weapons or nuclear material.

At the bottom of calls for nuclear disarmament from the strategic camp lies the assessment that the international nuclear order has fundamentally changed. The global political structure of the first nuclear age was essentially bipolar, with Russia and the USA as its two power centres. Shifting power alignments and the proliferation of nuclear weapons changed this order. Today, nations find themselves in a multi-polar world with an increasing number of nuclear-weapons states, an increasing number of which have moved away from the old alignments, now acting independently of these. Moreover, non-state actors are now assumed to have a much more powerful impact in global and regional politics. Their

potential acquisition of nuclear devices or substances has become an additional factor in the increasingly complex power relations.

Deterrence was regarded in the bipolar world of the first nuclear age, with the US and Russia as the two superpowers, as relatively effective.<sup>133</sup> Both the nuclear capabilities of the opponent as well as their intentions are thought to have been estimated with sufficient accuracy. The effectiveness of deterrence decreased, however, in the second nuclear age in which more actors are in possession of nuclear weapons. This is because, in cases of "complex deterrence" (Paul 2009), it is increasingly difficult to nail down the structural abilities of counterparts, or to interpret the unclear and often mixed messages received from relevant actors. Nuclear terrorism also challenges the strategy of deterrence in other ways.<sup>134</sup> Terrorists are seen as having a different cost/benefit calculation compared to states. Essentially, there is a possibility that they would accept the cost of nuclear retaliation in order to achieve their objectives. Moreover, retaliation-in-kind might well prove impossible as terrorist groups tend to be decentralised, not easily targetable and thus not deter-able (e.g., Betts 2002). As a deter-able target is a necessary requirement for nuclear deterrence to work, its effectiveness also decreases in face of heightened danger from terrorists.

The second strand of arguments is based on errors, unintended use, or theft of nuclear weapons, nuclear material and related programmes. The risks of an error and unauthorised use are closely linked (e.g., Doyle 2013). Both are based on the assumption that humans and technical systems are imperfect. False conduct or errors by either of these could, in turn, result in a discharge of nuclear material that was not intended. When thinking of possible scenarios, the unauthorised use based on human or technical errors by one of the five NWS is often thought to be remote. This is mainly due to their sophisticated command-and-control mechanisms.<sup>135</sup> However, these measures provide only limited protection against miscalculation or decisions based on inaccurate information. In particular, during a crisis and with the high-alert status of nuclear weapons in many NWS, such a decision is a concern.

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<sup>133</sup> The concept of nuclear deterrence will be subject to more consideration later on in the chapter as a role aspect. Readers are referred to these passages for more details.

<sup>134</sup> For the following arguments on the rationality of terrorists, see Abrahms 2004; on their willingness to die for their cause, see Pape 2005; and for challenges in targeting them, see Betts 2002).

<sup>135</sup> And even this possibility has turned into reality far too often. An idea of nuclear accidents by NWS can be attained by reading Maggelet/Oskins 2007 or Greenpeace 1996.

Potentially, the highest risk of unauthorised use can be found in cases where actors newly acquire nuclear weapons. In such scenarios, the less developed institutional network together with the potentially unstable political situation in which they are used provide the main grounds for such an assessment.

The theft of nuclear weapons or nuclear material is another aspect referred to when questioning reliance on nuclear weapons and its radiant ingredients. The robbery of entire nuclear weapons is not impossible. There have been many occasions on which nuclear weapons were somehow lost, starting with the very prominent, so-called 'broken arrow incidence' in 1950 (Leach 2008). Corruption and insufficient protection of the devices are but two of the other factors that increase the chances of nuclear weapons being stolen. However, the risk appears rather low when compared to the risk stemming from theft of highly enriched uranium (HEU) or separated plutonium, the two fissile materials most used to perform a nuclear chain reaction. Security concerning these materials can be estimated using some of the same criteria outlined with regard to unauthorised use. The potential of these materials to be used in a "dirty bomb" – conventional explosives with added radiological substances – makes the theft of this material even more dangerous. It also links back to and increases the risk of nuclear terrorism (ICNND 2009).

Both groups of points just outlined lead analysts to advocate nuclear disarmament, and this creates a political/military responsibility for nations to advance this objective. As nuclear deterrence is the main strategy in which nuclear weapons have a place, its decreasing effectiveness thus sheds doubt on why there is any reason to retain such weapons and related doctrines at all. The risk of error, unintended use, or even theft of nuclear weapons in whatever country also sheds doubt on the security supposedly gained by possessing nuclear weapons and makes the disarmament process a viable option towards reducing these risks.

The political/military responsibility on the part of non-nuclear-weapon states to disarm stemming from these normative arguments arguably varies with the degree of involvement of certain groups of NNWS in the practices that lead to the risks described. The numerically largest group of NNWS contains states that are members of international alliances, in whose military postures nuclear weapons are included. Countries without nuclear weapons in NATO and those covered by the extended nuclear deterrence of the USA make up 28

nations.<sup>136</sup> These NNWS uphold - together with the respective owners of nuclear weapons - a military posture involving nuclear threats. They share the benefits of this doctrine as well as the costs of its failure. Their participation in a nuclear defence posture accords them a responsibility to deal with its ineffectiveness.

Only imperceptibly smaller is the number of non-nuclear-weapon states that have authority over weapon-grade nuclear material.<sup>137</sup> 25 countries control such substances for civilian purposes like research or medical activities. The responsibility of preventing its theft and its unintended release lies in the hands of the respective NNWS.

A small group of only 5 NNWS shares the duty of nuclear disarmament for an additional reason. Belgium, Germany, Italy, Netherlands and Turkey host nuclear weapons on their soil. These nations accommodate atomic bombs as part of an agreement within NATO. Although they do not have the operational authority over these weapons, the fact that they allow them to be stationed on their territory provides an extra responsibility. Their deeper involvement in nuclear postures as well as operational use make their duty to grapple with the challenges to nuclear deterrence, human and systemic errors, unintended use and theft even more distinct.

A last point follows from the reasons above, though not explicitly mentioned by proponents of the 'strategic camp', and provides further impetus for all NNWS to address the challenges outlined. The failure of deterrence as well as the risk of some kind of unintended failure that results in a use of nuclear weapons might well harm NNWS, either directly or indirectly. The argument here goes along the same lines as already presented above in considerations about moral responsibility and need not be laid out again. Instead, it is important to point out that the two strands of arguments are connected in such a way, and this gives each camp even more argumentative strength.

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<sup>136</sup> NNWS in NATO, which as a military alliance relies partly on nuclear weapons for its defence: Belgium, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Turkey, Albania, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Spain. Additional NNWS covered by the US extended nuclear deterrence: South Korea, Japan, Australia.

<sup>137</sup> Weapon-grade material comprises HEU and separated plutonium. Comprehensive and latest information on this topic, including an identification of the 25 countries controlling such materials, can be found in NTI 2018.

### 5.1.3.) Requirements

Building on the normative arguments that non-nuclear-weapon states should indeed take on a function in the process towards nuclear disarmament, another important component for a rationale that favours such an involvement must be that there is a need for it. Against the backdrop of the wide definition of nuclear disarmament adopted by the present PhD, NNWS can be necessary or at least helpful in the disarmament process. The following section lays the basis for such claims. However, as the chapter as a whole is concerned with the role concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states and such role concepts are described in more detail later on, the segment will not go into the concrete measures as to how these states can support the advancement of disarmament.

A factual definition of nuclear disarmament and the arguments in favour of it have already been provided in the introductory remarks. To recall, disarmament is defined as a process understood as the marginalisation of nuclear weapons. This marginalisation is inclusive as it involves the physical reduction of weapons as well as a broad range of technical and political aspects in relation to the disarmament process. What has not been addressed so far is the context from which such a wide definition is derived.<sup>138</sup> In order to explain the need for NNWS in the advancement of disarmament, it is important to shed light on these aspects.

During the Cold War and until the early 1990s – roughly the time span of the First Nuclear Age – arms control and disarmament efforts focused on the numbers of nuclear weapons. The enormous arsenals of the USA and the Soviet Union as well as the dangers associated with them provided a strong rationale for that focus. It was the widespread conviction that nuclear weapons and the concomitant strategies could more or less be treated independently of political circumstances. Strategists of the First Nuclear Age employed theories of deterrence and warfighting, which could effectively be applied to any rational actor. Following the same cognitive framework, proponents of abolition argued that the actual implementation of nuclear war-plans would have such devastating effects that reductions in weapons are the only logical step to take.

Following the end of the Cold War, in the Second Nuclear Age, nuclear weapons have become more dependent on political context (Huntley 2009, 32-34). The diminishing

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<sup>138</sup> An excellent analysis of this context, which is also the main work the following two paragraphs are based on, is given by Huntley 2009. Other leading scholars capturing the Nuclear Ages are Gray 1999 and Bracken 2000.

prospect of global nuclear war as well as the multilateralisation of international affairs has resulted in nuclear weapons being seen to have an increasingly political value. Furthermore, and in close relation to this increase, their domestic and symbolic value has gained in importance. This has widened the focus of disarmament measures to include the function fulfilled by nuclear weapons in national strategies, in non-proliferation and in nuclear energy issues as well as in the broader progress on security and governance, to name just a few aspects.

What immediately becomes clear from such a description and definition of nuclear disarmament is that it is a complex process, which has arguably become more and more so in recent years (cf. Hiroshima Report 2016, Preface). The course of action involves, first of all, a multitude of issues (cf. Walker 2012, 165; cf. Cortright/Vaeyrynen 2010, 25). From changing the function of nuclear weapons in military and political postures, to issues associated with the reduction process, to establishing the elements of importance for a nuclear-weapon-free world. The bandwidth of assumed challenges ahead is enormous, not even counting the potential unknowns. Secondly, a range of actors is involved. Although experts do not concur on what actors might be involved at what stage of the process, it is clear that the process of disarmament will need to integrate many more than just the nine NAS. A range of issues to be dealt with touch upon critical interests as well as competences of many states as well as civil society in these states.

The two-sided complexity results in the assumption that NAS cannot achieve disarmament by themselves (see also chapter three).<sup>139</sup> They need other players to join them in the endeavour in order to be fully effective. As this chapter aims to show, one essential group of players are non-nuclear-weapon states, comprising over 180 individual nations, and more specifically the Western NNWS among them.

Their contribution to nuclear disarmament can be viewed as either necessary or helpful, depending on the point of view and the issues at stake. Both the 'strategic camp' and the 'humanitarian camp' list a variety of challenges in regard to which NNWS can produce tangible outputs as the subsequent parts of the chapter will show. To illustrate the need for

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<sup>139</sup> This position is shared and further supported by a range of publications that advocate a function in nuclear disarmament for actors other than NAS. A wide range of general writings are referenced in chapter 3.2., while the specific papers selected as a foundation for the role concept developed here (see Appendix 2) give credit to the assertion, too.



non-nuclear-weapon states to take action, consider just one example in the realm of verification: Due to their expertise, NNWS can be regarded as helpful in providing and establishing knowledge on technical nuclear verification questions, but their contribution to the actual verification of disarmament measures including reduced arsenals of nuclear material, which a significant number of them hold themselves, is necessary for a significant advance towards a nuclear-weapon-free world.

#### **5.1.4.) Potentials**

The last element in an argumentation that favours non-nuclear-weapon states assuming a function in disarmament is their potential to effectively meet the responsibilities and demands for action. Western NNWS, in particular, have this potential. Their ability to effectively influence the process of disarmament stems largely from their behaviour and position as middle powers in international relations.<sup>140</sup>

The concept of middle powers can be approached in two distinct ways: as either a behavioural or a positional concept.<sup>141</sup> The former relates the concept of middle powers to a certain style of state behaviour that emphasises cooperation and coalition-building (Cooper, Higgott, & Nossal, 1993). Subsumed under this are a willingness to take on international responsibility as well as abilities in specific functional areas. In contrast, the positional approach views the position a state occupies within the international system as being of fundamental importance for describing it as a middle power (Stairs 1998). One version of this approach uses national capabilities to structure states into a hierarchical system, arguing that middle powers are those powers with ‘significant’ abilities, although the precise meaning of the term still varies widely. Another version applies the ideological location of a state in international affairs for this purpose, describing middle powers as those states that occupy the middle ground between two extreme positions.

The four abstract factors that qualify a state as a middle power – international willingness, functional abilities, power position, and ideological position – are also understood by the

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<sup>140</sup> This argumentation was inspired by Hanson 2010. However, it goes beyond her writings in as much as she focuses on NNWS that are middle powers (she calls them ‘Advocacy States’) mainly due to their active support for nuclear disarmament in recent years.

<sup>141</sup> Black/Smith 1993; Gecelovsky 2009. The following outline of the middle-power concept aims to state and make understandable the main criteria through which middle powers are defined. The purpose is to lay out the factors that, in turn, provide NNWS with the potential to assume a role in nuclear disarmament.

present study to be the aspects that give NNWS the potential to assume an effective function in the nuclear disarmament process.

As described at several places elsewhere in the text, roughly since the early 1990s, Western NNWS have promoted disarmament through a myriad of diplomatic, political and technical measures which are most likely responsible for the momentum observed in the idea of a nuclear weapon-free world. Their willingness to promote disarmament is sometimes also described in terms of entrepreneurial activities, highlighting further the responsibility Western NNWS take on. The commitment to use their abilities and position to promote disarmament demonstrated by Western NNWS is a necessary factor if they are to have an effective function in furthering the related process.

NNWS have strong capabilities in the policy field of disarmament. Their national involvement in nuclear energy and nuclear non-proliferation as well as their prolonged investments in the realm of nuclear disarmament have provided them with extensive knowledge of the issue. State-sponsored reports, political and diplomatic initiatives, and technical research are only three broad categories that point towards their expertise. Capitalising on these abilities do have the potential to significantly further the disarmament process.

In addition, Western NNWS occupy a position in the international system that gives them the potential to transform their will into reality. Although assessing their global power position is a difficult task and the subject of debate, is it sufficient for the present purpose to point to the leading position of many Western NNWS in view of both their material and immaterial capabilities.<sup>142</sup> These capabilities and underlying resources provide the respective non-nuclear-weapon states such as Germany, Canada, or Japan with the backbone to have an effective function in promoting disarmament nationally and internationally.

A last argument for the claim that Western NNWS have the aforementioned potential lies in the fact that they occupy an ideological position between competing political stances. The potential of this position is reinforced by the cooperative foreign policy style of non-nuclear-weapon states such as Germany or Canada. Their middle-ground stance occupies a place somewhere between nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation measures and between NWS/NAS and NNWS, in particular non-aligned ones. By actively supporting advances on

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<sup>142</sup> A database of material capabilities can be found in COW 2007, while immaterial capabilities are measured by McClory 2010.

both fronts and compromises between conflicting parties, Western NNWS have the opportunity to mediate two fundamental interests in the international community and pave the way for progress on nuclear disarmament.

This argument is particularly important, because the main obstacle for progress towards nuclear abolition, as showcased in the NPT negotiations, is the rift between states that possess such weapons and those that do not.<sup>143</sup> As the upcoming section aims to show, this divide is becoming increasingly stark and paralyzing. The possibility for Western NNWS to occupy a middle position in this scenario and help to build bridges reinforces their potential to be an effective actor that can facilitate further disarmament steps.

## **5.2.) Context**

This section gives an overview of the nuclear disarmament context. In particular, the context of the ‘abolitionist wave’ from 2007 to 2013 will be provided and the overarching issues will be described. By doing so, the section aims to familiarise the reader with the fundamental situation of nuclear disarmament, both across time and in terms of the broad content of the discussions, in which the subsequently described role concepts are placed.

### **Abolitionist Waves**

The idea of a nuclear-weapon-free world is not an innovation of the 21st century. Four completed “abolitionist waves” (Krepon 2009, 158) can be identified since the beginning of the Nuclear Age in 1945. In fact, concerned scientists such as Leo Szilard and the novelist H.G. Wells, as well as many others, identified the destructive power of nuclear weapons even before 1945 and sought alternatives to their development and deployment (Wittner 1993, 3-38).

The first and intense global debate about nuclear disarmament started after the US dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. However, international discussions were quickly put on hold, as the nascent East-West conflict made nuclear capabilities a central factor in the military strategies of the two superpowers (Walker 2009, 11 ff). Although discussions in civil society continued in this climate and some headway was

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<sup>143</sup> See chapter three for the thematic divide, section 1.1. at the beginning of this chapter for the general materialisation in the NPT, and upcoming section 2.1. for an overview of the current situation. The importance of building bridges to close the aforementioned gap on nuclear disarmament has been highlighted in the expert community in general for some time, as section 5.3.2. will examine in detail.

made with regards to treaties embanking nuclear weapons, such as the nuclear test moratorium of 1958 and the Non-proliferation Treaty of 1968, only towards the end of the Cold War was new impetus given to the idea of a nuclear-weapon-free world. The high point of this phase was the meeting between President of the Soviet Union Michael Gorbachev and President of the United States Ronald Reagan in 1986 in Reykjavik. Although no final agreement on nuclear reductions could be reached on this occasion, a change of attitude could be observed in both states, which peaked in the signing of the INF Treaty in 1987 (US DoS 2013). Afterwards, support for nuclear disarmament dwindled due to a growing fear that reductions might happen too fast and be too risky.<sup>144</sup> The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 laid the foundations for the next upswing of the idea. With the US remaining the only (military) superpower on the planet, many American experts, among them the highly reputed Paul Nitze, saw nuclear weapons to be useless and even harmful for US security (e.g., Nitze 1994). In this context, a multitude of important steps towards significant nuclear cuts were made, including the indefinite extension of the Non-proliferation Treaty in 1995.<sup>145</sup> These optimistic signs were accompanied, however, by concerns about the viability of the NPT voiced in particular by Iraq, North Korea, and later Iran, and the conducting of official nuclear warhead tests by India and Pakistan in 1998. Any momentum left was abruptly and significantly brought to a standstill by the terror attacks on the US in 2001. In response to these, President George W. Bush changed the country's stance to take on a more robust nuclear policy, which would not be restricted by the international treaties if necessary.<sup>146</sup>

The fourth wave of optimism in the movement to abolish nuclear has been gaining ground worldwide since 2007. Critical momentum was given by American elites and especially the now-famous group made up of George Shultz, Henry Kissinger, Sam Nunn and William Perry who brought the vision back into the public discussion and onto the political agenda in early 2007 (Shultz/Perry/Kissinger/Nunn 2007). A similar set of former political leaders from Germany, the UK, Poland, Australia and Italy followed this so-called American 'Gang of Four'

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<sup>144</sup> See Krepon (2009, 158) for a more detailed analysis of this decay and the growing fears.

<sup>145</sup> On the NPT, see Federation of American Scientists 2010a. Among the steps are also the signing of START I in 1991 (US DoS 1991) and a Nuclear Posture Review with a strikingly cooperative tone in 1994 (US DoD 1994).

<sup>146</sup> A high-level document describing the nuclear policy of the Bush administration is the Nuclear Posture Review (NPR) from 2002. However, only the foreword and some extracts are publicly accessible (US DoD 2002 and GlobalSecurity.org 2002). For more insight, a report by the National Institute for Public Policy might be consulted (National Institute for Public Policy 2001), which is said to be the blueprint for the Bush NPR (Butcher 2009, 3).

in the following years,<sup>147</sup> as did other academics and world leaders.<sup>148</sup> US President Barack Obama and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev were the first heads of state in April 2009 to support the vision (US DoS 2009c). Obama went on to spread it to a wider public in a historic speech in Prague some days later (White House 2009b).

The broad endorsement, representing the political will that precedes progress on disarmament, was also translated into tangible outputs. The US made the idea of a NFWF a topic dealt with at the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review (US DoD 2010a), followed by several other countries who adjusted their respective security and defence policy papers. Old disarmament movements picked up the momentum and new ones were formed, sometimes even transcending established grassroots campaigns by working directly with senior government decision-makers like the Global Zero campaign (Global Zero 2013; Knöpfel 2012). The 2010 Review Conference of the NPT adopted a final document by consensus, including a comprehensive action plan (NPT 2010). The US and Russia signed a fresh treaty on nuclear arms reduction, the so-called New START, in 2010 (New START 2010).

Nonetheless, the way towards Global Zero will be long and will involve many steps.<sup>149</sup> Already President Obama stated in his Prague speech that achieving disarmament is going to take patience and persistence (White House 2009b). A metaphor that came from the aforementioned group around George Schultz captures this thought well in describing the idea of a nuclear-weapon-free world as the top of a very tall mountain, so high that we can't even see the top from our current vantage point (Shultz/Perry/Kissinger/Nunn 2008). To comprehensively outline the relevant issues on the way to this mountain top is hardly feasible at this point, as they are so diverse and manifold (for an overview, see ICNND 2009).

This fourth wave of optimism towards nuclear disarmament was arguably short.<sup>150</sup> The signing of the New START Treaty in 2010 was the last major advancement towards a NFWF,

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<sup>147</sup> Hurd/Rifkind/Owen/Robinson 2008; Kwasnewski/Mazowiecki/Walesa 2009; Schmidt/Weizsäcker/Bahr/Genscher 2009; D'Alema/Fini/La Malfa/Parisi/Calogero 2008; Fraser/Nossal/Jones/Gration/Sanderson/Ruff 2009; more statements are collected by Pugwash and can be viewed under: [http://www.pugwash.org/reports/nw/nuclear-weapons-free-statements/NFWF\\_statements.htm](http://www.pugwash.org/reports/nw/nuclear-weapons-free-statements/NFWF_statements.htm) (accessed 04.03.2013).

<sup>148</sup> For an overview of former and current officials across a wide spectrum as well as academics who endorse the idea, see Global Zero Signatories 2011 and BASIC 2011.

<sup>149</sup> The momentum of the idea of a NFWF also attracted antagonists that challenge the possibility or benefits of such an endeavour. See, for example, Tertrais 2010 and O'Hanlon 2010.

<sup>150</sup> A comprehensive and authoritative analysis of the developments can be found in Gareth/Ogilvie-White/Thakur 2015; the yearly reports of the Hiroshima Report since 2013 are also a valuable source of

and by the end of 2012 much of the hopeful atmosphere had evaporated, and 2014 even saw a turn towards a more pessimistic view. The emerging climate has been described at times as being less favourable to nuclear disarmament (SIPRI 2018), more often as a crisis (Sauer 2015; Neuneck/Schneider 2018) and the endeavour itself was increasingly seen to be an elusive one (Borrie 2018).

A number of developments have contributed to this daunting state of affairs. These include technological progress in several areas of weaponry that interfere with the perceived stability of nuclear deterrence, a modernisation of nuclear weapons by all NAS, as well as a deterioration in the political and military situation in most of the significant regions (such as South Asia and the Middle East) for the nuclear field that in turn have led to a continuing and even increased reliance on nuclear weapons (Kile 2016; Kristensen/McKinzie/Postol 2017; Kristensen/Norris 2017). One very significant contributing factor in the international sphere has been the so-called Ukraine crisis, in particular the annexation of Crimea at the beginning of 2014 by the Russian Federation. This event was followed by a worsening in the relations between the Russian Federation and the United States – and by extension all allied NATO states – with a tougher and more armament-friendly stance on nuclear weapons being assumed by those nations. Additionally, the resulting spiral of actions possibly reaffirmed the belief of some that nuclear weapons or the protection offered by a nuclear alliance are necessary for national security, thus further diminishing the possibility of any progress on disarmament (Mukhatzhanova 2015, Meier 2016).

The list of the main developments that had a positive impact on moves towards nuclear disarmament is short by comparison, yet entails profound items. Apart from some progress on discussing and heightening the safety and security standards of nuclear material by several Nuclear Security Summits since 2010 (ACA 2017), the notion of catastrophic humanitarian consequences caused by a nuclear weapon detonation has mobilized a large group of states and civil societies (Potter 2017). After introducing a related statement in the Final Document of the 2010 NPT RevCon, the so-called humanitarian initiative has been increasingly gaining momentum. In particular, a series of international conferences as well as follow-up motions in the NPT and the UN framework have gained the support of the majority of states increasingly since the years 2013 and 2014. The concrete objective of a

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information in this regard, while a concise summary is given by Borrie 2018. The following information draw on these sources among the explicitly references ones.

Treaty on Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, which would legally ban nuclear weapons for the first time, became a realistic opportunity. In summary, it can be said that this Initiative has transformed the discourse and provided momentum towards nuclear disarmament (e.g., Müller 2016; Hanson 2018), in stark contrast to the overarching pessimism outlined above.

These two trends have deepened the divide and tension between NWS (and other nuclear-armed states) and their allied NNWS and non-aligned NNWS to “an unprecedented polarisation” (Dunn 2016, 33).<sup>151</sup> While the first group of states is concerned about the deteriorating strategic environment and moves towards maintaining and increasing their reliance on nuclear weapons because of this, the majority of NNWS and civil society groups are becoming increasingly frustrated about the lack of progress in the area of nuclear disarmament (Krepton 2016; Rauf 2017). Focusing on the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of nuclear use, they argue and engage in policies and actions aimed to reduce reliance on these weapons. What is more, and in line with the shift towards a humanitarian discourse, NNWS and civil-society groups have gained in importance as actors in the campaign for nuclear abolition than was the case in past phases.<sup>152</sup>

## Issues

In addition to the ‘abolitionist waves’, the overarching issues in the pursuit of nuclear disarmament are discussed below to contextualise and help to structure the subsequent analysis. The following section introduces the main aspects of the disarmament process and examines the fundamental relationship between disarmament and non-proliferation.

The groups of issues presented in the following, like all the information given in this section, support the grasp of the role of NNWS to be outlined at a later stage. Thus, the overarching and abstracted topics aim to capture, in particular, the myriad of disarmament measures that are important to this role. They should be understood as loose thematic categories that

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<sup>151</sup> For a high-level group of analysts reaching this widely shared conclusion, see Group of Eminent Persons 2018 This division of states, which is based on the language of the NPT, was introduced at the beginning of chapter five. It coincided with a division into the two camps, strategic and humanitarian, which was outlined in chapter three.

<sup>152</sup> The pioneering call from Scott Sagan for a shared responsibility for nuclear disarmament, which was outlined in the introduction and on which this study is based, is echoed more and more in the discourse as well as in practical measures. A prominent example is the suggestion of Goodby/Pifer in 2015 for a “joint enterprise” between NWS and NNWS. What is more, the large literature corpus on the humanitarian initiative highlights NNWS (and civil societies) as actors in achieving nuclear abolition

do not contain a precise amount of dedicated topics, but rather describe the larger issues at stake under which different issues might be subsumed.

The four overarching categories of issues can be entitled 'Function of Nuclear Weapons', 'Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces', 'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures', and 'Elements of a NFWF'.<sup>153</sup> A short description, a rationale for engaging with those issues as well as some examples for illustrative purposes are given below for each of the groupings. A full discussion will follow in the segments on the role concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states. A categorisation along the spectrum of disarmament and non-proliferation ends the present effort towards categorisation.

The first group of aspects concerns the 'Function of Nuclear Weapons'. Issues under this heading address the function of these weapons of mass destruction in the security policies and defence postures of states. In the disarmament debate, it is widely regarded to be important to bring about a change in the perception of the role and utility of nuclear weapons. A change in perception to this end has been phrased by several experts as 'delegitimizing nuclear weapons', in order to dislodge them from a centre stage in strategic considerations and push them to the margins and, ultimately, remove them from national security strategies altogether.<sup>154</sup> As long as NAS regard nuclear weapons as a legitimate measure in their security, no significant steps towards their reduction and elimination can be expected. Also needed is a process of devaluation that diminishes the "legitimacy, prestige and authority" (Berry/Lewis/Pélopidas/Sokov/Wilson 2010, v) of these weapons. One example of the specific issues included in this category and the most important one is an engagement with nuclear deterrence. Other doctrinal aspects such as no-first use policies, counterforce policies and many more can be found in this category.

A second group of issues fall into the category of the 'Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces'. These relate to the actual numbers of nuclear weapons and their deployment. The primary objective of nuclear arms control during the First Nuclear Age has continued to play a role in the recent disarmament process. The rationale behind related measures remained the same at all times: In order to achieve a NFWF, the actual quantities of warheads need to be reduced and ultimately done away with altogether. Measures closely related to the

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<sup>153</sup> The categories are inspired by Briefing Paper of the Middle Powers Initiative from 2010, in which MPI structures its recommendation in similar categories.

<sup>154</sup> Prime examples include ICNND 2009, 59 ff. and Berry/Lewis/Pélopidas/Sokov/Wilson 2010.



numerical stockpile of warheads are those concerning the nuclear force posture, meaning how and where those weapons are deployed and with what degree of readiness they can be activated. Efforts in this area might benefit the disarmament process for several reasons, including a lowering of the risk of unintended use and increased crisis stability. Reductions in the nuclear arsenal are the most prominent example of issues to be subsumed in this category. Other aspects pertaining to warheads can serve as additional examples, including transparency measures or the removal of nuclear weapons from a high state of alert.

The category 'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures' comprises multifarious issues, which only have in common that they could assist towards successfully achieving nuclear disarmament. Although the factors mentioned in the other categories share this objective as well, facilitating measures encompass a myriad of issues that do not fit in with the definition of those categories. The complexity of nuclear disarmament demands certain actions that make a smooth disarmament process possible or advance the process in ways not covered by the other groups. Concrete measures in this category revolve around issues such as a broader and deeper relationship with other key players in disarmament affairs or providing additional knowledge in the form of studies to tackle the challenges of disarmament.

The last category, 'Elements of a NFWF', focuses on the building blocks towards reaching a world in which no nuclear weapons exist. It depicts the end-state of the process of nuclear disarmament and includes issues relevant to the question: What measures must be in place in order to get to and sustain Global Zero? Addressing this question and exploring the answers to it long before abolition is even on the horizon is a task too often ignored precisely because it is seen as being too premature. However, as authoritative authors like the Gang of Four and others have argued, it is nevertheless appropriate and important to already engage with this scenario now. Acton and Perkovich summarise neatly in their prominent paper that

states will not begin to make the changes necessary for abolishing nuclear weapons if there is not a shared sense that the goal is realistic. And states cannot demonstrate their real commitment to this goal if they do not understand and accept the challenge of trying to implement the changes that must be made along the way. (Acton/Perkovich 2009, 18)

The issues to be addressed under this heading range from tackling the challenge of disarmament verification, to negotiating and bringing into force the FMCT, to increasing the efficiency of the governance structures of institutions and treaties in the nuclear realm.

The two major categories of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation can further help to give the issues in which NNWS may engage in their role of advancing nuclear abolition a structure. Although the complex and mutually reinforcing link between them described below makes it hardly possible to clearly assign certain issues to either nuclear disarmament or non-proliferation per se, the forthcoming analysis of the disarmament expert community suggests a tendency. Using the categories of issues as a point of departure, the category of 'Role of Nuclear Weapons' and 'Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces' can be seen as core disarmament topics as they concern nuclear weapons, that is, their deployment and posture, most directly. Non-proliferation measures are, in contrast, found under 'Elements of a NFWF' because this category aims to combine those building blocks that come to the fore when no atomic bombs exist anymore. The remaining group of "Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures" is by definition very wide and as such not helpful in order to distinctly differentiate between disarmament and non-proliferation instruments.

### **Relationship between Nuclear Disarmament and Nuclear Non-Proliferation**

This proposed categorisation touches on an aspect that was more or less latent in the previous section and which pertains to the content of the disarmament process as well as the politics surrounding it. This refers to the relationship between nuclear disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation. The connection is especially important to understand the various recommendations commonly put forth for the role of NNWS in nuclear disarmament because some of them do fall by definition in the realm of non-proliferation. Why and how they are nonetheless linked to nuclear disarmament on the level of politics as well as on a conceptual level will be discussed in the following. As before, the specific issues at stake are to be identified and discussed fully in the section on the non-nuclear-weapon states role concepts.

A first dimension of the relation between disarmament and non-proliferation concerns the politics involved in international negotiations. The major places where such politics materialise are negotiations in the context of the NPT. At virtually every NPT review process, the NNWS organised in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) demand clear steps towards

nuclear disarmament, while NWS prioritise stronger non-proliferation measures on their agenda (see section 5.1.1.). The deep divide between the NPT member states on the disarmament/non-proliferation nexus causes not only stark frictions inside the regime, but hinders the further process towards nuclear disarmament. In order to revive this process again, the argumentative and positional trenches between NWS and NAM need to be overcome.<sup>155</sup> Fortunately, experts have reached the conclusion that progress toward a NFWF is the "only way to overcome long-standing bottlenecks in the nuclear non-proliferation regime" (Ogilvie-White/Santoro 2010, 18).

Going beyond politics, the disarmament/non-proliferation linkage has a complex conceptual dimension. At the bottom of these is the conviction that the existence of nuclear weapons and material as well as the related nuclear policies significantly affects the proliferation or non-proliferation of these weapons and vice versa.<sup>156</sup>

One of the relationships concerns the importance of disarmament for non-proliferation, which manifests essentially in two ways, but can concisely be summed up in the statement that "as long as some states possess nuclear weapons, others will seek them too. The best way to prevent proliferation is therefore to reduce existing arsenals to zero" (Loodgard 2010, 171). The first manifestation relates directly to the aforementioned stalemate in the NPT and broader discourse. Because NAS are seen as reluctant to live up to their disarmament responsibilities, many critical non-proliferation measures as well as other efforts to strengthen the NPT regime have no backing from the majority of the international community and could not be implemented. Stronger enforcement or stricter verification mechanisms are only two examples in this regard. Credible disarmament efforts could, in turn, foster a climate in which such steps are more acceptable for non-nuclear-weapon states. The benefits of such increased and improved regime management, as it is sometimes called in the context of the NPT (Miller 2007), would be great.

A second relationship concerns the influence of NAS on potential proliferators. Disarmament efforts that reduce the very role that NAS attach to nuclear weapons affect the decision-

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<sup>155</sup> Cf. Müller 2013 as well as the various experts listed in chapter 3 acknowledging the increasingly wide gap between NWS and NNW, in particular NAM, and the need for bridge-building efforts. As was stated before, most experts focus their analysis of the politics in negotiations on the NPT context and, thus, on the conflict between NWS and NAM instead of using the more general concepts of NAS and (specific) NNWS.

<sup>156</sup> One of the most concise analysis of the relationship between nuclear disarmament and nuclear non-proliferation is given by Loodgard (2010, 169-181), on which the arguments presented here are based.

making in countries not (yet) in the nuclear club. By diminishing the relevance of nuclear weapons in their doctrines, NAS would indicate that such devices are unnecessary and undesirable. This devaluation, in turn, would change the framework in which leaders of NNWS will make a decision on whether to acquire nuclear weapons or not. Several changes in nuclear doctrines might have such an effect, but two deserve mention here. At the forefront is the strong focus on nuclear deterrence. Although it is difficult to assess whether the deterrence strategy might or might not have worked in the past, in face of the complexity of deterrence today, the effectiveness of deterrence is reduced dramatically. Moreover, the same result might be achieved as it lessens the symbolic value of nuclear weapons. In showing that the utility of these weapons is reduced, the NAS would send a signal to other states that even the political gains from nuclear weapons are not a convincing reason to develop a military nuclear capability.

The relationship is, however, not a one-way street. Non-proliferation is also important for progress on the nuclear disarmament front. The link between the two intensified remarkably after the shift from a world that was essentially bipolar before the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 to a unipolar world in the following decade or so and then to a multi-centric structure that characterises the international political situation we have today. During the Cold War and in the immediate aftermath, the USA (and Russia) was (were) so powerful that nuclear disarmament could have been possible by those powers leaping towards that goal. Since this environment has changed, the superpowers can no longer go the road to nuclear zero alone and must consider other states, their nuclear policies, and the potential of further proliferation.

Today, it is virtually inconceivable that a process of nuclear disarmament will prosper in a world where nuclear weapons are spreading. The existing nuclear powers are very unlikely to push for nuclear disarmament under those circumstances. Hence, a more robust, reliable and effective non-proliferation regime is indispensable for the cause of disarmament (Lodgaard 2010, 179).

One can add that not only the proliferation of weapons but also the spread of nuclear material and manufacturing knowledge pose a similar challenge for disarmament (Sagan 2010, 7; Perkovich/Acton 2009, 86).

One specific problem that makes non-proliferation so important in order to achieve disarmament is named due to its significance, namely the risk of break-outs. The term describes an actor, mostly a state, which withdraws from the international regime prohibiting nuclear proliferation and acquires nuclear weapons. Such a break-out from established rules would be a setback for disarmament for several reasons, including that the new NAS would have to be dealt with by the international community and that the prestige of nuclear weapons would be reconfirmed. The possibility of a proliferation of nuclear weapons with them spreading to non-nuclear-weapon states poses an increasing risk for the disarmament progress at low levels of armament. Due to the few nuclear weapons in the arsenals of NAS, the development of a very small amount of weapons by others could already upset the strategic balance. At such a stage, non-proliferation measures need to be solid in order to reassure NAS that a break-out would not happen and their disarmament measures would not put them at unreasonable risk.

### **5.3.) Concepts**

The coming section describes the concepts of the non-nuclear-weapon states' role in advancing nuclear disarmament found in the expert community during the years from 2007 to 2013 and transforms it into a set of ideal types.<sup>157</sup> In doing so, it concludes the conceptual part of the PhD project and provides an answer to the first research question guiding the present thesis.

The section generates its findings by following the outlined research process (see chapter on methods and role theory and ideal type). More specifically and in short, the paragraphs will address each characteristic of the role concepts found in the discourse subsequently, identifying and explicating each one in a factual manner as well as preparing it for application to the empirical case study. It thus substantiates the abstract role theoretical grid (see chapter on role theory and ideal type) with the specific content of the role concepts of NNWS. On this basis, several ideal types will be established towards the end of the chapter.

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<sup>157</sup> The following section (5.3.) describes specifically the concepts of the role of non-nuclear-weapon states in advancing nuclear disarmament. As this makes confusion with other meanings of the term 'role' (that is its connotation as 'function', 'role conception', or 'role performance') unlikely, the term 'role' is employed more often by itself in order to make the text more readable. Moreover, the following section describes specifically the role concepts in the timeframe of 2007 to 2013. Thus and for the sake of readability, the text omits from explicating this timeframe at most instances.

A summary of the role concepts found in the expert discussion as well as the ideal types is provided at the end of section 5.3.

### **5.3.1.) Meta Aspects**

Certain features of the role concepts emerge from the expert discourses that are considered as 'Meta Aspects'. These can be understood as underlying themes to the specific role characteristics. The first features pertain directly to the role category of the 'Will to Shape International Affairs', the second to a general 'Approach towards Nuclear Disarmament'.

#### **Will to Shape International Affairs**

The 'Will to Shape International Affairs' as an abstract role category includes, in summary, the specific form or shape of the will of states to assume a role in the international realm. Two aspects of the category hold true for most of those manifestations of the will and are treated, thus, as 'Meta Aspects' of the role. The two aspects describe the role of non-nuclear-weapon states in nuclear disarmament as 'important' and 'active'.

The collective term 'important' is also used to cover similar adjectives that pertain to the meaning of it as "of great significance or value".<sup>158</sup> The portrayal of the role as important can be found throughout the analysed texts, explicitly and implicitly. Authors refer explicitly to the importance of the role of NNWS, for example, in regard to negotiations with Iran on adequate limitations for its nuclear program (MPI et al. 2008) or the development of the NPT (Gormley et al. 2009). Additionally, an engagement of NNWS in more general issues such as disarmament initiatives (ICAN 2013) and the broader disarmament regime (Kreger 2012) is seen as important. However, asserting the significance of a role is not always easy to pinpoint and is done implicitly. Consider in this regard that all texts address the nuclear disarmament process and highlight non-nuclear-weapon states as actors in light of the multifarious agenda of other possible topics available. Moreover, experts argue in favour of NNWS taking on a very specific role in the process. The direct context in which the statements are made lead to the assumption that authors ascribe great value to the role, while not necessarily stating it explicitly.

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<sup>158</sup> Single quotation marks ('xxx') highlight a specific term, while double quotation marks ("xxx") indicate a quote. Single quotation marks are used on the first appearance of a term in a text passage and whenever it facilitates understanding for the reader; in all other instances the term is given without them so as to not hamper readability.

Placed in the broader context, highlighting the importance of the role relates to the earlier question of why NNWS have a role to play in nuclear disarmament. Although the argumentation presented above cannot be found in its entirety in all of the texts reviewed, the continuing reference to the importance of the role further backs up the overall position that the role is indeed significant and therefore also worth examining.

The term 'active' can be understood as "participating or engaged in a particular sphere or activity" (Oxford Dictionaries 2014). In the same vein as above, references to it are at times explicit, for instance in the urge to actively promote a NWFN (ICAN 2013), engage in the wider nuclear disarmament agenda (Regehr 2007), or diminish the place of nuclear weapons in nations' posturing (Meier 2010). Moreover, the active nature of the roles is implicitly endorsed in virtually all texts. The arguments laid out above in relation to the importance of the role are valid in this case as well. Further, it is worth noting that the divergent responsibilities listed by experts involve some kind of engagement with the process. Although a passive role is conceivable, e.g. staying out of the process completely, any engagement with it already makes the actor per definition active. To be clear, the proposals that are put forward by experts range from more minimalistic to comprehensive role characteristics, but all of them argue for an engagement.

In a similar vein to above, the description of the role of NNWS as active provides further grounds for arguing that non-nuclear-weapon states have the potential to address nuclear disarmament. This results from ties with the definition of middle powers. To recap, the concept of middle powers involves the willingness of states to assume responsibility at international level. The engagement and use of abilities and position to promote objectives such as nuclear disarmament is clear in the active nature of the role of NNWS proposed by experts. As it is argued that the potential of Western NNWS to make a contribution to the disarmament process is based on these aspects of middle powers, the expert discourse examined here might be regarded as substantiating these claims.

### **Approach towards Nuclear Disarmament**

The second feature that emerges from the expert discourse as an underlying theme concerning the role of non-nuclear-weapon states is the recommended 'Approach towards Nuclear Disarmament'. In contrast to the aspects outlined above, this feature does not link to one role category, but rather to the fundamental philosophies regarding the advancement

of disarmament. It affects, to a varying degree, all the categories in the role of NNWS. Two approaches can be identified: an evolutionary and a planned one.

The concepts of an "incremental" or "evolutionary" versus a "clearly defined" or "planned" approach to nuclear disarmament have been around for some time in the debate, and have been prominent in it, at the latest after William Walker coined the terms in 1997. According to his analysis, the evolutionary approach is "relatively open-ended and involve [sic!] a gradual, step-by-exploratory-step, process of searching, learning and implementation".<sup>159</sup> It recognises the inherent complexity of the objective of comprehensive disarmament and the myriad of related issues, which need to be addressed before it can be achieved. The course of action is open and the timeframe for carrying it out may well be decades long. The planned approach is situated on the other side of the spectrum. It "sets target dates for disarmament, identifies all necessary steps to move from here to there, and envisages all countries marching together – arms linked – to the finishing line" (ibid.). The completion date for the disarmament process might also be envisaged here much earlier than in its counter-concept.

In the discourse examined, the planned approach is advocated mostly in terms of a Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC). Although experts only rarely go into detail about what they mean by NWC, the baseline appears to be a global elimination of nuclear weapons (MPI 2010). Individual reports argue, for example, in favour of a treaty that bans and eliminates nuclear weapons (ICAN 2013) or imposes a prohibition on use and possession (Berry/Lewis/Pélopidas/Sokov/Wilson 2010). Proponents of a NWC come almost exclusively from the 'humanitarian camp'.

In contrast to identifying a planned approach to disarmament, which is made possible by the explicit naming of a NWC by experts, the evolutionary approach is more difficult to pin down to concrete text blocks. This is because it is advocated mostly implicitly. The approach can, however, be recognised by its defining feature. Many authors propose a wide range of steps to advance the process of disarmament and advocate an engagement with the various security challenges that lie ahead on the way towards Global Zero. This process is understood as open-ended and a NWFV as a far-away objective. This approach is taken by most experts in the 'strategic camp'. This might be also due to the fact that this camp still

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<sup>159</sup> Walker 1997. He also discusses the two approaches in terms of their advantages and disadvantages.



represents the mainstream in the general disarmament literature and many experts on the role of non-nuclear-weapon states assume this approach to be taken for granted – not naming the planned approach explicitly.

Both approaches to nuclear disarmament affect all five categories defining the role of NNWS to a varying degree. However, when looking at the relationship between advocated approaches and role characteristics by specific authors it becomes evident that the approaches tend to coincide with certain ideal types (see segment 5.3.3.). The evolutionary pathway is proposed mostly by those who favour an exclusive and defensive role, while advocates of the planned approach highlight above all an inclusive and offensive role concept.

### **5.3.2.) Characteristics**

Building upon the 'Meta Aspects' outlined above, this section elaborates on the characteristics of the role concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states in advancing nuclear disarmament. The analysis will identify, explicate and operationalise each of the attributes found in the expert discourse from 2007 to 2013. The structure follows the five categories that make up the role, namely 'Will to Shape International Affairs', 'National Objectives', 'International Objectives (Organisational)', 'International Objectives (Contentual)', and 'Foreign Policy Style'.

#### **Will to Shape International Affairs**

The first category is the 'Will to Shape International Affairs'. This category includes, in summary and specific to the issue at hand, the form that the will of NNWS to assume a role in the nuclear disarmament process takes. Two pairs of attributes can be identified in the expert discourse. One pair concerns the fundamental form this will takes, while the other relates to the proclaimed sphere of influence of NNWS.

The basic 'Form of Will' of non-nuclear-weapon states in advancing nuclear disarmament can be distinguished into the concepts of 'supporter' and 'leader'. The two notions represent counterparts on a spectrum of attributes. Clustered together they cover the entirety of ideas that emerged from the texts. The first notion of 'supporter' might be defined as "a person who approves of and encourages a public figure, political party, policy, etc." (Oxford

Dictionaries 2014), while the relation to a policy and the specific policies in the disarmament process are of primary importance.

Direct references in the expert discourse to the given definition and the notion of a supporter describe the role of NNWS as one of "encouraging" the nuclear disarmament process and the players involved (Krause 2010; Endo 2009). The responsibility of NNWS is downplayed to that of a spectator (Endo 2009), with Krause explicitly arguing that Germany (his case study) should not consider itself a pioneer. With respect to the importance of nuclear weapons in doctrines, Sagan (2009) also refers to NNWS as having the role of an encourager.

In addition to the direct naming of the supporter notion, other ideas can also be understood to carry a very similar notion. In particular the verb 'cooperate' is used in the expert discussion when referring to the role of non-nuclear-weapon states in such a way. In its first meaning, it relates to the idea of "assisting someone or complying with their requests" (Oxford Dictionaries 2014). Authors describe such a notion by applying terms to the role such as "engaging" (Acton 2010), "cooperate" (Acton 2009), as well as phrases like "enable disarmament efforts" and "testify to the nuclear-weapon states' credibility" (Finger 2012). The tight context around these text passages provides important clues as to why the support classification is an adequate one; the writings by Acton (2010) in particular are worthwhile consulting to this end. Although he sees NNWS as having a shared responsibility in nuclear disarmament, this "however, does not mean equal responsibility. Nuclear-weapons states (NWS) can and should lead the process" (ibid.). He refers to the role of NNWS as participants, which can help NWS and make it feasible for them to work towards abolition. The cooperative efforts advocated by these scholars are, thus, mainly efforts that support the process.

A second notion of 'cooperate', meaning to "work jointly towards the same end" (Oxford Dictionaries 2014) is also found in the discourse. Sagan (2009) is the prime example among this group of authors, stating that both NNWS and NWS share the cost of relevant research and development activities as well as arguing that NNWS should work with NWS, in particular on verification and enforcement. The form of the will described here goes beyond the mere follower position advocated before. A somewhat equal responsibility is ascribed to NNWS and NWS. However, this equality extends first and foremost to disarmament issues

related to elements of a NWF. Sagan argues, for example, that NWS are still in the lead in other topics. The ambiguity of the role description and the proposed nature of NNWS' engagement – to jointly work with NWS, at best – qualifies this notion as being subsumed under the supporter concept.

A contrasting idea that emerged from the expert discourse is that of a 'leader', meaning a "person who leads or commands a group, organization, or country" (Oxford Dictionaries 2014) or, in the present case, the disarmament process. The references found in the texts involve in most cases terms such as 'leadership', 'leading', and so forth or similar phrases such as "pioneer" (Nassauer 2005) or actors on the "forefront" (Roche 2011). The use of the leadership notion is applied in regard to more general and unspecified nuclear disarmament activities (e.g., Meier 2011) as well as to more specific terms, including a more narrow description of the sub-group of non-nuclear-weapon states (e.g., Kurosawa 2009) or the issues to be covered (e.g., Lewis 2009).

A distinct and prominent idea surfaced from texts that can be subordinated under the notion of a leader, namely the idea of NNWS as 'bridge-builders'. Per definition, this role centres on "the promotion of friendly relations between groups" (Oxford Dictionaries 2014). The very term can be found in the discussion, for example when Müller (2000) advocates that Germany, his case study, should be a bridge-builder between the nuclear-weapon states and their non-aligned critics. However, several other terms aim to convey the idea of a bridge-builder as a party that takes a mediating stance (Kurosawa 2009). The conflicting parties, between which friendly relations are to be instated, are in most of the cases the NWS or a subgroup of them and the NNWS, specifically those organised in the NAM (e.g., Hanson 2010).

At least two reasons speak for including the 'Form of Will' of 'bridge-builder' in that of 'leader'. The first refers to the lexical meaning of similar concepts to the one of a bridge-builder, namely the one of a broker, meaning to "arrange or negotiate (an agreement)" (Oxford Dictionaries 2014). Looking at such a concept, which is indeed named in the expert discourse (Lewis 2009), it becomes clear that the role characteristic asks non-nuclear-weapon states not only to be active in organising a negotiation process, but also asks them to produce results that likely go beyond current policies in the form of agreement between formerly conflicting positions. The NNWS need, in close coordination with others, to take on

a leadership role in the brokering procedure. A second argument is provided by the tight context in which the term is used. The notion of a bridge-builder is often linked with a leadership role. One example is the passage in a text by the Middle Powers Initiative (MPI 2004) stating that "middle power governments, in particular those that are members of NATO, take a leading role to energize the global dialogue on nuclear weapons, work to build bridges in the nuclear arms debate, and minimize the negative consequences of missile defense deployment".

The second pair of attributes in the category 'Will to Shape International Affairs' relates to the proclaimed 'Sphere of Influence' of NNWS, which can be conceptualised as either 'National Sphere' or 'International Sphere'.

Both spheres of influence are closely connected to the role categories regarding the objectives of NNWS, which will be laid out in subsequent paragraphs. However, as these categories address only the organisation of the decision-making process and associated content-related issues, the actual scope of the role of NNWS is not captured. To do this is the purpose of the groupings 'National Sphere' and 'International Sphere'. However, the correlation between the national objectives and the national sphere of influence, its international pendant, renders it unnecessary to go into great detail when explicating the concepts regarding the sphere at this stage.

The 'National Sphere' of influence is defined in relation to the category 'National Objectives'. Accordingly, the national sphere can be understood as policies and actions with a domestic scope. As already mentioned, all national objectives outlined later on are evidence of this sphere. To give just one example of text passages that address this category, consider the statement by Dhanapala (2008) that mobilizing "public opinion is a vital task in which NNWS must be active within their own countries".

The term of 'International Sphere' can be understood in the same vein. In close association with the category 'International Objective (contentual)', it is seen as policies and actions with regional or global scope. The terms 'regional' and 'global' aim to capture all plans and behaviour beyond a country's national border, whereby 'regional' in this sense obviously refers to regions to which national states belong and not regions within national state borders. General and specific references to the international sphere can be found in both categories related to the international objective of non-nuclear-weapon states.

## National Objectives

The second role category concerns the 'National Objectives', i.e. the goals of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament that are directed at domestic issues. Further, the national objectives are structured according to the overarching issues in the disarmament process outlined in the last section, namely 'Function of Nuclear Weapons', 'Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces', 'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures', and 'Elements of a NFWF'.

With regard to the first group of issues, the function of nuclear weapons, two characteristics emerged from the expert discourse. The first is the matter of putting an end to what has become known as nuclear sharing.

The concept of nuclear sharing developed in the 1950s in the context of NATO's nuclear policies.<sup>160</sup> In essence, it describes arrangements between the US and several of its NATO allies to participate in the nuclear strategy of the Alliance. The concept has two main components. The first can be described as the technical side, comprising the stationing of US nuclear weapons on foreign territories and the supply of those weapons in wartime by the hosting nations. The second element is political and allows the respective US allies to take part in developing the nuclear policies of NATO. The second component became obsolete in 1979 when the major committee for such deliberation in NATO, the Nuclear Planning Group, was opened for all member states. According to the most viable data by Norris and Kristensen (2011), Belgium, Germany, Italy, Turkey, and the Netherlands have nuclear sharing arrangements with the United States. In total, these states are believed to host approximately 200 B61 gravity bombs with nuclear warheads

The concept of nuclear sharing can be found explicitly in the expert discourse. Burroughs (2010), for example, advocates that NNWS "renounce and/or oppose nuclear sharing arrangements" depending on whether they participate in it directly or not. Several authors go into more detail and discuss the two aspects of the technical side of the sharing deal. Text passages are clear in terms of participating in the execution of a nuclear weapons mission. Experts expect that countries protected under the extended nuclear deterrence umbrella of the US will not "take part in the use" (Fraser 2013) of nuclear weapons. With a similar focus

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<sup>160</sup> An overview of the history and elements of nuclear sharing is given by Nassauer 2005.

on US allies, but in regard to the stationing of nuclear warheads on foreign territories, it is proposed that such countries "remove all nuclear weapons from their soil" (Lodgaard 2011).

The second characteristic is the reduced or terminated reliance on extended nuclear deterrence. The concept of deterrence describes the use of threats by one party to make another party refrain from taking certain actions.<sup>161</sup> Its nuclear variant relies on posing a threat involving nuclear weapons. Nuclear deterrence can roughly be divided in two categories considering the target location of the actions to be deterred. Preventing acts against one's own territory or people is conceptualised as direct deterrence, while preventing actions against the territory or people of partners is known as extended deterrence.

Calls in the expert discussion for non-nuclear-weapon states to waive their participation in extended nuclear deterrence are clearly seen as a national objective, although an international objective is much more prominent, as will be shown later. Several authors express the conviction that a NNWS like "Australia should end its reliance on nuclear weapons by renouncing extended nuclear deterrence" (ICAN 2013). One expert refines such statements in proposing that extended nuclear deterrence might not be renounced altogether, and NNWS should instead declare that the sole purpose of this strategy should be limited to deterring other NAS (Meier 2010). As this also means factually reducing reliance on extended deterrence, this idea is included under the present characteristic

With regard to the second group of issues under the topic 'Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces', experts do not mention any role for non-nuclear-weapon states in their domestic realms.

In contrast, four role aspects are highlighted in the related group 'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures'. A first characteristic mentioned is taking a clear position on nuclear disarmament. One group of authors demand that NNWS not only clearly state their stance on disarmament matters, but also add the normative element of clearly endorsing the goal. They advocate that NNWS "unambiguously affirm the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons" (MPI 2008 et al.) and "end their double-speak" (Fraser 2013) in favour of full support of abolition. A second notion is put forward explicitly by Müller (2000). He highlights

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<sup>161</sup> For more on the concept of nuclear deterrence, see Paul/Morgan/Wirtz 2009; Acton 2010; or the classical Gaddis 1982.

that Germany (his case study) needs to "define its own positions as a non-nuclear-weapons state" and that "Paris, London, and Washington must understand and be prepared for the fact that, where its interests as it defines them so indicate, the German government intends to adopt its own stance". This call for a clear position entails affirming nuclear disarmament (as other passages in the text show), and even goes beyond it. However, it is not further outlined what stance – regarding content and delivery – that Germany as an NNWS should take. Thus, the passage is included in the role concepts with its minimum meaning of advocating a clear-cut position on disarmament.

A second aspect of a non-nuclear-weapon state role concerning facilitating measures is an increase in national governmental resources and capabilities to advance the disarmament process. Experts maintain that "in addition to political will there also has to be some real resources and capacities" (Meyer 2011). Several specific measures are advocated, including establishing and sustaining special bodies in the government to deal with disarmament issues. As an example, the British initiative for verification is employed in order to show the potential impact that can be generated by NNWS (Meier/Neuneck 2010).

Another facet could be identified in only one text, namely the objective of non-nuclear-weapon states to limit the workings of the nuclear industry (ICAN 2013). In order to foster the nuclear disarmament process, ICAN proposes to "end uranium exports to nuclear weapon states, to states that have not signed on to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to states with inadequate safeguards" (ibid.). Furthermore, Australia, the case study dealt with in the text, should "divest all public funds, especially those of the nation's Future Fund, from companies that manufacture, maintain and modernise nuclear weapons" (ibid.).

The by far largest single characteristic that has emerged from documents in regard to national objectives concerns stronger relations with civil society. More generally, authors propose engaging the public and building up their support in order to advance the disarmament process. Several authors are convinced that a "coalition between civil society and NNWS must develop into a major engine driving the cause of nuclear disarmament" (Dhanapala 2008). In particular, the mobilisation of public opinion is regarded as a vital task in which NNWS can play an active role domestically. In this context, increased public disarmament education is advocated. As MPI et al. (2008) states, "without public education and increasing pressure from civil society organizations, or a serious nuclear threat, moving

nuclear issues up the parliamentary agenda will be challenging". In the process of activating civil society, the knowledge of individuals and NGOs can also be capitalised on in the eyes of a group of experts. Specific plans such as the "restoration of the annual government-civil society consultation (Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons 2011) are put forward in this regard.

Under the last topic 'Elements of a NFWF', the enactment of domestic legal measures is a single role for non-nuclear-weapon states within their own borders. In order to discourage citizens from driving nuclear proliferation and, thus, countering the disarmament process, the Middle Powers Initiative (MPI et al. 2008) advocates that the Canadian Parliament (Canada is the empirical example looked at), "should consider enacting criminal legislation in which Canadians at home and abroad are forbidden from participating in the development of nuclear weapons." In a related way, Lodgaard (2011) advises NNWS to anchor the idea of societal verification in domestic law. This measure would give "citizens the right and obligation to inform appropriate international authorities if they discover activities that are at odds with international commitments undertaken by their governments" (ibid.).

### **International Objectives (Organisational)**

The next three role categories concern the international realm. The term 'international' is meant to include all role characteristics directed outward, beyond the national boundaries. The first category is entitled 'International Objectives (Organisational)' and comprises the institutions and actors to be worked with in order to achieve international goals. Three distinguishable main points of contact emerged from the expert discourse: nations, civil societies, and international organisations.

The work with other nations is among the most highlighted in the debate. A number of authors refer to the working relationship between NNWS and other nations, giving only limited or no specification of what specific states they have in mind. Text passages include the reference to "partners outside of the EU and NATO" (Müller 2012) or, in particular when relating to one policy field, to non-nuclear-weapon states that "should work with other states to prevent nuclear weapons, materials or technologies from falling into the hands of terrorists" (Kurosawa 2009).



The generality to be found in the statements makes any allocation to the subsequently outlined groups impossible. As they necessarily refer, however, to one of the groups of states identified below (NWS/NAS or NNWS), the general notions of working with nations can be regarded as being subsumed under these role characteristics. Accordingly, the text passages identified here do not constitute a separate role characteristic.

The same applies to the often-mentioned work with 'like-minded' nations. The concept carries the idea of "having similar tastes or opinions" (Oxford Dictionaries 2014). Authors refer to the concept often in more general terms, for example, when Regehr (2007) states that "Canada should work with likeminded states". Experts sometimes specify the issue those nations should work for or the institutional context, as in advocating working with a "like-minded group on the Mid-East Zone" or "along with like-minded states in the CD" (Lewis 2009). However, several texts refer to a certain composition of such a group, which is believed to be best-suited to advancing the disarmament process. They propose working with a "like-minded representative core group of states, including not only committed non-nuclear weapons states but key, progressive nuclear-armed states" (ICNND 2009).

Taking into consideration who is at centre stage of disarmament efforts, it is unsurprising that most references involve working with NWS and/or NAS in general.<sup>162</sup> As indicated in outlining the context of nuclear disarmament, a wide number of authors appear to agree that "Nuclear Weapons States are ultimately the essential partners in any exercise of nuclear disarmament" (Meyer 2011). The single most named NAS is the US. References to the United States are made virtually over the entire spectrum of international disarmament measures. Relations between non-nuclear-weapon states and the superpower are highlighted particularly when it comes to the function of nuclear weapons in doctrines and nuclear deterrence. Together with Russia, the two states are seen as important contacts, especially in the actual process of reducing nuclear forces. Beyond these two states, more general reference to working with NAS can be found in various texts. The ICNND (2009), for example, states that "non-nuclear-weapon states must be willing not just to emphasise the nuclear-armed states' own responsibilities, but to cooperate with them in creating conditions

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<sup>162</sup> Experts refer both to NWS and NAS, with most reference going to NWS. As the two groups of states are named, the more inclusive term of NAS is used to describe this characteristic. This is in line with the general procedure in this section (see remarks on data analysis in chapter two).

conducive to this process". In contrast to the work with nations in general and like-minded nations, the engagement with NAS is regarded as constituting a role characteristic.

Another characteristic is the work with other non-nuclear-weapon states. The engagement with NNWS covers a wide range of issues that involves, besides several specific missions, such big tasks as reforming the NPT (Krause 2010) and working together to build nuclear-weapon-free zones (Hobbs 2007). NNWS as working partners are mostly identified as a whole, not detailing what non-nuclear-weapon states are meant. However, some authors also name a sub-set of NNWS with reference to the context, as does Kreger (2012) when he advocates that "non-nuclear-weapon states, especially those in NATO, should discuss strategies for phasing out nuclear deterrence from the NATO Strategic Concept". Moreover, formal coalitions like the Seven Nation Initiative and New Agenda Coalition (Choubey 2008) or NPDI (Müller 2012) are mentioned as important places for engagement.

A further group of actors to be engaged by non-nuclear-weapon states in the pursuit of disarmament is the civil society. Experts argue that along with "a partnership with NGOs and international organizations, forming a group of friends of nuclear disarmament would be vital" (Berry/Lewis/Pélopidas/Sokov/Wilson 2010) and that "the synergy of these perspectives [of states and civil society] helps generate valuable insights and policy proposals" (MPI 2010, Statement by Jonathan Granoff). References to working with civil society are, however, made only occasionally and are far less common than references to working with NAS or international organisations.

The last role characteristics in the category 'International Objectives (Organisational)' is the work of NNWS with International Organisations. It is worth pointing out that, whereas the relations with states and civil society outlined above describe an engagement with actors, this role characteristic depicts a link with institutions. This relationship is seen by experts to have two distinct dimensions. The first sees institutions as actors in the international realm. It advocates the role of non-nuclear-weapon states as being one of working with them in order to change their organisational policy or behaviour. NATO is most highlighted in this regard, but the EU is also mentioned. Regehr (2007), for example, calls "for a new review of NATO nuclear policy with a view to renouncing the policy of relying on nuclear weapons "to preserve peace.""

A second dimension relates to institutions as forums, which NNWS can use to foster disarmament. The NPT is highlighted by most in this sense, with the EU, the CD, the First Committee of the UNGA, and NATO also being mentioned. Authors advocate that NNWS "should continue their efforts within the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) to promote transparency and accountability" (Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons 2011) or "support a NPT commitment and a UNGA resolution to commence preparatory work ... on a universal convention ... for global elimination of nuclear weapons" (Burroughs 2010).

An additional and extensive dimension of the work of NNWS with international institutions relates to the actual functioning of these bodies. As such, non-nuclear-weapon states are seen to have "an obligation as members of the Geneva-based Conference on Disarmament (CD) to ensure that this negotiating body begins to function after a stalemate that has gone on for over a decade" (Dhanapala 2008). Although these and related passages clearly indicate a link between institutions and the role of NNWS, the idea is not primarily about working within or with those bodies in order to achieve an objective. Instead, the objective is to change the institution and its content-related aspects. These notions can best be captured by subordinating them to the respective content-related international objective to be outlined just below.

### **International Objectives (Contentual)**

The next role category 'International Objectives (Contentual)' covers those objectives expressed by the expert community that are directed outwards of national boundaries. More specifically, related text passages describe the goals of the foreign policy of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament. In viewing the entire range of categories, the international aims comprise by far the most references. Like the group of national objectives, this section is structured according to the overarching issues in the disarmament process, namely 'Function of Nuclear Weapons', 'Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces', 'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures', and 'Elements of a NWFV'.

With regards to the function of nuclear weapons in current military postures, four characteristics of the role concepts of NNWS are highlighted by experts. First, a change in their policies towards a decreased prominence of nuclear weapons, in particular in NATO's defence policies, is prominent in the expert discourse. Although experts also advocate that non-nuclear-weapon states "reaffirm the NPT commitment to a diminishing role for nuclear

weapons in security policies" (MPI 2010) and, thereby, mention the reduction of the role in the context of the NPT, the overwhelming body of references are made in relation to NATO. The call for action on the part of NNWS is directed almost exclusively towards member states of NATO. Experts propose that those countries, including mostly NNWS, "may work towards reducing NATO's reliance on (tactical) nuclear weapons" (Finger 2013). The explicit naming of changes to NATO policies makes it plausible to establish a separate role characteristic.

The decreased reliance on a prominent feature of such defence policies, namely nuclear deterrence, is the second theme that emerged from the discourse. The eminence of this specific policy makes it sensible to make this a role characteristic of its own. As was discussed some pages above, deterrence describes the use of threats by one party to get another party to refrain from taking certain actions. In relation to the priority given in the overall devaluation of atomic weapons in NATO policies, a decrease in the reliance on nuclear deterrence is also mentioned. The call for action by experts refers almost exclusively to member states of NATO. An example passage can be found in Hanson, who argues that

those advocacy states that are NATO members could work closely with other members in the redrawing of NATO's strategic posture to devalue the current and overwhelming emphasis that the organization places on nuclear weapons. At the very least the doctrinal emphasis of NATO on nuclear weapons as necessary for deterrence needs to be shifted to a strategy of minimal deterrence and eventual abolition. (Hanson 2010)

Apart from NATO policies, authors highlight a diminished reliance on nuclear deterrence in the policies of the US as an objective. NNWS that are covered by the US umbrella or even take part in deterrence postures through nuclear sharing are seen as having a strong role to play. Lodgaard (2011), for example, mentions that "states that remain under extended deterrence arrangements can help diminish the function of nuclear weapons in the nuclear planning of the US. Both in Europe and in East Asia, the governments of non-nuclear-weapon states can now cooperate with the US government to move the nuclear postures in this direction, and some of them are actively doing so." In addition, several authors advocate the reduction of nuclear deterrence postures more generally or would like to see a discussion of such a step be taken in international forums such as the NPT. With respect to the latter, one

author argues that "NNWS allied to the United States have an important role to play in helping the NPT Review Conference engage in a sensible discussion about nuclear deterrence" (Acton 2010).

Another notion emphasised concerning the role of NNWS is to champion stronger negative security assurances (NSA). NSAs depict guarantees given by a Nuclear-Armed State that it will not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon states. As of today, no international legally-binding treaty that contains negative security assurances exists and China and India remain the only NAS that have unconditionally given such assurances.<sup>163</sup> Although mentioned in broader and unspecified ways as well, experts often advocate that NNWS push to make NSA a legal obligation for NAS. It is advocated, for example, that NWS be urged "to enter into formal negotiations, either in the CD or another appropriate forum, aimed at elevating the negative security assurances to formal legal obligations" (Regehr 2007).

The fourth and last concrete objective for NNWS to pursue is a wider application of the no-first-use (NFU) principle in nuclear policies of NAS. The concept of NFU entails the unilateral pledge by NAS not to use nuclear weapons in a military conflict unless they are attacked by an adversary with nuclear weapons first (Feiveson/Hogendoorn 2003). The policy is at times confused with NSA, which normally do not detail the relationship of NAS to one another in the sense of NFU. No-first-use pledges have at the present time only been issued by China, India and North Korea and no multilateral accord is in existence that makes NFU mandatory. Experts advocate either that NNWS aim to explore ways and conditions to make it possible for NAS to agree on a NFU policy (e.g., Müller 2012) or that they push NAS to adopt the policy as soon as possible (e.g., MPI 2010).

The topic 'Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces' also sees four characteristics highlighted by the community. The first and most obvious role under this topic concerns the reduction of nuclear weapons arsenals and the establishment of ceilings, providing upper limits to that armoury. Further reductions in numbers by the US and Russia are mentioned most. Authors argue, for example, that "Middle power countries should press the United States and Russia to apply the principles of irreversibility, transparency, and verification to strategic reductions

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<sup>163</sup> A critical overview is given by Reaching Critical Will under: [www.reachingcriticalwill.org/resources/factsheets/critical-issues/5442-negative-security-assurances](http://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/resources/factsheets/critical-issues/5442-negative-security-assurances) (accessed 19.05.2013).

under the Moscow Treaty, and to negotiate further deep, verified, and irreversible cuts in their total arsenals, encompassing both warheads and delivery systems" (MPI 2005). Moreover, two texts specifically call for ceilings in the nuclear inventory (Müller 2012; Finger 2010). As both authors highlight the ceiling idea in their disarmament purpose, i.e. in direct relation to further nuclear weapons reductions, it is placed under the same characteristic.

A second objective is opposing a modernisation of nuclear weapons. Bearing in mind, in particular, the US Nuclear Modernization Programs, Meier (2013) argues that the US nuclear weapons stationed in Europe should not be upgraded. However, text passages can also be found that generally advocate a demand on the part of the NNWS for "a commitment not to modernize nuclear weapon infrastructures" (Burrough 2010).

The prominence of the US nuclear forces in Europe appears to motivate experts to highlight another specific characteristic of the role of NNWS in this regard. In relation to nuclear sharing arrangements, authors also explicitly advocate the reduction of US forward-deployed tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. Within the present topic of nuclear forces, this is by far the most-often mentioned aspect. Authors call on NATO, the US, and Russia to either consider a reduction of these weapons (e.g., Müller 2000 or Regehr 2007) or advocate their removal (MPI et al. 2008). This sentiment is well captured by the Middle Powers Initiative (2010) in its statement that "it is well past time to end the deployment of US nuclear weapons on the territory of several NATO allies (Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Turkey) including both weapons under sole US control and weapons subject to release to those allies for employment in time of war."

Another role aspect concerns a practice that evolved during the Cold War and from the nuclear rivalry between the US and Russia, and it aims to ensure that nuclear weapons can, if needed, be activated and fired as quickly as possible. The practice of keeping nuclear forces on what is sometimes called 'hair-trigger alert' means having those weapons ready to launch between 5 and 15 minutes after receiving a launch order (Kristensen/McKinzie 2013). The expert community advocates that NNWS carry out de-alerting, which means lengthening the time between an order-for-launch and the actual launch, an objective of their policy and behaviour. Once again, Russia and the US are the focus of most comments in the expert documents reviewed which argue, for example, that "middle power countries should press

the United States and Russia, and other nuclear-armed states, to implement the commitment to decreasing operational readiness of nuclear weapons systems" (MPI 2005).

Like the national counterpart, more facilitating efforts than strict disarmament measures are advocated as being part of the NNWS role in the international realm. Under the topic of 'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures', six distinct role characteristics emerged from the discourse.

A first aspect regards efforts to keep nuclear disarmament on the international agenda by publicising it. This is most explicitly stated by Hanson, who sees a role of NNWS in

publicizing the nuclear disarmament message, in order to keep this issue alive and to press on with the debate as a necessary parallel activity to President Obama's own plans. The visibility of the issue at a broad public and political level will continue to be maintained by the advocacy states, which are likely to strengthen their support for civil society engagement and disarmament education. (Hanson 2010)

Virtually all of the texts can be regarded as implicitly supporting this statement. The rationale for such a supposition goes along similar lines to the one put forward in respect to the 'Meta Aspects' of an active and important role of non-nuclear-weapon states. The engagement by experts with the topic and their providing specific proposals for action make it sensible to assume that they would be in favour of NNWS indeed taking on a role and keeping the issue of disarmament alive.

A second role characteristic is the recognition of nuclear disarmament efforts, especially those by NAS. Several authors state that recognising and commending related efforts by NAS is an important task for NNWS. Müller (2000), for example, advocates that NNWS (and Germany in his specific analysis) should be "standing up for friends where disarmament measures undertaken by them are insufficiently acknowledged, or are actually dismissed".

In order to foster the disarmament process, experts further favour a NNWS role in which NNWS study related issues and challenges. They also advocate research into the political dimension of nuclear disarmament, such as a deliberation on new security assurances (Lewis 2009) as well as technical studies. Hanson (2010) states in this regard that it should be a role aspect of NNWS to "continue to support practical studies that assist with the many technical questions surrounding non-proliferation and disarmament; the U.K.-Norway project is

illustrative". Other technical aspects like the verification of a reduction in nuclear force (Acton/Perkovich 2009) are also highlighted.

A fourth role aspect concerns the organisation of meetings, conferences, and/or committees related to disarmament. In addition to more general proposals to "establish an international commission on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament" (Meyer 2011), experts envision specific meetings on different levels. NNWS should, for example, "support the call for an international conference at the level of heads of state and government to identify ways to eliminate nuclear threats" in the view of the Middle Powers Initiative (2004), or call for an "international meeting or conference of experts on the verification of the FMCT following the UNGA First Committee" (Lewis 2009). The issues that such meetings are supposed to deal with are, as illustrated by the given examples, wide-ranging.

In order to make international institutions more effective, it is advocated as another characteristic that NNWS press for better governance of these organisations, in particular in regard to the NPT. Although also mentioned in another context, such as the FMCT (Meyer 2011) for example, better governance structures within the Non-proliferation Treaty are seen by most experts as one of the objectives of the policies and behaviour of non-nuclear-weapon states. This involves, for example, addressing the NPT's institutional deficit by granting a permanent bureau or secretariat to the institution (Regehr 2007; Dhanapala 2008; MPI 2010).

A last and sixth role characteristic relates to how states that defy the NPT are to be dealt with. Three states, in particular, where NNWS should take a stance have been identified by the expert community: India, North Korea, and Iran.

All statements on India and the role of NNWS in regard to the country's nuclear program revolve around some kind of condition for the planned civil nuclear cooperation. The background to this is an agreement facilitating nuclear cooperation between the US and India, which was signed in 2008. In essence the deal allows for US assistance in India's civilian nuclear energy program. By doing this, the US is supporting the nuclear efforts of a country that is not part of the NPT and does not necessarily need to abide by the related rules (Bajoria/Pan 2010). Reviewed texts argue that, before cooperation of this kind is fully established, India should take "clear and irreversible steps toward disarmament" (MPI et al.



2008) or "ratify the Test Ban Treaty and abide by a verifiable freeze on the production of fissile material for weapons purposes" (Regehr 2007), to name two examples.

The statements on North Korea also need some context for a better understanding. North Korea conducted three nuclear weapons tests in 2006, 2009 and 2013 and withdrew unilaterally from the NPT in 2003. Although it is believed to have enough fissile material for up to 12 nuclear warheads, North Korea has not demonstrated that it has the full capabilities necessary to deploy a functioning nuclear weapon (Norris/Kristensen 2013). In 2003, the Six-Party Talks between North Korea, South Korea, Japan, China, Russia, and the United States began got underway in an effort to eventually denuclearise the Korean Peninsula. The talks have been suspended, however, since April 2009. The statements in the expert discourse advocate for NNWS to "try to begin again and elaborate on the six-party talks" (Kurosawa 2009) as a central aspect in dealing with the North Korean nuclear issue.

It is also proposed that the focus be on reconciliation in NNWS' dealings with Iran (e.g., Hanson 2010). Although Iran is a non-nuclear-weapon state and has been party to the NPT since 1970, it has been advancing its nuclear program, ostensibly for peaceful purposes, for several decades. Tehran's failure to report major aspects of the program to the IAEA and its insistence on further enhancing its capability to manufacture fissile material has led many members of the international community to question whether these endeavours are actually purely civilian in nature. Negotiations to resolve the nuclear dispute between the United States, Russia, France, the United Kingdom, China, Germany and Iran began in April 2012, but have still not been resolved in a way satisfactory to all parties involved at the end of the period under examination.

The last objectives are grouped under the headline of 'Elements of a NFWF'. Fourteen distinguishable characteristics of the role of NNWS in this respect are given by experts, with the most aspects within one group in the entire role concepts.

A first one is closely connected to the last point of dealing with defiant states. The expert community advocates that NNWS press for universal membership of the NPT which, in particular, means that India, Israel and Pakistan should be called on to join the treaty. An expert seminar on Canada's role in nuclear disarmament concluded that "India, Israel, and Pakistan must be integrated into the disarmament and non-proliferation mainstream" (MPI et al. 2008). To that end, Canada should continue to call on all three to honour the repeated

demands of the international community “to accede to [the NPT] as non-nuclear-weapon states promptly and without conditions” (ibid.).

Further, it is highlighted in the discourse that the disarmament process can be advanced by recognising the hurdles of complete abolition. Choubey (2008), for example, sees a role for NNWS in acknowledging "the real difficulties that nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon states will encounter in fully disarming global arsenals." Although not as explicit as this, proposals related to achieving and sustaining the end-goal of a NFWZ in particular can be subsumed under this characteristic because any engagement with the specifics of abolition presupposes a recognition of the hurdles this involves.

The goal of examining the conditions for nuclear zero is a third aspect of the role of NNWS under the present topic. The engagement with such an objective is highlighted by several authors. A particularly strong proponent of this notion argues that this is the

task required now: carefully articulating the sources of security in a world without nuclear weapons, and the processes and structures needed to create and sustain these sources. Ironically, while such an undertaking is one of the easiest steps that can be embarked on as it requires no immediate political commitments, this planning process might prove in the end to be the most profound contribution that non-nuclear-weapon states can make. (Kreger 2012)

To achieve, at least partly, nuclear abolition by establishing NWFZ emerged as another role aspect. Different zones are advocated, such as a "Northeast Asia Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone" (Kurosawa 2009) for example, or the creation of a not-further-specified zone among NNWS themselves (Ware 2010). A NWFZ in the Middle East (or even a WMD-free zone) is explicitly mentioned by most authors, for example in a statement by MPI (2012) arguing that "middle power countries should make it a top priority to work for agreement on a provision regarding the Middle East at the Review Conference." The idea of such a zone grounds in preceding resolutions by the UN, which already called for its establishment in 1974. Building on that, in 1995 the NPT called for the “the establishment of an effectively verifiable Middle East zone free of weapons of mass destruction, nuclear, chemical and biological, and their delivery systems” (NPT 1995). At the 2010 NPT Review Conference, state parties were able to agree for the first time to concrete steps to implement the 1995 resolution. A conference that was to pave the way for further progress in this regard was postponed by

the United States in 2012 (Davenport 2013), and this was the last significant development within the examination period up to 2013.

The engagement with and consideration of conventional weapons and their implications for the nuclear disarmament process is advocated in several ways by experts. It is necessary for an understanding of text passages in the following paragraph to know that the link between conventional weapons and the nuclear disarmament process is dominated by the relationship between Russia and the US. Ballistic missile defences and conventional strategic arms, in particular, are two "critical factors for making deeper bilateral, verifiable nuclear reductions possible" (Anatoly Diakov, Eugene Miasnikov, and Timur Kadyshev 2011). Russia's domestic military establishment believes that the BMD system, and the US and NATO BMD scheme in Europe in particular, affects the country's strategic stability. This means, in essence, that NATO's BMD is seen as undermining Russia's nuclear deterrent capability by potentially intercepting their missiles. This belief acts as an incentive to make Russia build up its offensive nuclear arsenals in order to redress the balance in its military capabilities vis-à-vis NATO. For the same reason, but with regards to strategic conventional forces, Russia has mentioned several times that significant further steps in US-Russian nuclear reductions cannot be made without taking into account existing and prospective US military systems that are armed with non-nuclear weapons.

The texts examined concerning the role of NNWS advocate measures that range from putting the issue on the international agenda "because this issue has received so little analysis in the ongoing debate over "getting to nuclear zero"" (Lewis 2009) to re-vitalising existing conventional arms regimes (Krause 2010) to shaping the BMD discussion in a favourable way for nuclear (Lewis 2009). In a context not related to the military balance between US/NATO and Russia, Sagan (2009) mentions non-nuclear-weapon states and conventional weapons together. He states that NNWS should "help to develop their conventional forces and defensive systems that could wean themselves away from excessive reliance on U.S. nuclear forces".

The following role characteristics under the topic of 'Elements of NFWF' directly address the relationship between nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation by referring to non-proliferation measures as a means to foster the disarmament process. That relationship was

already introduced in the context section, the specific role aspects will be outlined below.<sup>164</sup> However, also the broader theme of the importance of non-proliferation measures by NNWS is found in the expert discourse. The claim put forward in its most explicit and elaborated form by ICNND 2009 and Hanson 2010. The importance of the relationship and the role of non-nuclear-weapon states linked to this are outlined in this lengthy citation:

One way in which they can help to do so is by working equally hard and constructively on non-proliferation issues. Here, as everywhere else, there is an inexorable connection between the two objectives. ... The most obvious return they [NAS] would demand in transitioning toward nuclear disarmament is much more robust guarantees that proliferation will not occur, or will be robustly defeated. For nuclear abolition to be realistic and not merely a slogan, important non-nuclear-weapon states must be willing not just to emphasise the nuclear-armed states' own responsibilities, but to cooperate with them in creating conditions conducive to this process. (ICNND 2009)

A first non-proliferation measure to be taken by NNWS is to "support the entry into force of the comprehensive ban on testing nuclear weapons" (Regehr 2007). A related notion is pushed in particular by the Middle Powers Initiative. Non-nuclear-weapon states should oppose conditional approval of the CTBT on "deals for entrenching and expanding weapons complexes, retaining the option of designing and manufacturing modified or new-design warheads, and modernizing delivery systems" (MPI 2010).

A NNWS role is often mentioned in the same vein in the FMCT. Most scholars directly refer to the FMCT and argue straight-out in favour of "starting Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty negotiations" (Meyer 2011). Several authors explicitly claim that the treaty should also include regulation on existing military materials (e.g., MPI 2005; ICNND 2009; MPI 2010). A group of scholars highlight that NNWS and like-minded states should "explore the

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<sup>164</sup> The rough distinction between disarmament and non-proliferation measures along the four overarching issue categories as outlined in section 5.2.3. was reconfirmed during the review of documents by the expert community. However, it can be specified even further. The closest link to non-proliferation is still to the topics in the present sub-category, but the following ones in particular. One prominent addition is dealing with defiant states, which is categorised under 'Facilitating Issues'. The boxing of core disarmament issues, in contrast, under the categories of "Role of Nuclear Weapons" and "Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces" is valid without change, as is the disregard of residual issues for this divide. This categorisation and counting scheme will be used in the remainder of the study where a clear division between disarmament and non-proliferation measures is useful.

practicality of ideas for a parallel Fissile Material Control Initiative to deal with the issue of pre-existing stocks and thus present a credible alternative to inclusion of stocks in the FMCT itself" (Lewis 2009).

The next issue, that is, managing the nuclear fuel cycle, has also emerged clearly from the expert discussion. The nuclear fuel cycle refers to the various activities associated with the production of electricity from nuclear reactors (IAEA 2011). The promotion of multilateral or international approaches towards the management of the nuclear fuel cycle is mentioned as part of NNWS disarmament obligations under the NPT and their contribution to the disarmament/non-proliferation bargain (Lodgaard 2010; Sagan 2009).

In direct relation to the issue of fuel cycle management, experts discuss applying the same rules for NWS and NNWS. Considering the discriminatory policy concerning nuclear fuel cycle controls that is embedded in the NPT – i.e., non-nuclear-weapon states' facilities are subject to inspection by the IAEA while NWS ones are not – authors propose that this discrimination be lifted. "Nuclear-weapons and non-nuclear-weapons states must be subjected to the same rules and obligations to the extent that this is compatible with the principle of non-proliferation", argues Müller (2000). In concrete terms that would mean, for example, that all civilian fuel cycles worldwide be controlled in the same way (Lodgaard 2011).

Several of the expert writings reviewed also stated that NNWS should also push for increased transparency and accountability. Various different measures are proposed in this respect, starting with specific and tight efforts to establish more transparency in the process to reduce NATO/US and Russian tactical nuclear weapons in Europe (Nikel 2013). Proposals include declaring the size of the nuclear stockpile (MPI 2010), as well as transparency measures regarding the "size, composition and location of the respective arsenals" (Finger 2010). One of the most comprehensive agendas is also laid out by the Middle Powers Initiative (2010), arguing that NNWS "should seek a commitment at the Review Conference to the establishment of a comprehensive, UN-based accounting system covering size of nuclear arsenals, nuclear weapon delivery systems, fissile material stockpiles, and spending on nuclear forces".

The point of engaging with the verification of nuclear disarmament was described already as a national objective and is also proposed by experts in the international realm. Further

research into disarmament verification (Perkovich/Acton 2009) and funding of such endeavours (Sagan 2009) are among the steps envisaged. Two texts (Lewis 2009; Meyer 2011) refer explicitly to developing measures to verify compliance with a prospective FMCT. A project by UK-Norway, which was initiated in 2007, is mentioned as a model example (Finger 2010). Another role aspect concerns the acceptance of upgraded safeguards, namely in the form of the Additional Protocol of the IAEA (Lodgaard 2011).

Enhanced legal measures affecting nuclear disarmament constitute another role characteristic. Kreger (2012), for example, advocates that "legal and political experts continue to build on the momentum generated from the ICRC position and subsequent NPT consensus document. These efforts should be embraced, promoted and amplified by all non-nuclear-weapon states serious about disarmament." With respect to the aforementioned challenges posed by BMD for disarmament, Lewis (2009) proposes that NNWS make efforts towards putting in place a greater and more effective legal basis to curb the proliferation of missiles globally. As many other role characteristics are also realised by enhancing the texts of existing laws to some extent, the present feature refers to measures that establish a significantly new legal basis.

The last two aspects to emerge from the expert discourse on the international objective of enforcing the rules engrained in the NPT are the option of breaking out of/withdrawing from the regime as well as the aim to make nuclear reductions – once achieved – irreversible. With respect to the former, clarifying the right of nations to withdraw from the treaty (Lodgaard 2011) and the response of the international community to such a withdrawal (Müller 2012) are mentioned. The latter aspect also involves the enforcement of non-proliferation norms. MPI et al. (2008) states in this regard that Canada, the case study the report looks at, "should also mobilize political and diplomatic resources to continue efforts to enhance the NPT's ... enforcement mechanisms so that NPT states can more effusively address non-compliance issues". Other cases of non-compliance can be envisaged, such as states staying in the regime, but violating its rules. The issue here is, nonetheless, a break-out/withdrawal, which may be included under this characteristic, namely enforcement.

The topic of irreversibility is only named by one author (Müller 2012), but nonetheless represents a distinctive goal NNWS should set for their role. Müller puts his proposal in the context of the thirteen disarmament measures, which were agreed at the NPT Review

Conference in 2000 (NPT 2000). As the idea of irreversibility remains unclear, he advocated that the EU (and the including NNWS) work towards a more precise description.

### **Foreign Policy Style**

The last role category that was examined relates to the 'Foreign Policy Style'. Five characteristics emerged from the expert discourse, with one overarching point that concerns the multilateral nature of almost all styles advocated. As this aspect is detailed by the five characteristics below, it is in itself not regarded as a separate role characteristic.

Experts propose multilateral action for most of the role characteristics concerning the international realm. National objectives, by contrast, are mostly seen as being accomplished by solitary action by one state within its own borders, in several cases in coalition with inner-state parties such as civil society. The clearest evidence of a cooperative approach to foreign policy by NNWS in the field of nuclear disarmament can be found in the outline of the organisation of international work presented above (see role category 'International Objectives: Organisational'). This category includes only specific characteristics that highlight the work with others, be it single or multiple nations, civil society or international organisations. The opposite of the multilateral approach, namely unilateral or solitary actions that are fully disengaged from other actors and institutions, cannot be found in discourse.

A first component in the foreign policy style of NNWS is best described with the verb 'insist', meaning to "demand something forcefully, not accepting refusal" (Oxford Dictionaries 2014). Another word describing a similar notion, which is also seen as being subsumed under this characteristic is 'oppose', which is to "actively resist" (Oxford Dictionaries 2014). Both terms relate to a very strong position. In the case of insist, this refers to a positive position strongly asking for action from another; in the case of oppose, it is a more negative position in the sense of taking a strong stance and not carrying out an action proposed by another.

The vast majority of proposals in this direction come from texts associated with the Middle Powers Initiative. Identified passages cover all topical areas. This is already apparent in the MPI (2004) proposal that NNWS should "insist that the 13 Practical Steps be fully implemented", with these steps pertaining to a variety of issues included in all four topics of the role category 'International Objectives: Contentual'. To name just some examples, NNWS

should "oppose counterforce and countervalue doctrines" (MPI 2010) and advocate that "Until India signs the NPT, Canada should also insist that any proposed civilian nuclear cooperation with India be contingent on India taking clear and irreversible steps toward disarmament" (MPI et al. 2008).

A second style of the foreign policy of NNWS can be described by the verb 'press'. The Oxford Dictionary defines this as "forcefully put forward (an opinion, claim, or course of action)". Experts apply similar concepts that fall under this role characteristic, in particular to 'push' or to 'urge' meaning to "compel or urge (someone) to do something, especially to work hard" and "try earnestly or persistently to persuade (someone) to do something" (Oxford Dictionaries 2014). All verbs still describe a strong position that highlights applying pressure in favour of one's own stance; softer, however, than the one of 'insisting'.

The recommendation to press for their agenda covers all different groups of international objectives. By far the most highlighted actors who should receive pressure from NNWS according to the reviewed source texts are NAS. Dhanapala (2008), for instance, argues that it is "important that a treaty banning the production of fissile material be negotiated and non-nuclear-weapon states must increase the pressure on NWS for this." Authors also advocate pressing and pushing for certain outputs, like Regehr (2007), for example, who encourages "Canada to continue to press its proposals for reform of the institutional infrastructure of the NPT, considering also the related proposals of the Blix Commission".

A third foreign policy style aspect that several authors describe is to 'promote a middle position'. This notion stands in close correlation to the advocated role of a 'bridge-builder' (see role category "Will to Shape International Affairs") and is highlighted largely by the same authors. It reveals and then promotes a potentially common position between NNWS and NWS on nuclear disarmament issues. In concrete terms, authors advocate that "overlaps [of NNWS] with NWS through discussions" (Müller 2010) be found and that NNWS prioritise "demands to focus on issues where there is enough common ground between nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon states to make early progress" (Choubey 2009).

This idea is linked to the following foreign policy style of 'promoting', which makes an especially clear-cut distinction necessary. The main feature that can serve such a clear distinction is that the characteristic of 'promoting a middle position' involves taking a clear position. This stance is to "be formulated in a clear and, if necessary, controversial form, and



that the interim measures which one believes can be expected of one's partners be proposed and prosecuted even where they initially meet with resistance" (Müller 2000). Concerning this aspect of the style of NNWS, such a position should be somewhat in the middle of the extreme positions that are mostly represented by the NWS and the NAC in order "to strengthen the centre in the nuclear weapons debate. A strengthened centre would allow bridges to be built between the nuclear-weapon states and the non-nuclear-weapon states, which in turn would open the road to substantive disarmament and non-proliferation progress" (MPI 2004).

To 'promote' is also a fourth role advocated by experts, and it describes a foreign policy approach focused on the style that would "support or actively encourage (a cause, venture, etc.); further the progress of" (Oxford Dictionaries 2014). Similar terms used in the reviewed texts are to 'advocate' ("Publicly recommend or support"), to 'encourage' ("Give support, confidence, or hope to (someone)") and to 'support' ("Give assistance to"). This role feature represents a less strong style than 'to press for' or even 'insist on' certain action and also does not entail occupying such a clear position as is the case when 'promoting' a middle position. The definition of 'promote' best captures this role feature and its central part of supporting progress.

The texts examined relate to a wide range of actors, institutions, processes and goals to be supported, and this makes it difficult to provide a summary of the proposals. One example is presented here and is deemed to be sufficient to reflect the general notions advocated: Lodgaard (2011) argues that "NNWS should ... see it as part of their disarmament obligations to promote multinational and/or international arrangements that draw a clearer distinction between civilian and military applications of nuclear energy."

One particular role aspect is highlighted several times. It is best described by the verb 'publicise' or the phrase 'to put on the agenda'. Various terms refer to this broader notion, such as "publicizing" (Hanson 2010) or "advertise" (Meier 2010). As these notions involve the aspect of making something public and can be regarded as intended to support the disarmament process, they can be subsumed under the present role characteristic of promoting. Lewis (2009), for instance, advocates that "Germany can make an important contribution simply by continuing to call attention to this potentially serious obstacle to further nuclear reductions and eventual nuclear disarmament".

A last role feature is to 'help NAS', with the verb in this case being understood as to "make it easier or possible for (someone) to do something by offering them one's services or resources" (Oxford Dictionaries 2014). This characteristic is similar to the idea of 'promoting'. However, it is a distinct style, as it is explicitly directed at NAS and involves helping them making progress on the nuclear disarmament front. A variety of different aspects are highlighted in the expert discourse in connection with this, from rhetorical support for the reduction process between the US and Russia (Finger 2010) to helping to diminish the function of nuclear weapons in the nuclear strategy planning of the US (Lodgaard 2011). In more general terms, this characteristic "includes speaking out against radical demands that one regards as unrealistic or as not being likely to be accepted by the nuclear-weapons states in the foreseeable future (immediate negotiations on a nuclear-weapons convention, for example)" (Müller 2000). Instead and "regardless of the fairness or otherwise of this situation — non- nuclear-weapons states would be wise to be responsive to the reasonable expectations of nuclear-armed states trying to create conditions for the secure prohibition of nuclear weapons" (Perkovich/Acton 2009).

A summary of the role characteristics pertaining to NNWS and their advancement of nuclear disarmament as found in the nuclear expert discourse is displayed below in Table I. The operationalised role characteristics, giving also a definition and coding rules for each role feature, are provided in the Appendix 1.

Role Category (Meta Aspects)		Role Characteristic (Meta Aspects)
Will to Shape International Affairs		- Important - Active
Approach towards Nuclear Disarmament		- Incremental / Evolutionary - Clearly defined / Planned
Role Category		Role Characteristic
Will to Shape International Affairs	Form of Will	- Supporter (Assistant / Co-operator) - Leader (Bridge-builder / Leader)
	Sphere of Influence	- National sphere -International sphere

<p><b>National Objectives</b></p>	<p><u>'Function of Nuclear Weapons'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- End nuclear sharing</li> <li>- Reduce reliance on extended nuclear deterrence</li> </ul> <p><u>'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Clear position on nuclear disarmament</li> <li>- Increase in national governmental resources and capabilities</li> <li>- Limit the workings of the nuclear industry</li> <li>- Stronger relations with civil society</li> </ul> <p><u>'Elements of a NWFW'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Enact domestic legal measures</li> </ul>
<p><b>International Objective (Organisational)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Work with NWS and/or NAS</li> <li>- Work with other NNWS</li> <li>- Work with civil society</li> <li>- Work with international organisations</li> </ul>
<p><b>International Objective (Contentual)</b></p>	<p><u>'Function of Nuclear Weapons'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Decrease prominence of nuclear weapons in NATO policies</li> <li>- Decrease reliance on nuclear deterrence</li> <li>- Stronger negative security assurances (NSA)</li> <li>- Wider application of the no-first-use (NFU) principle</li> </ul> <p><u>'Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reduce nuclear weapons arsenals and the establishment of ceilings</li> <li>- Oppose modernisation of nuclear weapons</li> <li>- Reduce US forward-deployed tactical nuclear weapons in Europe</li> <li>- De-alert</li> </ul> <p><u>'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Keep nuclear disarmament on the international agenda</li> <li>- Recognise nuclear disarmament efforts by NAS</li> <li>- Do studies on nuclear disarmament issues</li> <li>- Organise meetings, conferences, and/or committees</li> <li>- Better governance of international institutions</li> <li>- Deal with defiant states to the NPT (India, North Korea, Iran)</li> </ul> <p><u>'Elements of a NWFW'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Work towards universal membership of the NPT</li> <li>- Recognise hurdles for nuclear disarmament</li> <li>- Examine condition for nuclear disarmament</li> <li>- Establish NWFZ</li> </ul> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Engage with conventional weapons in context of nuclear disarmament <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Work towards entry into force of CTBT</li> <li>- Start FMCT negotiations</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Promote international nuclear fuel cycle management <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Same rules for NWS and NNWS</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Increase transparency and accountability <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Increase verification</li> <li>- Enhance legal measures</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Enforce rules engrained in the NPT / Address NPT break-out <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Specify irreversibility concept</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<p><b>Foreign Policy Style</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- insist</li> <li>- press</li> <li>- promote a middle position</li> <li>- promote</li> <li>- help</li> </ul>

Table I: Role Concepts

### 5.3.3.) Ideal Types

The following section establishes the ideal types of the role concepts of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament. In short, it will idealise the role concepts found in the expert discourse from 2007 to 2013 into a set of ideal types (see chapter two and chapter four). To this end it will introduce four dimensions within which the role categories can be idealised. The attribution of related categories to each dimension follows before four ideal types of the role concepts of NNWS are described.

To idealise the role categories outlined beforehand, four dimensions appear to be most suitable. These dimensions are regarded to sufficiently cover all the conceptual role aspects highlighted in the expert discussions while abstracting and tapering them into an appropriate format for an ideal type. The four dimensions should be viewed as each representing a certain section along the two axes. The one axis is concerned with the scope of the role concepts. It relates to the extent to which NNWS advance nuclear disarmament. The scope of the role can either be inclusive or exclusive (=dimension one and two). Inclusive means that the role covers a wide range of disarmament issues, at least as many as defined in the following paragraphs. On the contrary, an exclusive role extends only to a few topics and fewer than required for it to be described as inclusive. The second axis details the shape of the role concepts, portraying the posture of non-nuclear-weapon states when it comes to affecting progress on disarmament issues. The shape can be either offensive or defensive (=dimension three and four). An offensive shape of the role means that NNWS aggressively and firmly advance disarmament issues, while the opposite dimension, a defensive stance, can be understood as reserved and complacent.

Which axis and dimensions capture which role categories? On the axis detailing the scope of the role concepts (with its two dimensions of inclusive and exclusive) the following role categories are represented: 'National Objectives', 'International Objective (Organisational)', 'International Objectives (Contentual)', and 'Sphere of Influence', which is a sub-category under the 'Will to Shape International Affairs'. The first three categories can adequately be depicted by the scope dimensions as they contain either objectives NNWS should pursue in disarmament affairs or the channels they should use to do so. The more goals and pathways they incorporate in their role, the more inclusive and the less exclusive the role is. The last

category of the sphere can also be described by the dimensions, as it is either a broader or a narrower field that is to be affected by the actions of non-nuclear-weapon states.

In order to allocate certain role aspects of an empirical role clearly to one or the other dimension, a precise definition of what is to be viewed as exclusive or inclusive is necessary. A quantitative element is envisaged for the three categories of objectives. If fifty percent or more of the role aspects in these categories is found to a significant extent in the empirical case, the role of the specific NNWS can be conceptualised as inclusive. If less than fifty percent of the objectives can be identified to such a degree, the 'exclusive'-dimension is appropriate. Only those role aspects that manifest themselves to a significant extent – the most distinct manifestation in term of number of references – are taken to determine the dimension. This is because the role concepts are necessary to meet the essential criteria of an ideal type, which includes being an accentuation of a certain point of view. Concerning the sphere of influence, an empirical role that covers the national as well as international sphere is regarded as an inclusive scope. If a non-nuclear-weapon state is only active in one of the two spheres, it is viewed as pursuing an exclusive approach. Viewing all four categories along the axis of scope together, the role of a NNWS as a whole is seen as inclusive / exclusive if three or more of the named categories can be described clearly with one of the two adjectives. If a stalemate appears (two categories are tagged inclusive, two exclusive), a case-by-case assessment should be decisive, reviewing the tendency of the scope of the role as a whole.

The axis related to the shape taken by NNWS (and its two dimensions of offensive and defensive) is a conceptual idealisation of the two remaining role categories, namely 'Foreign Policy Style' and 'Form of Will', the latter being a sub-category of the 'Will to Shape International Affairs'. The different manifestations of the foreign policy style of non-nuclear-weapon states can be accurately depicted as certain points on the offensive-defensive spectrum, as the form of the style is an essential distinctive feature within the category. The same holds true for the 'Form of Will'. Being a supporter or a leader, the two forms identified in the expert discourse, can be described respectively as taking a more reserved or aggressive approach to the advancement of nuclear disarmament.

As above, a clear-cut definition of the shapes of the role concepts is needed in order to attribute empirical role cases to these abstract concepts. In relation to the foreign policy

style, the role characteristics of 'help' and 'promote' are associated with the defensive shape of the role, while an approach characterised by 'promoting a middle position', 'insisting' and 'pressing' is viewed as offensive. If empirical research shows that a NNWS takes on the role of a supporter this is understood as a defensive shape, the role of a leader instead as offensive. In all cases, those role characteristics found to a great extent in the case study are taken into consideration. If both role categories can be associated with the same dimension, this represents the overall assessment of the shape of the role. In the case of a stalemate (e.g., one category is seen as defensive, the other as offensive) the same rule for the scope is applied, which is an individual evaluation of tendencies in the case at hand.

An additional remark is due on the topic of categorising a certain state as being a non-nuclear-weapon state advancing nuclear disarmament. The concepts developed here in the form of ideal types are to capture roles of NNWS that have the normative orientation of fostering the abolition of nuclear weapons (see chapter on role theory). Thus, a minimal threshold is to be defined that allows for the clear attribution of the concepts in general terms – irrespective of which of the four ideal type concepts are applicable specifically. It seems to make sense to classify such a state as a NNWS that advances nuclear disarmament if its role shows at least one of the characteristics in each of the categories 'Form of Will', 'Sphere of Influence' and 'Foreign Policy Style' to a significant or great extent. In the role categories 'National Objectives', 'International Objective (Organisational)' and 'International Objective (Contentual)' more than ten percent of the role characteristics are to be found to a significant or great extent in order to make the concepts applicable to a certain state.

On the basis of the four dimensions of the ideal types pertaining to the role concepts of NNWS in advancing disarmament, it is possible to establish four ideal types. These four conceptions of the role cover all possible compilations of the dimensions. A summary is given below in Table II, including the associated degree to which the role characteristics (in the centre) of the six conceptual role categories (on the left) are to be met by the ideal types (on the top).

	Inclusive / Defensive	Inclusive / Offensive	Exclusive / Defensive	Exclusive / Offensive
Form of Will	Supporter	Leader	Supporter	Leader
Sphere of Influence	National and International	National and International	National or International	National or International
National Objectives	Pursue >50%	Pursue >50%	Pursue <50%	Pursue <50%
International Objective (Organisational)	Pursue >50%	Pursue >50%	Pursue <50%	Pursue <50%
International Objective (Contentual)	Pursue >50%	Pursue >50%	Pursue <50%	Pursue <50%
Foreign Policy Style	'help', 'advocate', and/or 'promote a middle position'	'insist' and/or 'press'	'help', 'advocate', and/or 'promote a middle position'	'insist' and/or 'press'

Table II: Ideal Type Role Concepts

## **6.) Role of Germany in Advancing Nuclear Disarmament**

The sixth chapter explores the role conception and role performance of the non-nuclear-weapon state Germany in fostering nuclear disarmament in the period from 2007 to 2013/2015. As the objective of the chapter is similar to that of chapter five, the structure is comparable. It will begin by describing the context of such a role and its two parts. An in-depth examination of the Germany's role conception in terms of advancing nuclear abolition in the period of 2007 to 2013 as well as the country's role performance during the 2015 NPT Review Cycle (2007 to 2015) will be given afterwards. Each section will provide details on its specific content and proceedings.

### **6.1.) Context**

The German role conception and role performance in bringing about nuclear disarmament during the years of 2007 to 2013/2015 has grown historically and in close relation to its greater national interests. The objective of the following section is to familiarise the reader with this background and lay the foundations for a good understanding of the investigation into the role conception and role performance of Germany during more recent times.

#### **Background**

For a contextual understanding of the Germany's role conception and role performance in advancing nuclear disarmament during the period from 2007 to 2013/2015 it is regarded as sufficient to give a perfunctory account of the major themes of its policies and behaviour since the Second World War and up until today. The German stance on nuclear disarmament is further rooted in its engagements in the wider nuclear policy realm. Thus, the description of the background will include nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear energy as well, highlighting nonetheless the aspects of nuclear disarmament at the various points in time.<sup>165</sup>

The first distinctive phase of German nuclear policy spanned from the end of the Second World War until roughly the establishment of the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) in 1957. Although the narrative and interests of German politicians during this

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<sup>165</sup> For an insightful and more comprehensive analysis (including further footnotes) of the history of the German stance on nuclear policy, on which the here presented description is largely based, see Müller 1990, 2003, 2006. Please note that the following historic description does not systematically analyse the role conception or role performance of Germany according to role theory and the role concept established in chapter five. The historic description provides a broad overview of Germany's policies and behaviour – that is to say its function in the realm of nuclear disarmament.



timeframe appear alien from a contemporary standpoint, this nevertheless paved the way for policies in the years to come. The main driver for political decisions on nuclear issues was a will to mitigate the restrictions that were placed upon West Germany after the war in this regard. Civil nuclear technology was important. Atomic energy and research were regarded by the German authorities as a field with a promising future and, in relation to this, as a symbol for the country's rehabilitation towards once again gaining a more equal position in the international community (Müller 1990, 522).

Germany's struggle for nuclear equality was a struggle against concerns by the international community and its neighbouring states in particular. Against the backdrop of the still relatively recent Second World War, one of the primary interests of these nations was to limit and contain German power. And reservations were high, of course, in a realm that was able to produce the world's most powerful weapon. For this reason, the occupying powers prohibited all use of weapons-grade nuclear material for Germany in the aftermath of the Second World War. However, continual efforts resulted in an international agreement allowing West Germany to conduct research with small amounts of nuclear material (Radkau 1983). This first success was followed up by the official German renunciation of the right to produce nuclear weapons in the Paris protocol to the Treaty of Brussels 1954<sup>166</sup>, which opened the door for further industrialisation in the nuclear sector on a small scale. It was only with the establishment of Euratom that more comprehensive industrial development was possible. The security measures embedded here, including verification mechanisms which were engrained in the Euratom regime in combination with the 1954 declaration, went some way towards stilling the fears that other European countries associated with the idea of an uncontrolled and potentially dangerous German nuclear program (Deubner 1977).

While Germany focused on civil nuclear energy, nuclear disarmament was largely disregarded by its politicians. Atomic disarmament was not an interest of the state and does not appear to even have been on the minds of the political elite during the first phase of German nuclear policy.

During the second phase of German nuclear policy, the focus changed from the civilian application of nuclear technology to military considerations (Kelleher 1975). More precisely, this period saw such occurrences as debates about the nuclear armament of the

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<sup>166</sup> The text can be viewed at [www.weu.int/Treaty.htm](http://www.weu.int/Treaty.htm) (accessed 03.09.2014).

Bundeswehr to the signing of the NPT. Although the focus had switched, the main motivation behind the German stance was very similar to the previous phase: to relieve the state from the special provisions imposed on the country after the Second World War.

Equipping the Bundeswehr with nuclear capabilities was, thus, more than anything else a political symbol of equality. The German administration considered a situation whereby its own military was armed with weaker technology than its international allies to be untenable. Its demand for nuclear force of some kind was satisfied in the aftermath of NATO's decision to adopt a nuclear policy of massive retaliation in the 1950s. The NATO position made tactical nuclear weapons an essential aspect of the alliance defence strategy and forced its nuclear-armed members to consider providing some nuclear capabilities to non-nuclear-armed allies, including Germany. However, the German attempts to gain more equality in nuclear-military terms were only partially successful. The decisions about how and when nuclear weapons were to be used, i.e. the nuclear doctrine and the nuclear command and control system, were still to be taken without German participation. A first attempt to put Germany 'in the loop' was made by defence minister Franz-Josef Strauß with the aim of creating a common nuclear force with Italy and France (Franz-Josef Strauß 1989, 311-320). After the election of President Charles de Gaulle in France – a stark opponent of such plans – the idea was quickly removed from the political agenda. A second attempt was initiated by the USA but was not fruitful either. The idea of a Multilateral Force (MLF) entailed shared military capabilities equipped with nuclear ballistic missiles among NATO members. In particular, the rejection of this idea by European allies, who still feared any direct involvement of Germany in a decision to launch nuclear weapons, started a process that led political leaders to drop the plan. A third and successful scheme to reduce the inequality in this situation resulted in the establishment of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group (NPG). In order to secure the agreement of its NATO allies, Germany waived its direct right to decide about the deployment of nuclear weapons as well as its sovereign control over these arms. In return, it gained a seat in the NPG, which granted its members the right to participate in the nuclear planning process.

NATO's nuclear-armed states were more willing to accept German demands for such participation in view of their endeavour to foster nuclear non-proliferation efforts on a global scale. NAS had been working increasingly on a draft of the Non-proliferation Treaty

since 1966. In order to make the treaty effective in containing nuclear weapons and material, Germany - as one of the most problematic states in the eyes of many European nations in this respect - needed to be a signatory. German politicians, however, viewed the NPT as an international legal accord that codified the very inequality between NWS and NNWS that it had been aiming to mitigate since the Second World War. It was, once again, such political symbolism and not an actual interest in nuclear weapons that likely led many German politicians to harshly criticise the treaty. Despite strong opposition, the administration did sign the NPT in return for the promise of a seat in the NPG.<sup>167</sup>

With the endorsement of the NPT and its non-proliferation and disarmament aspects, and bearing in mind that there were in fact no nuclear weapons on German territory under German control, the goal of Germany was to protect NATO nuclear policy against any further limitations posed by non-proliferation efforts. Major German (security and military) interests, which were closely linked with nuclear weapons under NATO control in the thinking of the political elite for their value as security guarantor, were thus in opposition to a consistent nuclear disarmament policy (Müller 1990, 531). Like in the previous phase, nuclear disarmament considerations did not have significance for Germany. However, they did receive increasing attention in the domestic debate, which can be seen in a comprehensive study under the supervision of Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker on the consequences of nuclear weapon use (Weizsäcker 1971).

The third phase of German nuclear policy already began before the official approval of the NPT in 1975. During negotiations on the treaty text, which had been ongoing since the mid-1960s, the German government insisted that the civil use of nuclear energy should not be limited by the international accord – a position in line with its rationale in previous years. Article IV of the NPT, granting member states the right for peaceful nuclear energy, was the result of such efforts by Germany and others. What is more, several aspects of the subsequently drafted safeguards system of the IAEA (INFCIRC/153), which aimed to verify compliance with the NPT clauses, originated from concerns that the nuclear energy industry could be hampered (Lönroth/Walker 1983). Germany's overall understanding was that the NPT and related regimes in place at the time established a sufficient framework for nuclear

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<sup>167</sup> An in-depth examination of the German stance on the NPT can be found in Nerlich 1973; a collection of official documents of the German government and parliament related to NPT is provided by Presse- und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung 1969.

issues and that any further limitations would be unjustified (Müller 1990, 526). The domestic as well as foreign expansion of civil nuclear technology and energy became the main theme of German foreign and security policy during phase three.

The 1970s saw an expansion in the use of nuclear technology. German industries managed to implement the full nuclear fuel cycle within their national borders, which provided further evidence that it was possible to maintain a self-reliant domestic nuclear energy system (Radkau 1983). At the same time, German export efforts in the area of nuclear equipment gained a competitive advantage by selling comprehensive technology packages to other parties, not just the individual components of a fuel cycle.<sup>168</sup> The relatively unhindered export of nuclear technology by Germany was criticised increasingly by the US after Jimmy Carter became President, assuming office in 1977. The US administration pressured Germany and other exporters to adopt a principle of "full-scope safeguards" – granting expert permission only to states that subjected all nuclear fuel to international verification at all times. The ensuing international debate about the conditions for nuclear exports resulted in a consensus reached by the Nuclear Supplier Group in 1977 (published by the IAEA as INFCIRC/254). The so-called London Guidelines established certain conditions to be met by exporting/importing countries, but left it up to the adhering state to comply with these rules. It was a deal that conflicting parties could agree on (Strulak1993).

The struggle for an international agreement on nuclear export rules is important, as its final closure had a profound effect on German nuclear policy. Although the NSG reached consensus in 1977, it was not until the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation (INFCE) conference from 1977 until 1980 that the Carter administration pushed for stronger export regulations. During the INFCE meetings, it became clear that the international community deemed cooperation in the field of nuclear technology, including export arrangements, to be necessary. The US accepted such a position and decreased its criticism significantly. This, in turn, allowed the German government to tone down its foreign engagement for fewer restrictions on nuclear exports and paved the way for more balanced nuclear policy considerations.

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<sup>168</sup> The blueprint for the export of the entire nuclear fuel cycle technology as a package was the deal between Siemens KWU and Brazil in 1975. For an overview, see Nedal/Coutto 2013.

The fourth phase covered the time from the beginning the 1980s until German Reunification. Germany's shifting interest in the nuclear field and the state's more influential place in international politics led to an increase in influence of the Federal Foreign Office and its political bias over the policymaking process. This went against the technical and economic orientation of the Federal Office for Research and Technology and the Federal Office for Economic Affairs, which had been more prominent in previous phases (Müller 1990, 242-247). Although the Foreign Office did have some impact in earlier periods, e.g. its push for a stronger safeguards-system in relation to the nuclear expert deal with Brazil in 1975, its influence did not manifest itself in a more significant manner until the 1980s. In line with the final document of the third Review Conference of the NPT in 1985, for example, the Foreign Office pushed the administration to adopt an export policy that did not allow transfers without safeguards (a position harshly opposed about five to ten years before) (Fischer/Müller 1985). Another major example of this stronger involvement by the Foreign Office was Germany's reaction to the export scandals in the late 1980s (Müller 1989). The most severe of these was arguably the revelation by the IAEA and the United Nation Special Commission (UNSCOM) that the technology used in Iraq's WMD program largely came from German companies. In response to this, the German government introduced a stricter reporting obligation for all domestic nuclear industry companies and made illegal activities by those corporations a punishable offence, among various other changes. While the focus in this third phase was on the relatively unhindered expansion of Germany's nuclear industry, the fourth phase was characterised by an increasing assumption of responsibility for global nuclear security as well as by the process of restoring the German government's reputation, both internationally and domestically, in particular after the aforementioned scandals (Müller 1990, 535-536). The increasing influence of the Federal Foreign Office highlights further the increased priority that Germany attached to nuclear non-proliferation in the late 1980s and eventually nuclear disarmament in the following German nuclear policy phases.

The fifth phase, spanning from 1990 until 2005, was marked by a continuation and reinforcement of these developments, particular those of the late 1980s. Department 222 (later 240) in Division 2a of the Foreign Office became the main office within the German bureaucracy to deal with nuclear policies. It was given the title "Disarmament and Arms Control" and was headed by a High Commissioner on Disarmament and Arms Control. While

the economic department 431 (later 411) within the Foreign Office was still in charge, until 1990, of overseeing nuclear policy, including non-proliferation and disarmament issues, the disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control department 222 became the lead agency within the Foreign Office. Also a part of the interagency coordination, department 222 was the office given the task of overseeing the process (Müller 2006, 52-63).

At the same time, nuclear energy and the related economic aspects became less and less prominent in German foreign policy. The 1990s saw the nuclear industry have a decreasing position in Germany's energy market. Several industrial facilities were dismantled, including the reprocessing plant at the Karlsruhe Research Centre (Lausch 1997). Parallel to this, the nuclear energy sector received diminishing protection from the German government both internationally and domestically. By the early 2000s, support for the nuclear industry had faded to almost zero. During the 2000 Review Conference of the NPT, for example, Germany supported proposals that HEU should not be used in civilian programmes (including, of course, its own) at all. At home, it agreed in 2002 to phase out nuclear power in the long run, although no specific timelines were agreed.

Instead, non-proliferation and even disarmament occupied more of a central ground. One example was the German position during the negotiations of the Additional Protocol to the NPT between 1991 and 1997. Its initial statements indicated a focus on economic concerns, i.e., that its industries would be disadvantaged if the facilities of non-nuclear-weapon states facilities were subject to more inspections than those of NWS. Germany agreed in the final document to significantly more burdens on NNWS' nuclear plants in exchange for the non-proliferation benefit that came with such a procedure if enforced globally (von Moyland 1997).

It needs to be highlighted that Germany's nuclear policy objective of strengthening the international non-proliferation regime became important in the fifth phase. A starting point for this were debates on how to counter nuclear proliferation, which were brought on to the international agenda by the Clinton administration in 1993 and amplified by actual or forecasted proliferation in relation to North Korea, Iraq, Al Qaeda, and Iran over the next decade or so. Against this backdrop, German foreign and security policy started to gradually focus more on ensuring compliance with the non-proliferation regime and enforcing its rules and norms. Germany was also an active player in ensuring that the indefinite extension of

the NPT was possible, pushing for a 'Joint Action' by the EU towards that goal, diplomatic démarches to various countries, and providing leadership at the negotiations itself (Müller 2006, 53-62).

It was, however, the bureaucratic changes and shifting priorities in particular that had profound consequences for Germany's function in nuclear disarmament. Before the 1990s, disarmament was at most a side-issue in the central economic and defence subjects and no initiative was taken that would have risked any deterioration in Germany's relations with its nuclear-armed allies. Then, as Harald Müller puts it: "Germany dared to challenge, in a measured but distinct way, the nuclear weapon states on their own turf" (Müller 2006, 53). The most sensational expression of Germany's new engagement for nuclear disarmament in the early 1990s was outlined in the '10-point initiative' by Foreign Minister Kinkel in 1993 (Kinkel 1993). Kinkel essentially proposed a nuclear-weapons register which would legally bind NAS to publish data on their nuclear arsenal (including material and warheads) and update this regularly. A similarly brave push was made by Foreign Minister Fischer in 1998 when he proposed that NATO should renounce its nuclear First Use Policy (Fischer 1998). Not surprisingly, the initiative was strongly rejected by Western nuclear-armed allies and not fought for by the German administration. The very act of suggesting such a register was evidence, however, of the new priority being given within the German administration to nuclear disarmament.

The sixth phase of Germany's nuclear policy spans from 2005 onwards. During this period, the official support for nuclear energy remained very low within Germany, and in its international activities (for example in the NPT context), anything that favoured nuclear energy was not high on the German agenda. After the 2002 decision to phase-out nuclear energy in principle, the German administration agreed in 2011 on a time-bound and accelerated process. Eight power plants lost their operating licence directly after the law came into force, while the remaining nine are to be disabled by 2022 in a phased approach (Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 17/6246).

Germany's commitment to nuclear non-proliferation continued. In particular, the negotiations towards a solution of the Iranian nuclear dossier are a case in point. Since 2003, the state has worked together with the UK and France (and in an enlarged setting also the US, Russia and China since 2006) and Iran to unambiguously certify that Iran's activities in

the nuclear realm are peaceful and in compliance with its status as a non-nuclear-weapon state. As the country with the strongest economic ties to Iran out of this group as well as the one with a historically close connection to its administration, Germany played an important function amongst the European states in these deliberations (Meier 2013b). Additionally, various other initiatives to strengthen non-proliferation measures were taken in the international forum. As such, Germany promoted several non-proliferation issues at the NPT Review Conferences during the sixth period, in particular those that were dear to their nuclear-armed allies. However, in comparison to nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation objectives took a back seat in the 2010 negotiations (Müller 2010, 26), which signalled the changing priorities of the German delegation.

Germany's function in nuclear disarmament became even stronger in the sixth phase. The country's aforementioned involvement in the NPT context is one aspect of this heightened engagement. Although Germany took an active stance in the preparation of and at least during the last two Review Conferences, it was a more energetic player during the NPT Review Conference 2005 (cf. Müller 2005). Importantly, nuclear disarmament measures were high on the German agenda and the delegation introduced a report on its own (NPT/CONF.2005/PC.1/13) as well as several working papers in this regard. During the 2010 Conference, Germany was able to influence the language of the final document in an important realm. In line with its foreign policy goals, it aimed and eventually succeeded at anchoring tactical nuclear weapons - including and in particular those on its own soil - in several of the disarmament paragraphs. After the Review Conference in 2010, Germany joined the newly formed Non-proliferation and Disarmament Initiative (NPDII) in order to foster the implementation of the NPT Action Plan agreed to by the member states, including not only non-proliferation and peaceful use of nuclear energy, but also disarmament measures.

Additionally, the idea of a nuclear-weapon-free world, most prominently re-introduced by US President Obama in 2009, gained almost complete support by the political elite in Germany. One example is the plea by the non-partisan group of elderly statesmen made up of Egon Bahr, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Helmut Schmid and Richard von Weizsäcker for a continued revival of the idea in early 2009 (Schmidt/Weizsacher/Bahr/Genscher 2009). Endorsement also came from the active administration, which was in line with earlier official



statements, such as the 2005 declaration by the governing parties to "hold onto the long-term objective of complete disarmament of all weapons of mass destruction" (Koalitionsvertrag 2005; translated by the author). In the coalition agreement from 2009, the ruling parties declared that they would use the upcoming term to champion inside NATO and vis-à-vis the partner, USA, for the remaining nuclear weapons to be withdrawn from German soil (Koalitionsvertrag 2009), which constituted a breach of taboo by a NATO member that 'opened Pandora's box' (Miller/Robertson/Schake 2010) and started a discussion within the Alliance. The coalition agreement from 2013 also promoted the idea of a NFWF, although without mentioning again the removal of tactical nuclear weapons (Koalitionsvertrag 2013). What is more, the German parliament was also a vigorous player in matters concerning nuclear disarmament in the sixth period. From 2009 onwards, the assembly brought forward 13 interpellations that specifically pertained to nuclear disarmament, many of which asked the administration to do more in this field.

It is arguable whether this sixth phase of Germany's nuclear policy continued in more recent years or a new and seventh phase started. Despite the question concerning this label, the developments after the end of the abolitionist wave in about 2013 prompted Germany to take position. The German stance on two of the main and opposing trends with repercussions on nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation shall be highlighted.

The one trend of current affairs, which led to the widely perceived "crisis of nuclear disarmament" (Neuneck/Schneider 2018), represent a reverse mirror-image of the situation that allowed Germany to champion the idea of withdrawing the remaining nuclear weapons from German soil about 10 years ago (Meier 2016). In 2015, the German parliament accepted in consensus that US tactical nuclear weapons should continue to be stationed in Europe (Bundestag 2015). In the ensuing debate inside NATO on strengthening nuclear deterrence, Germany acted again along traditional lines by supporting the underlying intent of NATO to remain a credible nuclear alliance while using its leverage to preserve arms control and disarmament measures as far as possible (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2017). All in all, it aims to preserve the advances made on nuclear disarmament in the current tense climate. Germany's advocacy for preserving the INF treaty between the United States and Russia as well as its efforts in addressing the challenges posed by technological development to nuclear arms reduction are just two of many examples in this regard (Maas 2019).

A prominent and more positive development on nuclear disarmament within this climate is the humanitarian initiative and the resulting TPNW. Germany shows general sympathy for the approach by the humanitarian initiative and underlying deep concern for the catastrophic humanitarian consequences (e.g., NPDI Working Paper 2015a). However, in its view, the initiative does not contribute to nuclear disarmament in concrete terms (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2017). This and the incompatibility of the complete outlawing of nuclear weapons with the NATO doctrine on nuclear deterrence appear to motivate Germany, amongst other finer arguments, to remain outside of the TPNW (cf. Kubiak 2015, 4-7). Parliamentary discussions remain cautious and divided, with the opposition parties calling to support the TPNW and the governing parties rejecting these official requests in parliament (cf. most recently Bundestag 2018). Germany shares the view of many of the frustrated NNWS that drive the process behind the TPNW that the speed of international nuclear disarmament efforts is not satisfactory. Although the German administration disagrees on the path of a nuclear weapons ban, it is expressly committed to nuclear disarmament. Building on this commitment, Patricia Flor, until Summer 2018 Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control, highlights that Germany sees the 2020 NPT Review Cycle as presenting another opportunity “to redouble our [German] efforts to make concrete progress on the basis of 2010 NPT Action Plan and to work towards our shared goal of a world without nuclear weapons” (Flor 2016).

### **National Interests**

As with other government policies, German policy in the area of nuclear disarmament is aligned to the broader national interests of the state. The national interests underlying Germany’s objectives and actions with respect to nuclear weapons in a more general fashion were described in the previous section. It is the purpose of the following paragraphs to, firstly, clearly pinpoint these national interests and, secondly, highlight a dilemma between these interests. As these national interests and the dilemma are also interwoven with the role conception and role performance of Germany during the timeframe of 2007 to 2013/2015, such a background description can increase understanding of the following in-depth investigation.

Germany’s essential national interests in the realm of foreign policy are shared with near-unanimity by the German elite, at least since the end of the Cold War and German

Reunification.<sup>169</sup> A first interest here is maintaining close European and transatlantic ties. On the European side, this includes a special relationship with the NWS France and, to a lesser extent, the United Kingdom. Germany's ties to these nations are valued pillars of the country's foreign and security policy. Additionally, the European Union provides an institutional framework that is highly respected among German authorities. The United States is Germany's most valued transatlantic partner. The institution that most strongly ties the US, Germany and other member states in terms of nuclear weapons is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. A second major interest is the country's international multilateralism. Germany believes that global policy is best done in a culture of cooperation. The country's inclusion in the EU and NATO as well as its close bonds with NATO's three NWS is interlinked with its interests in multilateralism. However, Germany's regard for cooperative approaches goes beyond these actors and structures to cover the entirety of its international behaviour.

Following the Second World War, in particular, Germany adopted self-restraint in power politics as one of its core national interests, including in particular its forbearance from military engagements. Although Germany did increasingly participate in military efforts after the end of the Cold War, its actions were guided by limiting the employment of military force as much as possible under its international obligations (cf. Maull 2000). As a country with restricted ability to use military means to achieve its objectives, Germany depends crucially on the effectiveness of international law (cf. Lübbkemeier 1998). A high regard of the lawfulness of international affairs is, thus, a fourth and last essential national interest of Germany. The link here with its interests in international multilateralism and its engagement in NATO/EU is clearly recognisable.

In addition to these four national foreign-policy interests, it can be concluded that Germany has a strong interest in nuclear disarmament – again, at least after 1989. In international declarations of intent, in multilateral agreements, and in foreign policy actions, the increasing interest of the German authorities in being an active player in advancing nuclear disarmament is visible and significant.

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<sup>169</sup> Cf. historical examinations of German foreign policy (e.g., Pfetsch 2012; Bierling 2014) as well as contemporary assessments (e.g., SWP/GMF 2013). The same conclusion is also reached by Harald Müller (2000). The following remarks build on insights from these and similar works. For further arguments to substantiate these claims, see section 6.1.1. and 6.1.2.

Harmonising the country's main approach to foreign policy and its interest in nuclear disarmament is not an easy task for German policy-makers. Indeed, policies that aim to satisfy all of these aspects unavoidably become entangled in contradictions. Germany ends up having a conflict of interests.

Although this conflict continues to characterise Germany's stance on nuclear disarmament today (cf. Knöpfel 2014), it is nothing new and was highlighted most prominently and clearly by Harald Müller for the first time in an article published in 2000. This paradox has both a content-related and an actor-related aspect. In terms of substance, Germany on the one hand endorses nuclear weapons and their utility in security and defence, particularly within the framework of NATO. On the other hand, it is and feels obligated to foster nuclear disarmament and encourage a demise in the value placed on nuclear weapons in military postures under Article VI of the NPT. The increasing value attributed to nuclear arms and nuclear deterrence among many NATO states and the humanitarian initiative/the TPNW represent prominent examples on each end of the spectrum, between which Germany aims to balance its policies and behaviour (Meier 2016). Precisely this paradox translates to the structural level. Maintaining nuclear weapons as a means of power is a special interest of NAS, including the US, France, and the UK, to which Germany has and wants to keep a close relationship. However, its own status and identity as a NNWS demands that it actively push for a reduction in nuclear arms, an interest Germany shares with the majority of other NNWS. How Germany should resolve the dilemma is subject to debate and a continuous task of policy-makers.

## **6.2.) Conception**

This chapter determines the role conception of Germany in advancing nuclear disarmament as found in high-level statements by the German government during the years of 2007 to 2013.<sup>170</sup> The process of how this has been done so has been described in detail in chapter three. In summary, the role concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states established in chapter five is taken as an analytical grid in order to filter corresponding aspects from Germany's

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<sup>170</sup> The following section (6.2.) describes specifically the conception of the role of Germany in advancing nuclear disarmament. As this makes confusion with other meanings of the term 'role' (that is its connotation as 'function', 'role concepts', or 'role performance') unlikely, the term 'role' is employed more often by itself in order to make the text more readable. Moreover, the following section describes specifically the German role conception in the timeframe of 2007 to 2013. Thus and for the sake of readability, the text omits from explicating this timeframe at most instances.

official proclamations. The present chapter is organised in a similar way to chapter five, covering the 'Meta Aspects' of Germany's role conception as well as its five role categories with its various characteristics. The role categories and subordinated role characteristics will each be briefly introduced, though a complete definition of them is not repeated. After that, the corresponding features of the German role conception in advancing nuclear disarmament from 2007 to 2013 will be described. A last segment classifies the role conception of Germany in the set of ideal types. A summary of these efforts can be found at the end of section 6.2.2., a placement of Germany's role conception in the ideal type scheme is given in section 6.2.3.

### **6.2.1.) Meta Aspects**

Two pairs of underlying themes to the specific role characteristics could be identified in the general role concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states, which are labelled 'Meta Aspects'. The first pair pertains to the role category of the 'Will to Shape International Affairs'. The themes which hold true for most manifestations of the will of NNWS are their 'important' and 'active' role in nuclear disarmament.

#### **Will to Shape International Affairs**

There are manifold references in statements by Germany that it views its own role in the disarmament process as being one of great significance. Several declarations employ the word 'important' directly. The annual disarmament report of 2012, for example, says that "the Federal Government remains as third largest contributor [to the CTBT verification system] one of the most important supporters of the treaty".<sup>171</sup> Others use similar terms such as 'central' (Nikel 2013) or 'instrumental' (Westerwelle 2011) to depict the German role in advancing nuclear disarmament. However, indirect references to this importance can also be found much more widely. These text passages address the nuclear disarmament process and highlight Germany as an actor in achieving progress in this respect. General declarations such as "The Federal Government feels committed to a vision of a nuclear-weapon-free world ... and makes significant bi- and multilateral contributions to maintain its dynamic in 2011" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2011) can be spotted in various of the documents reviewed. Germany's role is stressed in regard to specific issues as well, like its diplomatic involvement

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<sup>171</sup> Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012. All quotations in section 6.2.1. and 6.2.2. are translated by the author unless stated otherwise.

in starting the FMCT negotiations and bringing into force the CTBT (e.g. Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012). Moreover, the role aspects in official texts coded with a view to virtually all following role characteristics can be counted in one or both categories, as they depict Germany as an actor in disarmament affairs in some way.

A similar picture emerges from the texts concerning Germany's activeness in advancing nuclear disarmament. The verb 'active' is used directly with regards to several issues stating, for example, that the government "participates actively" in deliberation reinforcing and expanding the NPT review process on the basis of the decisions taken in 1995 (Bundestag 2008) or plays an "active role" in NATO's Special Advisory and Consultative Arms Control, Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Committee (Bundestag 2013). Indirect referrals to the active nature of Germany's role, which are given far more often as statements referring to some kind of engagement with the disarmament process, can be counted in this category. Along the lines of its 'importance' just outlined, virtually all texts and the coded aspects in them implicitly endorse such a role conception. Generally speaking, the mere fact that the annual disarmament report is issued, summarising Germany's activity in the field, underlines the view that the government is active in this policy field. A prominent example is Germany's efforts in the E3+3 process to achieve a diplomatic solution regarding the Iranian nuclear program (e.g. Hoyer 2009).

### **Approach towards Nuclear Disarmament**

The second pair of Meta Aspects relate to NNWS's general 'Approach towards Nuclear Disarmament', which might be either an incremental and evolutionary process or a planned one with clearly defined steps.

Germany undoubtedly favours the evolutionary process. Text passages in a range of documents state that the federal government supports a step-by-step course of action for disarmament, as also described in the final document of the NPT Review Conference in 2000 (Bundestag 2008). Advances towards nuclear abolition are not viewed with an "all or nothing" mentality (ibid.). Instead, the country is convinced that there are no "realistic alternatives to a gradual progress" (Silberberg 2007). The planned approach is mostly mentioned in respect to the nuclear weapons convention. Documents bring up that Germany attentively follows the discussions surrounding such a convention (Bundestag 2008) and that it fully agrees with its proponents regarding the aspired goal. However, the

administration "does not consider the demand for an immediate start of negotiations on a nuclear weapons convention for realistic at this point in time" (Bundestag 2012). This is due to the fact that the prerequisites for starting such an undertaking, including a strict adherence to the non-proliferation rules of the NPT, are not likely to be met in the foreseeable future.

### **6.2.2.) Characteristics**

This section structures the various specific characteristics of the German role conception from 2007 to 2013 within the five role categories, namely 'Will to Shape International Affairs', 'National Objectives', 'International Objectives (Organisational)', 'International Objectives (Contentual)', and 'Foreign Policy Style'.

#### **Will to Shape International Affairs**

The first category deals with Germany's 'Will to Shape International Affairs' and the two sub-categories: its fundamental form of will and its proclaimed sphere of influence. Looking at the basic 'Form of Will', the two specific characteristics of 'supporter' and 'leader' have been identified in previous chapters to describe the range of non-nuclear-weapon states' roles in this category.

Before describing the policies of Germany that emerged from the texts concerning these two characteristics, it is worth noting a separate attribute that relates to their level of responsibility and is not covered by these two characteristics.<sup>172</sup> It came to light during the analysis that Germany gives in various regards a favourable description of actions by other parties. Although Germany's statements may be valid and truthful, they are often limited to the one viewpoint, one that concentrates on the positive aspects of behaviour. This might be summarised as acting as a bona fide observer.

This theme can be found in reports to the parliament (annual disarmament report and responses of the government to parliamentary interpellations) and relates in most cases to acts regarding NAS, in particular partner NWS (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2008), but in

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<sup>172</sup> However, this attribute does not represent a separate characteristic of the role conception. This is due to the passive nature of the attribute (only role elements that relate to the advancement of nuclear disarmament are listed, see method chapter). Nonetheless, many of the coded text passages are incorporated into the role characteristic 'Recognise nuclear disarmament efforts by NAS'.

some instances also to civil society or NNWS (e.g., Bundestag 2008). One example is the deliberations by the United Kingdom concerning a modernisation of their nuclear submarines. In 2007, the UK government ordered the procurement of a replacement fleet of up to four new submarines to carry a modernised version of the Trident nuclear weapons system. In the aftermath of the Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR) in 2010, it was ultimately decided that this should take place in 2016 (cf. BASIC 2014). When asked by parliamentarians how the government judges a modernisation of the UK's nuclear capability of this kind, it replied that "with a view towards the NPT it is important that the British administration simultaneously decided to reduce nuclear warheads from 200 to 160. The Federal Government has repeatedly welcomed that the British administration has shown its will and readiness on numerous occasions to work towards a nuclear-weapon-free world" (Bundestag 2008). It does not mention any negative effects of the Trident replacement might have on nuclear disarmament. This is despite the fact that, with this procurement, Britain extended the life of its nuclear capability well into the second half of the current century, which might have several adverse effects on the disarmament process (cf. Richie 2012).

With respect to the two general role characteristics 'supporter' and 'leader', Germany's sees its role in both. Each of the two manifestations is more or less referenced to equally in the texts. However, differences do exist within the scope of each characteristic. The shape of an 'assistant' (supporter) and a 'bridge-builder' (leader) are cited significantly more than their counterparts. Moreover, there is a tendency in all manifestations towards 'bridge-builder'. Although not the most directly referenced, the bridge-builder manifestation of the leader characteristic is often mentioned by Germany and appears directly in both the 'co-operating' (supporter) as well as in the straightforward leader role feature, with the responsibility level of 'assisting' (supporter) being only indirectly connected to it, as the conclusion at the end of the category aims to show.

The supporter characteristic has the two sub-features 'assisting' and 'co-operating'. The disparity in the category favours the assisting characteristic. It is to be noted that its definition and operationalisation needed to be specified in the process of coding the empirical material in order to make possible a clear-cut distinction vis-à-vis other role features in the present category. The initial analytical operationalisation was extended to



also include the theme of 'passively approving' in respect to 'assisting' as well as 'actively working' in the case of 'co-operating'. This fits in well with the original definitions, which already include the verbs 'approve' and 'working'. The add-on does, thus, not represent a change in substance.

The most references to the assisting characteristic come in the shape of diplomatically welcoming a certain disarmament policy by others. This includes general instruments such as nuclear-weapon-free zones (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012) as well as specific policies, for example activities by the United States: "The Federal Government welcomes the 2009 expressed intention of the US administration to foster the ratification of the CTBT" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2007). In some cases where texts speak about very broad disarmament efforts, the verb 'support' is employed to convey a similar idea rooted in the passive endorsement of a policy. It is mentioned that the German government "supports in principle" the activities by NAS to reduce the function of nuclear weapons in doctrines as well as the numerical reduction of nuclear weapons (e.g., Bundestag 2008).

A second, somewhat different notion is mentioned by German officials that fall into the 'assisting' shape of the characteristic of a supporter. Documents repeatedly refer to the notion that Germany 'agree to' policies that foster nuclear disarmament. This represents a slightly stronger action than merely welcoming other initiatives. However, it can be still qualified as rather passively complying with the requested policies of others and, thus, as assisting. Further evidence for such a qualification is the attribution of 'welcoming' and 'agreeing to' similar items, such as NWFZ. As such, the Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2008 stated that "Germany agreed to respective resolutions to nuclear-weapon-free zones in the first committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 2008"

The second manifestation of the supporter characteristic is that of 'cooperating'. It is found mostly in text passages that refer, speaking in the 1st person, to a group that includes itself as well as NWS. In such references, it portrays the group as one body, with its members having equal responsibility. The prime example is the negotiations with Iran about the country's nuclear program (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2009). When referring to the negotiations, officials talk of the 'E3+3' as a negotiation group that includes Germany, France, UK, US, Russia, and China. No difference is made between the 5 NWS and Germany as non-nuclear-weapon states. Instead, the group is portrayed as a single body in which

Germany has as much responsibility as the nuclear-weapon states and is seen to work jointly with them. Germany's activities in the disarmament realm within the consortiums of the European Union and NATO – which both include many NNWS, but also the NWS – can be characterised in a similar vein in as far as they refer to the groups as being groups made up of equal partners (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2009).

Direct references to this manifestation of the supporter characteristic, by employing the verb 'cooperate' or similar words, are rarely found when talking about German efforts to advance nuclear disarmament. The only issue-specific mention is made in regard to German disarmament cooperation with Russia. In bilateral projects within the broader framework of the G8 Global Partnership programme, Germany mainly supports the security and safety of Russian nuclear material (cf. Bundestag 2012). However, the disarmament-relevant decommissioning of Russian atomic submarines (e.g. Bundestag 2008) is also the focus of one scheme. In several instances, the texts reviewed refer to the cooperation theme in a general manner. As such, one text states that Germany "will continue cooperation with civil society on all important topics of disarmament ..." (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012). Most direct citations are found in the context of nuclear export controls. However, according to the national and international objectives of the role concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states, export controls are not a nuclear disarmament issue and linked references are, thus, not counted in the present characteristic.

The heavy attribution of the cooperating responsibility to its actions in groups such as the E3+3 does link this will to that of a bridge-builder described below. The main reason for such a link is that decisions in the collective bodies are made on consensus. As positions are to be expected to be somewhat different between the NWS, other non-nuclear parties and Germany, there is at least a possibility for Germany to take on a bridge-building role.

Direct and indirect references combined, it can be said that the German administration assists the advancement of nuclear disarmament on a range of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation issues with a roughly equal dispersion between the two realms. However, it does mainly cooperate on topics that concern the non-proliferation of atomic weapons.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> For the purpose and remainder of this study, the allocation of issues to either the disarmament or non-proliferation realm which was established in chapter five (see section 5.2.3 and 5.3.2., 'Elements of a NFWF') will be followed.

The second characteristic pertaining to the willingness of non-nuclear-weapon states to advance nuclear disarmament is that of a 'leader'. It might take the form of either a straightforward 'leader' or a 'bridge-builder'. Although both manifestations are found in regard to the German role conception, officials overwhelmingly favour viewing themselves as bridge-builders.

In the entirety of analysed texts, only one passage directly employs the word 'lead' or similar terms. Minister of State Erler has said that, "for some considerable time now, Germany has been playing a leading role in disarmament and arms control" (Erler 2009). More often, but still rarely, officials refer to others, in particular the United States and Russia, as leading the disarmament process (e.g., Steinmeier 2008). The phrase 'taking initiative', related to the leadership theme, is more often found in German statements. The most references are made within the context of NATO and its disarmament efforts. Together with Norway, Germany has taken the initiative to sharpen NATO's profile in this policy field (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2008), initiating what developed into an offer of transparency measures with Russia regarding tactical nuclear weapons (Bundestag 2013b), and it also took the initiative within NATO regarding a withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from German soil (Hoyer 2009). Another example is its own and delineated proposal towards a multilateralisation of the nuclear fuel cycle, which the administration has persistently promoted (see respective characteristic in the role category "International Objectives (Contentual). In sum, Germany has mentioned the leader characteristic in respect to the general realm of nuclear disarmament as well as concrete disarmament measures.

It emerged from the texts that, even though Germany takes the initiative and therefore leads in regard to several issues, the characteristic of a bridge-builder is also present in some of these instances. This relationship between the two attributes for the country might be not unexpected in view of the analytical roster of the role concepts, where both belong to the same characteristic 'leader'. However, the closeness between or even the combination of the two manifestations is noteworthy. One example concerns the Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative, in which Germany is an active member. The annual disarmament report from 2012 states that

the NPDI has clearly enhanced its profile as bridge-builder and driving force for the implementation of the Action Plan [included in the NPT 2010 final document] with

numerous initiatives during the first preparation session within the NPT review process in the spring of 2012 and during both of its foreign ministers' meetings in 2012. (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012)

In contrast to the notion of a straightforward leader, the more negotiation-based manifestation of the leader characteristic is referred to directly in various places. The text passage just cited as well as the one following in the coming paragraphs might serve as examples in this regard.

Although there are several references to Germany's responsibility as a bridge-builder in the reviewed texts, all of the statements found were made in the context of the NPT. The importance of the bridge-builder approach - particularly in the framework of the NPT - justifies more in-depth analysis. Indeed, various documents point towards this theme. The most concise view is offered in the NPT section of the annual disarmament reports.

Beginning with their view of the crisis of the NPT, the report states that "the debate among member states is dominated by a conflict of interests between the nuclear-weapon states and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), which is rooted in a different perception of the priorities within the NPT responsibilities" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2008). The report goes on to state that Western NWS demand more non-proliferation efforts, while NAM insist on more steps towards disarmament. The German approach to dealing with such a problematic situation fits in well with the role characteristic of a bridge-builder. The country views both these goals as "two sides of the same coin", a phrase repeatedly used in the writings. Nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament can only be achieved together. Moving forward with regards to nuclear disarmament is necessary if success is to be achieved in the realm of non-proliferation (cf. Silberberg 2007). Germany, according to the disarmament report, "thus champions finding a compromise to satisfy both matters ..." (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2008).

It should be added that the third pillar of the NPT, the right to peaceful nuclear energy, is part of the German bridge-builder idea and often cited together with the other two (e.g., Hoyer 2009). This will not be examined here, as the peaceful use of nuclear fission is not the dominant point of conflict in the NPT. The centrality of taking a "balanced approach" within the NPT, taking into account all three pillars of the treaty named, was strongly underlined by a speech by Minister of State Erler in 2008, to name just one instance.

Although viewing itself as taking on the role of a bridge-builder on its own as well (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2010), the texts mostly refer to Germany's membership in larger groupings. These groupings or organisations, with Germany as a significant contributor, then take on a broker role. The two most-often cited vehicles in this regard are the European Union and the NPDI. Against the backdrop of the quite diversified status of its members, encompassing two NWS as well as various different views on the implementation of the pillars of the NPT, the EU is "especially predestined to show compromises" for the NPT treaty community (Bundestag 2008). Germany, according to the same text, significantly contributes to such policies on the part of the EU. Similar arguments are provided for the NPDI, which also incorporates different views by bringing together countries of the West and NAM states (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012).

Viewing both leader characteristics along the spectrum of disarmament and non-proliferation, it can be observed that Germany mostly engages in the leader realm as a leader. Its role as a bridge-builder is cited by the analysed sources in a general context, not specifying any particular topic.

Moving on from the specifics of the bridge-builder, it is worth mentioning a final note on this overall role characteristic. This is a common theme of all of the different manifestations of the will to shape international affairs that emerged from the texts. In fact, the common theme resurfaces again in respect to international content-related objectives as well as foreign policy styles and will be detailed further in those segments. This is the importance of international law and/or fundamental agreement with allied countries in taking on responsibility in advancing nuclear disarmament.

The subject was most comprehensively elaborated on in an introductory speech by Minister of State Reinhard Silberberg at a joint conference of the Federal Foreign Office and the German Foundation of Peace Research in 2007. In his opening remarks to the conference, which was concerned with new directions in disarmament and arms control, he stated that

when we are invited to talk about new paths towards disarmament and arms control today, then always on the basis of existing multilateral treaties and the common norms anchored within them. To remain clear about this: the pathways provided by the multilateral treaties are still expedient, but we should take care to preserve,

extend and, where necessary, adapt the network of pathways we use.  
(Silberberg 2007)

After going into detail about reasons for the "indispensability of such an approach" he concludes that "we operate on the grounds of multilateral agreements. We operate so to say on firm ground (ibid.). This observation is less remarkable when it comes to the supporter characteristic, as this feature is defined by agreeing to some extent with partners. However, in this regard it can also be stated that all the issues that Germany supports are founded clearly in international law – in particular the final reports of the NPT Review Conferences – and in fundamental agreement with NWS and NNWS. The leader characteristic, by contrast, involves per definition much lesser conformity with fellow governments or NGOs. Even the bridge-builder does, in abstract terms, go beyond the positions of the conflicting parties. However, in cases where Germany leads and where it acts as a bridge-builder, the issue brought forward is embedded in current international law and/or agreed by allies in principle. The initiative or new proposal presented here goes beyond the status quo, but remains within the legal framework and/or the framework commonly established with allied nations. One example that demonstrates the 'leading' characteristic is Germany's initiative together with Norway to sharpen NATO's profile in the field of disarmament from 2007 (cf. Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2008). Taking the initiative translated in this case into bringing the issue forward within the Alliance and relevant discussion bodies, and achieving a commitment to contribute to nuclear disarmament at the summit in Bucharest in April 2008. Although Germany took the initiative, it did so with a partner nation. Even more importantly, it proceeded within the framework of NATO and in agreement with its nuclear and non-nuclear members instead of, for example, insisting on a more rigorous policy outside of the organisation. One example of Germany acting as a bridge-builder can be seen in Germany's membership in the NPDI and the various references to this group in the texts. The annual disarmament report from 2012 describes the group as having been established by ten nations in 2010 with the objective of implementing the resolutions from the NPT Review Conference in 2010. Germany acts in the group together with allied non-nuclear-weapon states and issues statements and proposals in agreement with them. It also rests its own inputs within the limits (and even on the grounds of) the framework of the NPT and its 2010 policy recommendations. These recommendations of the 2010 NPT Review Conference can

be considered international law and are approved by allied NWS, among other member states.

In order to test whether such a characteristic holds for all issues in which Germany is engaged, one might look towards its role conception in regard to issues where it has most significantly moved away from international law and/or international agreements. The push for reductions in tactical nuclear weapons in Germany and Europe might be seen as such. Removing these weapons from Europe has not been declared by their owner and Germany's close ally, the United States, nor was this part of the US-Russian reduction treaty. Moreover, the reduction was not foreseen in NATO, within the framework of which these weapons are hosted by Germany. However, the broader idea and practice of reducing nuclear arsenals is shared by all actors. Against this background, in the coalition agreement in 2009, Germany determined that the new government would encourage the withdrawal of sub-strategic nuclear warheads from its soil and has heavily promoted this goal internationally (see respective role characteristic). The texts reviewed leave no doubt about the fact that this initiative is pursued in close coordination with NATO and the US as well as building on the US (and Russian) commitment to nuclear reduction more broadly. As soon as a NATO policy and measures regarding the disarmament of tactical nuclear weapons - also vis-à-vis Russia - were determined in 2010 (Strategic Concept) and 2012 (DDPR), Germany also promoted these steps as part of their overall push for reductions. Even though Germany took the initiative and proposed policy beyond the status quo, it acted within the fundamental agreements with its allies and international law.

The fact that the issues Germany engages in most are grounded in international agreement and that references to such a basis are made numerous times further suggests that the bridge-builder characteristic is to some extent involved in many other features. Taking up those issues in particular is evidence of the will of a bridge-builder, because it advances issues that are politically agreeable at least by some of the conflicting parties, in this case allied NWS and NNWS, and with all parties on a legal level. To what extent Germany does indeed view itself factually as a bridge-builder in the other categories can only be tested to a limited extent on the basis of the texts reviewed. However, this would appear to be a valid assumption.

The second sub-category regarding the 'Will to Shape International Affairs' is the proclaimed 'Sphere of Influence'. The general role concepts for NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament distinguish between the national sphere and the international sphere. In sum, it can be attested that only a low number of references are made to a German role conception in the national sphere. What is more, official statements negating the analytical role characteristics or not including them, respectively, outweigh positive remarks in the domestic realm. As the two spheres cover the entirety of role aspects, almost all text passages relate to the international sphere, covering both regional and global realms. Evidence for such a conclusion and examples can be found in subsequent parts dealing with national and international objectives, respectively.

### **National Objectives**

The second role category concerns 'National Objectives'. In accordance with the conceptual role for NNWS, the national objectives are structured according to the overarching issues in the disarmament process, namely 'Function of Nuclear Weapons', 'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures', and 'Elements of a NFW'. Overall, and as indicated beforehand, Germany's endorsement of the listed national aims is low. No role aspect is referenced to a great extent in the texts, while four are not named and/or are negated, and three are only cited occasionally.

The two characteristics of ending nuclear sharing and reducing the reliance on extended nuclear deterrence are placed in the first section relating to the function of nuclear weapons. The characteristic of ending nuclear sharing has two aspects: removing all nuclear weapons from national soil (technical aspect) and restraining from partaking in their use (political aspect). Turning to the political side of ending nuclear sharing first, it can be recorded that no statements in the reviewed texts relate positively to such a role characteristic. On the contrary, the German government suggests that it will continue to participate in nuclear sharing arrangements. A parliamentary interpellation in 2008 asked the question whether the administration "supports the end of the political aspects of nuclear sharing ...?" (Bundestag 2010b). The answer refers to the NATO summit in Straßburg/Kehl in 2009, where "heads of state and government confirmed that nuclear deterrence is an essential element of the NATO strategy" (ibid.). The referral to NATO's nuclear strategy in combination with other comments on nuclear sharing, also outlined just below, suggests



that it remains committed to nuclear sharing arrangements that are part of the Alliance's nuclear deterrent approach.

With regards to the technical side of nuclear sharing, the stationing of nuclear weapons on national soil, Germany committed itself in the coalition agreement of 2009 to foster the withdrawal of the remaining US tactical nuclear weapons from its territory (Koalitionsvertrag 2009). Several text passages mention this commitment (e.g., Bundestag 2010b) and various others depict it as a German objective in advancing nuclear disarmament. In one response to the German parliament, for example, the administration states that it will "press for a withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from Germany in the drafting of the new strategic concept of NATO as well as vis-à-vis the American allies." (Bundestag 2010a). Further evidence for such a position can be found in the role characteristic concerning the reduction of US forward-deployed tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

However, what is already apparent in this statement is repeated in virtually all references to the remaining US nuclear weapons in Germany: the country will honour its commitment to the technical side of nuclear sharing as long as international agreements, in particular with NATO and the US, exist. Statements focusing on political discussions, like the one cited above can be substantiated with comments by the German administration on technical aspects, for example, that the "Federal Government plans to operate the Tornado weapon system [which is the delivery system charged with the nuclear mission under nuclear sharing agreements] ... in relation to nuclear sharing until further notice" (Bundestag 2013b).

The second role characteristic concerns the reduced reliance on extended nuclear deterrence. Germany depends on such a strategy through its membership in NATO and the US nuclear umbrella. The texts analysed do not contain any references to a reduction of this dependence. Instead, Germany repeatedly states its commitment to the defence alliance and its nuclear deterrence strategy and argues in favour of such a policy (e.g., Bundestag 2008). However, it should be noted that Germany saw the discussions in NATO regarding its strategic concept, for example, as "an opportunity to consider changing the function of nuclear deterrence" (Erler 2009). Minister of State Erler continued by saying that he is not talking about "giving it up".

With regards to the second bulk of issues under the headline of 'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures', no references relating to the two role characteristics of limiting the

workings of the nuclear industry and increasing the national government resources and capabilities can be found. However, the two other role elements of stronger relations with civil society and a clear position on nuclear disarmament are mentioned, though both of them only limitedly.

The objective of Germany to enhance its relationship with civil society actors is evident from its participation and occasional hosting of meetings and conferences that involve mainly civil society and deal with nuclear disarmament. The Global Zero annual conferences in 2010 and 2011 as well as the international Pugwash conference in the same year are evidence of such an engagement (Bundestag 2012). One example from a more indirect reference is the talk by Minister of State Silberberg (2007) at the forum launched by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with representatives of civil society. As such a relationship is viewed as making an "important contribution" (Bundestag 2008), the administration might well be characterised as striving towards a stronger bond with civil society.

Taking a clear position on nuclear disarmament is the next role characteristic to be looked at. This notion is differentiated into two parts: unambiguously affirming the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons and defining one's positions, respectively. Only one direct link to the first of these two could be found. In a motion accepted by parliament, the ruling parties state that Germany "clearly committed to the disarmament responsibilities of the NWS stemming from article VI of the NPT and to the goal of a nuclear-weapon-free world" (Bundestag 2009). However, many other text passages unambiguously confirm the goal of nuclear abolition, without directly employing the verb 'clear' (e.g. Steinmeier 2009c) or similar adjectives.

The picture emerging from the text concerning the second meaning of the characteristic is more blurred. Considering the amount of data and to ensure an analytically sharp assessment, the feature itself has been split in two parts: Offering a stance on a certain issue and clearly delineating it. Viewing the entirety of role characteristics, it can be summed up that most are either endorsed or rejected. Only some features are not mentioned, such as the objective to examine the conditions for nuclear disarmament. German officials such as Foreign Minister Westerwelle have also stated directly that the country "formulated clear expectations ... to the NWS" (Westerwelle 2011). By their positive or negative reference to

the role aspects, the policy documents outline Germany's stance and satisfy the basic meaning of 'defining its own position'.

Whether role characteristics are clearly delineated cannot be assessed conclusively. For such conclusions, additional information is needed about what other policy aspects exist, and what specific manifestations of the characteristic it should be delineated from. The clearness of role features itself therefore must be assessed for every single case in a more in-depth analysis.

Despite that, general remarks can be made. It can be stated positively that, in the entirety of role characteristics, several bigger issues are described in some detail, one example being Germany's stance on the problems in the NPT. Moreover, with regard to some issues, the documents reviewed refer to more detailed positions elsewhere, for example, in the case of a multilateralisation of the fuel cycle and specific proposals by Germany to the IAEA. However, the definition of most role features remains rather shallow. This is valid for many characteristics that do not receive a great deal of attention in the documents, such as organising meetings, conferences and committees. The statement also holds for such well-referenced issues like the objective to remove nuclear weapons from German territory. One could ask for many more details than actually given, including the timeframe, legality, procedure, and costs of the favoured reductions. The shallow nature of most characteristics also becomes obvious in the government answers to parliament. One example question by the first chamber asks about the strategies the Federal Government envisages in order to bridge the gap between NWS and the NAM in the NPT, an essential objective of Germany. The administration replies in broad terms that non-proliferation and disarmament are supplementary aims in its view and that it pursues a balanced approach (Bundestag 2010b).

In the last issue complex 'Elements of a NWFV', only one characteristic was established in the general role concepts for NNWS, namely non-nuclear-weapon states enacting domestic legal measures. Germany does not offer any ideas that positively relate to this theme. However, the administration negates the idea of anchoring the renunciation of nuclear weapons in its Basic Law. Answering a question about whether such a renunciation would foster nuclear disarmament internationally, it responded by saying that "the adoption of a waiver of weapons of mass destruction in the Basic Law would not set an additional international example" (Bundestag 2008).

## **International Objective (Organisational)**

The next role category to be looked at is the one of 'International Objective (Organisational)'. It comprises as role characteristics the work of Germany with international actors in the advancement of nuclear disarmament, differentiating between the work with NWS and/or NAS, NNWS, civil society, and international organisations. In sum, it can be concluded that the texts reviewed make references to all actors and the German relationship with them. The quantitatively most featured are remarks involving international organisations, while NWS/NAS take second place in such a ranking, but with only a small margin between them. There are fewer references to NNWS than to the first two, but these are still significant, particularly since the establishment of the NPDI in 2010. Civil society ranks fourth and is only mentioned as a working partner to a limited extent.

Before each one of these actors is covered below, it is worth stating that Germany's preference for working with others on the basis of international law and/or an international agreement that has emerged also applies in the present category. This is fundamental to the German view concerning how international progress towards nuclear disarmament should be organised.

As such, it is a view stressed by German officials throughout the reviewed texts. In general terms, the yearly disarmament report shows that virtually all of Germany's nuclear disarmament goals are based on international law and/or an international agreement, and in most cases both (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012). More specifically, references to the work with each actor in the present role category and, by that, to the organisation of the international process towards disarmament mainly involve direct links to international treaties or agreements. Regarding the work with NWS/NAS, Germany's efforts to reduce tactical nuclear weapons on its soil are prominent. Texts state that Germany will promote such a reduction "on the basis of the new Strategic Concept [of NATO, dating 2010]" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2011) and in "agreement with allies" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012). The importance of international treaties and agreements in the country's dealings with non-nuclear-weapon states are exemplified in Germany's involvement in the NPDI. This grouping has made it its primary objective to foster nuclear disarmament by promoting the "implementation of the decisions of the 2010 NPT Review Conference" (e.g., Bundestag 2012). Minister of State Silberberg also makes clear that civil society "should not lose sight of

the firm ground [of multilateral agreements]" when debating nuclear disarmament with the German administration (Silberberg 2007). Lastly, German engagement in international organisations is based on existing international accords. One example is the FMCT negotiations in the Conference of Disarmament. Although a change to the framework for deliberations is possible, this would need to be based on comprehensive support by the international community, according to several statements to the Bundestag (2012).

Turning toward the role characteristics, the first one is the work with NWS and/or NAS. Overall, it is Germany's policy "not to provoke, but to promote the dialogue with NWS" (Westerwelle 2011). The mostly cited NAS are the United States and Russia. Various text passages refer to the two actors at once as working partners, most prominently with regards to the new START treaty (e.g., Bundestag 2009) or the follow-on reduction process (e.g., Bundestag 2013b). Both countries are also named in several places separately; the US in relation to the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from Germany (Bundestag 2010b) and Russia concerning a dialogue on transparency measures (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012). Working with groups of states in which NWS participate is also a common theme in writings from German officials. The prime example is the E3+3 negotiations with Iran concerning its nuclear program. Indeed, Germany only deals with Iran "within the framework of the E3+3" (e.g., Hoyer 2009).

The primary way in which Germany works with non-nuclear-weapon states, the second role characteristic, is through the NPDI, at least since its establishment in 2009. At various points, the texts analysed mention the initiative, covering both general issues such as the fostering of disarmament in the NPT context as well as specific issues like proposals for transparency measures (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012). Additionally, and sometimes in the same vein, the European Union with its more than 20 NNWS as members is mentioned in terms of fostering disarmament. As such, the implementation of the Action Plan from the 2010 NPT Review Conference "in co-ordination with partners in the EU and the NPDI" is often referred to (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2013). Other non-nuclear-weapon states are also mentioned, such as Norway and the common initiative by Germany and its Nordic partners to sharpen NATO's disarmament profile (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2007).

Concerning Germany's relationship with civil society, it is proclaimed that the government aims for a "continuation of the cooperation with civil society in all important fields of

disarmament, arms control, and non-proliferation" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012). The collaboration focuses on think tanks and NGOs. One example regarding Germany's work with think tanks includes the participation of Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control Rolf Nickel at a high-level meeting on disarmament at the DGAP (Nickel 2013). Germany's presence at the annual conference of the Pugwash network in 2010 (cf. Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2011) and its assistance in planning a conference by the Middle Powers Initiative in 2012/2013 (Bundestag 2012) is evidence of its engagement with NGOs. However, as these examples also show, Germany sees the working relationship as being limited to conference/seminar participation or organisation and texts do not suggest any deeper cooperation with civil society actors.

The last role characteristic, the work with international organisations, is the most-cited feature of Germany's idea of how to organise nuclear disarmament in the foreign policy realm. This characteristic differentiates between work with IOs as actors and work with IOs as forums. This divide is, however, not applicable to the German case in a strict sense. This is due to the fact that Germany is a member of the two organisations the reviewed documents mention in regard to this characteristic, namely the EU and NATO. As a member state, it appears to see those as forums for advancing its interests together with others and as actors whose agenda it may influence. It was, for example, seen as a "great negotiation success" for Germany when it anchored the responsibility to work towards a nuclear-weapon-free world in NATO's 2010 Strategic Concept (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012) and when the administration was able to expand the profile of the EU in the field of disarmament while it held the presidency of the organisation in 2007 (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2007).

The main references to other IOs as actors are to the verification institutions of the IAEA and the CTBT Organisation. Although widely found throughout the source documents, a motion of parliament in advance of the NPT PrepCom in 2009 states the issue concisely. The accepted proposal prompts the government to "finance the CTBT Organisation to a sufficient level" and bring the issue of signing a Safeguards Agreement and Additional Protocol with the International Atomic Energy Agency back on the agenda" (Bundestag 2009). In addition to this, the texts often refer to international organisations as forums in which Germany operates. Various text passages mention in particular the Conference of Disarmament (e.g. Bundestag 2008) and the NPT Review Conferences. Meetings such as the First Committee of

the UN General Assembly are also named as gatherings in which the nuclear disarmament process can be advanced. References range from general remarks on the objective to "successfully co-create the review process of the NPT" (e.g. Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2013) to specific remarks on discussing the FMCT at the CD (e.g., Bundestag 2008). With regards to the UN, one document states that the General Assembly of the UN is, in Germany's view, the central forum for disarmament, arms control, and non-proliferation of WMD ... worldwide" (Bundestag 2008).

### **International Objectives (Contentual)**

The following discusses the German role characteristics in the category 'International Objectives (Contentual)'. The section is structured, like the national objectives category, according to the overarching issues in the disarmament process, namely 'Function of Nuclear Weapons', 'Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces', 'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures', and 'Elements of a NFWF'. This category is referred to most in German documents. However, it also comprises the most conceptual features per se. Eleven out of the twenty-eight role characteristics are found in the German documents to a great extent, with the most endorsements for Elements of a NFWF. Seven more role features are present to a significant amount in Germany's role conception, with five characteristics being both endorsed to a limited extent and denied/not mentioned, respectively.

Concerning the function of nuclear weapons in current military postures, four role characteristics of NNWS were proposed. Germany makes positive comments about two of them, partly endorses a third, and rejects the last characteristic. The first feature, a decrease in the prominence of nuclear weapons in NATO policies, is clearly referred to in the reviewed texts. Minister of State Werner Hoyer (2010) stated that Germany "calls for the function of nuclear weapons to be further scaled down in NATO's Strategic Concept". The commissioner for disarmament, Peter Gottwald (2011), repeated that the Federal Government champions such an objective within "the framework of the review process of NATO's deterrence and defence posture". For a change to the policy, however, "consensus within the alliance is a prerequisite" (ibid.)

The next role characteristic of promoting a decreased reliance on nuclear deterrence is closely related to this. It is noteworthy that nuclear deterrence is referenced only in the context of NATO, not mentioning bilateral talks with the US and other NWS or with IOs such

as the NPT. As the last feature showed, Germany is generally in favour of reducing the function of nuclear weapons in NATO. This appears to include nuclear deterrence, as was also argued earlier in terms of reducing reliance on extended deterrence. Minister of State Erler, for example, sees the discussions about NATO's Strategic Concept in 2009 as "an opportunity to consider changing the function of nuclear deterrence" (Erler 2009), which does not mean "giving it up". Apart from Germany's general endorsement of a reduced reliance on deterrence, the add-on of "not giving it up" already indicates that the country does not firmly endorse this role characteristic even in the NATO context. An answer to the parliament in 2008 clarifies that "a credible NATO deterrent will, for the foreseeable future, require not only conventional but also nuclear measures" (Bundestag 2008). In combination with not viewing a decrease in nuclear deterrence postures in the context of bilateral talks and the NPT, the objective of changing policies of nuclear deterrence to some extent does not justify even a limited endorsement of the present role characteristic.

Significant positive references are given to aiming for stronger negative security assurances (NSA), the next role characteristic. Already in the early documents reviewed, Germany states clearly that the strengthening and advancement of the NPT in its view includes a confirmation of NSAs (e.g., Bundestag 2008). Accordingly, Gernot Erler states that the country would welcome such NSAs being included in the 2010 US Nuclear Posture Review (Erler 2009), while a motion accepted by parliament requires it to "prompt the five recognised nuclear powers to a binding renunciation of the deployment of atomic weapons against NNWS" (Bundestag 2010a). It should be noted that part of these statements came at a time when the valid nuclear posture of allied NWS did not include such assurances, and no final document of the NPT process asks NWS to adopt NSA, although the conference parties welcomed efforts in this direction in 2010 (NPT 2010). NSA are, however, adopted by all NWS with regard to various nuclear-weapon-free zones. Based on the fundamental international agreement on NSA that comes from such and other accords, Germany promotes a measurement that actually goes against the specific policies of allied NWS.

To a limited extent, Germany supports a wider application of the No-first-use (NFU) principle. Although referenced rarely and only in the context of NATO, one exemplary text passage says that a "realistic intermediate goal would be a declaratory policy that defines as the sole purpose of NATO's nuclear weapons the deterrence of nuclear attacks on its



territory" (Gottwald 2011). Such an objective is presently limited by NATO policy, though. Asked by parliamentarians if the German administration views it as reasonable to hold on to the first-use policy of NATO, it answered that such a posture would indeed contribute to the Alliance's ability to deter potential aggressors (Bundestag 2008). As the objective is laid out at least in one of the two references, it is considered to be endorsed to a limited extent for the purpose of the role conception.

The second issue in the disarmament process concerns nuclear forces. Again, four role characteristics are envisaged by the general role concepts. Germany's statements clearly endorse three of these, with one being negated. The reduction of nuclear weapons arsenals and the establishment of ceilings is the first role feature to look at. In general terms, the objective of fewer nuclear weapons has been framed as by Foreign Minister Steinmeier as the most important priority in nuclear disarmament (Steinmeier 2008) which the Federal Government will promote (e.g., Bundestag 2009). In particular, the United States and Russia are mentioned in the reduction process, mostly in terms of lower ceilings in the so-called START treaties (e.g. Bundestag 2010a). Support for the disarmament of Russian atomic submarines, carried out by the Federal Ministry of Economy and Technology, is a specific measurement that Germany envisages in fostering nuclear reductions (Bundestag 2012). Further references are made to reductions in long-range (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2007) as well as mid-range (e.g. Bundestag 2009) nuclear weapons systems. Short-range atomic bombs are of course also mentioned, but are summarised in the more closely linked next role characteristic on the reduction of US forward-deployed tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

This role feature is the most widely cited international objective in the entire role category. Many of the references are made towards the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons, without naming Europe as the location for such a reduction (e.g. Westerwelle 2012). However, these are subsumed under this characteristic, as Germany appears to link the overall reduction of this weapon class to the withdrawal of forward-deployed nuclear weapons in Europe and in Germany in particular (e.g. Steinmeier 2009c). This is made clear by the statement that Germany champions "putting the inclusion ... of sub-strategic nuclear weapons in the future disarmament process on the international agenda and laying the foundations for the withdrawal of the remaining nuclear weapons from Germany"

(Bundestag 2012). A similar link is established with regards to NATO's transparency measurements vis-à-vis Russia, which were declared at the NATO summit in Chicago in 2012 and are seen to "perceptively contribute to the withdrawal of the remaining nuclear weapons from Germany" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012). References to these specific transparency efforts are also included in the characteristic. Moreover, several statements refer to the same context for reductions, mostly specifying that tactical nuclear weapons in Europe are meant, but sometimes without this clarification (cf. Bundestag 2013b and Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2007 and 2008). There are also various direct references to the role characteristic. As such, the reduction of tactical atomic weapons are mentioned by name in regard to the US and Russia, as are the New START negotiations between the two countries, NATO and the NPT (e.g. Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2009; Bundestag 2010a).

Positive German views on the next role characteristic, the opposition to modernisation of nuclear weapons, could not be found in the texts. Instead, passages suggest that the country's stance on this issue is a prime example of a bona fide observer. In an interpellation towards the government, one question concerns the assessment by the administration of US plans to comprehensively modernise its nuclear complex and in particular the development of a Reliable Replacement Warhead (RRW). The German government was far from straightforward in its answer. It simply stated that "in the mind of the US, the RRW programme should achieve a reduction of the amount of US warheads ..." (Bundestag 2008). Another example is the German government's answer concerning an assessment of the British modernisation of its Trident submarines: Germany does not share the view that this is a violation of article VI of the NPT (Bundestag 2008). The British modernisation scheme can, therefore, be assumed not to be a disarmament-relevant measure according to such a statement. Contrary to this, the annual disarmament reports do mention modernisation of nuclear arsenals by NWS as one of the main causes for the problems in the NPT from 2007 until 2010. After 2010, the reports do not mention such a hurdle to the success of the NPT anymore (cf. Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2007-2013).

The last role feature, namely de-alerting the status of nuclear weapons, is also not widely cited, but it is named as an objective. Germany formulates clearly its objective to put the thirteen practical disarmament steps agreed upon at the NPT Review Conference in 2000

back on the agenda, which includes the "de-alerting of operational nuclear weapons" (Bundestag 2009).

Staying within the characteristics pertaining to the disarmament process, the next paragraphs move on to the issue complex of 'Facilitating Measures'. Six specific role features are differentiated. In general, five of them are positively mentioned by German policy-makers, while one is not cited at all. The first aspect relates to efforts to keep nuclear disarmament on the international agenda. This is referenced directly several times. One example passage states that Germany "advocates at the preparatory meetings of the 2010 NPT Review Conference keeping strategic disarmament on the agenda ..." (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2007). Moreover, by being active (see 'Meta Aspects' of the same name) at the international level, Germany indirectly endorses such a role element throughout most of the texts.

The next role characteristic of recognising nuclear disarmament efforts by NAS is also cited frequently. Although other countries like the UK and its Trident system are rarely cited (e.g., Bundestag 2008), by far the most mentioned nuclear-armed state is the United States. Germany praises the country's disarmament activities such as the new US Nuclear Posture Review, the disarmament of sub-strategic nuclear weapons in Europe by 95 percent since the height of the Cold War, the significant reduction in the readiness of nuclear weapons (Bundestag 2008) and "substantial disarmament steps" included in the New START treaty with Russia (Bundestag 2009). However, the nuclear reductions envisaged under the US-Russian treaty can objectively be seen as only modest. Only strategic nuclear weapons are covered by the accord, while a figure of 1,550 deployed warheads is set as the objective – a number that is merely about 250 below the US arsenal and even 13 warheads above the warheads deployed at the first counting in 2011 (US DoS 2011); the objective is, however, is not to be fulfilled until 2021. Such a disparity between Germany's recognition of positive disarmament efforts and the more complex and often disarmament-unfavourable reality can be seen in several text passages. Therefore, the present role feature is linked to the *bona fide* observer characteristic, under which references are subsumed that also frame efforts by NAS in an extremely positive way.

In regard to the role characteristic of carrying out studies on nuclear disarmament issues, Germany welcomes projects that produce studies, such as the International Commission on

Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (ICNND), launched by Australia and Japan (e.g., Bundestag 2010a). However, it does not refer to itself as an actor producing studies on related issues. It might well be that at least some of its proposals, for example those submitted in the NPT Review Cycles, are based on its own studies. But these are not cited. Apart from these reports, the texts do not reference producing studies as an objective.

In contrast, organising meetings, conferences, and/or committees is mentioned several times in a positive tone. Significant references include meetings of some kind, while conferences are cited mostly in relation to civil society. Meetings can be differentiated into more formally organised ones such as the NPDI meeting organised by Germany in 2011 (e.g., Bundestag 2012) and meetings designed to build bridges, like the proposed EU round table to foster the negotiations of a NWFZ in the Middle East (Hoyer 2010). Moreover, references to meetings that aim to educate experts about the FMCT (e.g. Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012) or general non-proliferation and disarmament matters (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2010) can be found in the texts examined. Germany directly supports organising events that are designed to exchange views with civil society, as it did in 2009 and again in 2012/2013 with regard to a forum by the Middle Powers Initiative. Another example in this respect is its support of the annual conference of the Pugwash network (e.g., Bundestag 2012).

It has already been stated briefly in regard to the organisation of the disarmament process that Germany endorses better governance structures and procedures in international institutions. Looking at the specific references to this characteristic, Germany supports better institutional structures in regard to the CTBTO, the IAEA, and the NPT. While better financial support is mentioned in relation to the CTBTO and the IAEO (e.g., Bundestag 2009), the German administration also makes one reference to additional governance mechanisms for the NPT, including a system of contact points for better communication and exceptional state conferences in cases of emergencies (Bundestag 2008).

The role feature of dealing with states that are defiant to the NPT (India, North Korea, and Iran) is the most referenced characteristic concerning facilitating measures in the disarmament process and, in terms of numbers, comes close to citations referring to reductions in tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, the most pressing issue on Germany's agenda in the entire role category. Unchallenged leader in terms of references is Iran. Unsurprisingly, the efforts by the E3+3 (Germany, France, the UK, US, Russia, China) to find a

solution to the controversy about surrounding the Iranian nuclear programme are cited widely (e.g. Steinmeier 2008). It is prominent in all the annual disarmament reports reviewed and has also been mentioned often in several speeches by high-level officials ever since 2007 (e.g., Eler 2009b; Nickel 2013). The approach Germany and the E3+3 take in dealing with Iran on this contentious issue is, on the one hand, negotiation and cooperation and, on the other hand, financial sanctions based on UN resolutions (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2008).

The second most-often mentioned state is North Korea in this role characteristic. One of the texts reviewed state that "despite the fact that the conditions for a resumption of the six-party talks are not in place at the moment, the Federal Government supports this format in principle as suitable for a solution of the North Korean nuclear problem" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2011). Germany insists that North Korea complies with the UN Security Council resolution demanding the country to stop its nuclear weapons programme (Westerwelle 2013), but will continue to "work towards a diplomatic solution" (Bundestag 2009).

India and its nuclear developments receive the least attention from the German administration. Indeed, Germany does not interpret the 2008 US-Indian nuclear agreement as including regulations on disarmament and non-proliferation (Bundestag 2007). The administration also does not directly recognise any implications of the agreement for disarmament or non-proliferation in the broader context, even though it provides nuclear material to a country not allowed to receive such support under the guidelines of the Nuclear Suppliers Group. However, Germany makes the general statement that it will promote the "introduction of India to the international non-proliferation regime and the NPT in the most comprehensive manner possible" (ibid.).

One new actor emerged from the texts of German officials: the defiant state Syria, and how to deal with it. Although there was concern that Syria might seek to extend its civil nuclear program into a military one from the start of the nation's nuclear ambitions in the 1970s, it was not until the outbreak of the civil war and a report on its military nuclear capabilities from the IAEA in mid-2011 that Syria came to the forefront of the international non-

proliferation agenda.<sup>174</sup> As the general role concepts of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament were based on writings from the expert community during the time from 2007 to 2013 this might explain why the analytical conception does not recognise Syria as a prominent defiant state. The German documents examined demand that "Syria work together with the IAEA in a comprehensive manner to clarify all remaining questions regarding its nuclear programme" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2011). Germany supported the IAEA Council of Governor's resolution stating that Syria had breached the safeguard agreement with the organisation and mentions that, in case of Syrian refusal to cooperate, one reaction to this violation could be sanctions by the UN Security Council and/or the European Union (Bundestag 2012).

The fourth and last, though most comprehensive, block of issues to be looked at in this role category regards elements concerning a NFWF. A total of fourteen role characteristics are conceptually differentiated. German documents reveal that the country fully endorses ten of those, while two are supported in a limited manner. Two role characteristics are not mentioned positively, with one of them also being rejected in part.

The first role feature, to work towards universal membership of the NPT, is clearly endorsed by some of the texts examined. The German administration states that "the universalisation of the NPT is a defined goal of the Federal Government as well as its partners in the EU. The Federal Government will continue to promote that Israel as well as the other states still not party to the NPT join the treaty as NNWS ..." (Bundestag 2008). Moreover, Germany also supports membership of states outside of the NPT in other relevant agreements such as the CTBT. By doing so, it aims to bring these countries closer to the non-proliferation and disarmament regime, if signing the NPT does not appear feasible for the time-being (Bundestag 2012).

Germany's recognition of hurdles to nuclear disarmament, the next role aspect, was widely described in the past pages and can, thus, be seen as fulfilled. The most fundamental problem for progress towards disarmament at the international level might be the divide between NWS and NNWS, in particular NAM, in the context of the NPT. This basic conflict of interests has been stated repeatedly by German officials and was/will be outlined at length

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<sup>174</sup> A well-researched overview of Syrian nuclear programme is provided by the Nuclear Threat Initiative and can be accessed at [www.nti.org/country-profiles/syria/nuclear/](http://www.nti.org/country-profiles/syria/nuclear/) (accessed 25.03.2015).

elsewhere, for example while addressing the German view on the relationship between disarmament and non-proliferation. More specific hurdles in the context of the NPT are also named. According to the annual disarmament report, the

present crisis of the NPT can be traced to the proliferation cases of Iran, North Korea, Pakistan and Syria. Discussions and decisions about the modernisation of nuclear arsenals of the NWS, but also an increasing toleration of the states outside of the treaty make a necessary consensus among the NPT members difficult and burden the regime. (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2008)

These three problems are, however, only mentioned in the reports until 2010, when the list becomes reduced to proliferation cases and the more fundamental divide between the member states named above (cf. Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2011, 2012, and 2013). North Korea and Iran are also mentioned by various individual officials as significant hurdles on the way towards more nuclear disarmament (e.g., Erler 2009b; Hoyer 2010). Lastly, more recent accounts name the relationship between the United States and Russia as important and highlight the deterioration of the bond as constituting a major problem for disarmament and non-proliferation (e.g. Nickel 2013)

The role feature of examining conditions for nuclear disarmament, in the sense of looking at these critically and clarifying them, is not mentioned in the texts analysed. These might have been the topic of meetings held or studies on disarmament issues. However, the present conception of Germany's role only takes as a basis the state's objectives that were mentioned in the documents looked at.

The characteristic of establishing NWFZ is, on the contrary, widely touched upon by official documents. Germany endorses the idea in abstract terms (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2007), and seconds proposals brought forward by others at the international level (e.g. Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2008) and also asks NWS to provide negative security assurances to those states within a zone (e.g., Bundestag 2008). It also supports, in diplomatic ways, the idea of a zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East and the proposed conference by the NPT final document from 2010 in this regard (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012). Germany's behaviour in regard to this role characteristic is also a clear example of a weak supporter role that the country sees for itself in various situations. One statement also covers the idea of a NWFZ in Europe, which would also

include Germany. Asked by parliament about the administration's stance regarding such a zone, it answered that the "Federal Government is a NNWS member of NATO, like the majority of EU states. The Alliance relies for its security on deterrence, to which the nuclear forces of the Alliance also contribute. The question of a NWFZ in Europe ... does not arise against this background." (Bundestag 2008)

Germany also engages with conventional weapons in the context of nuclear disarmament. Minister of State Gernot Erler (2009b) sums up the common theme found in various references to this link. Germany holds that, in principle, "the fewer nuclear weapons the world has, the more important conventional weapons will become". This has, on the one hand, the negative implication that nuclear reductions would change the strategic balance and might cause NAS to increase their conventional arms in order to compensate for reductions in nuclear. Although it is an issue that holds for all NAS, the US global lead in conventional forces in particular is cited by Erler together with the danger that other NAS see nuclear disarmament as a "means for America to attain absolute superiority. It is therefore crucial to find ways to shape America's superiority in such a way that it is not perceived by others as a threat" (ibid.). The Minister of State continues to outline the positive influence of conventional arms control to counter these negative effects of nuclear disarmament, as do various other documents (e.g., Hoyer 2010). There, examples are in most cases restricted to the European security architecture and arms control vis-à-vis Russia in particular. Gottwald (2011), for example, states that progress with regard to the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty "would increase confidence and counter the argument that is advanced by Russia that it needs to maintain its heavy reliance on nuclear weapons because of its inferiority in conventional weapons and a perceived conventional threat from NATO". A "cooperative approach" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012) towards establishing a ballistic missile defence system in Europe is also mentioned as paving the way for a NFWF.

The following characteristics under the topic 'Elements of NFWF' directly address the relationship between nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation by considering non-proliferation measures as a way to foster the disarmament process. Although the specific role aspects will be outlined below, the broader theme of non-proliferation measures positively impacting the nuclear disarmament process is also recognised by Germany in various places in the reviewed texts. Germany sees "disarmament and non-proliferation as



literally being the two sides of a medal" (Nikel 2013). The country clearly states that it "actively promotes a halt to proliferation as an essential basis for the further process of nuclear disarmament" (Bundestag 2009). As this conviction is also the basis for its position as a bridge-builder, it has therefore already been outlined in more detail under that role characteristic.

It is noteworthy that those aspects dealing with non-proliferation are the most cited in the "Elements of a NFWF" issue block and make up about half the total references to the content-based international objectives. Although non-proliferation-related role features make up nine of the fourteen aspects in the named issue block, they only account for about ten (adding the dealings with defiant states from another issue list) of the twenty-eight role characteristics in the entire category. This is a clear indication of the high value that Germany attaches to non-proliferation measures. Indeed, the country appears to pay more attention internationally to non-proliferation objectives than to nuclear disarmament aims.

The first of these non-proliferation-related characteristics is working towards ratifying the CTBT. Germany mentions on various occasions that it presses in the "respective multilateral bodies for the commencement of the treaty" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2007). It engaged in personal visits "worldwide" during its EU presidency (cf. *ibid.*) and made use of the CTBT meeting of ministers, the NPT Review Conference as well as bilateral conversations with other countries, for example in 2010, to advance the issue (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2010). The US and Indonesia were singled out by Foreign Minister Westerwelle as the most important countries to be brought into the treaty. He also stated that Germany needs to "redouble our efforts in the dialogue with those governments and parliaments to effectively lobby for ratification" (Westerwelle 2011). In addition to the minimum number of countries that make ratification possible, the texts reviewed also state that Germany aims to promote the universalisation of the treaty's membership (*ibid.*).

The other major treaty that should be on the nuclear disarmament agenda, in Germany's opinion, is the FMCT. Starting negotiations on the FMCT, the next role feature, is referenced widely, with the general tone being that Germany "ascribes fundamental importance to the FMCT as an essential contribution to nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2007, see also Erler 2009b). The deadlock in the Conference of Disarmament, where the treaty is supposed to be drafted, had lasted for almost 20 years in

2015 and also put a halt to progress on the FMCT. It is, thus, less surprising that every annual disarmament report reviewed talks about promoting an "initiation of the negotiations on a prohibition of the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons purposes" (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2011). The primary place for discussions on the treaty referred to remains the UNCD for Germany, which the country aims to revitalise. However, other fora are also used to promote the idea. Examples are the statements by the NPDI at the NPT Review Conference in 2012 (Abrüstungsbericht 2012) as well as an FMCT resolution in the first committee of the UN General Assembly (Bundestag 2012). The latter is also supposed to increase pressure to start negotiations in the UNCD.

Another issue focused on by Germany is promoting a system of international nuclear fuel cycle management. It has pushed the issue within the framework of the NPT, for instance, in a working paper submitted together with Russia in 2008 as well as in proposals in the EU and in the IAEA (cf. Abrüstungsbericht 2007; Abrüstungsbericht 2009). Germany's own proposal, in particular, to establish an international and commercial uranium enrichment facility – the so-called Multilateral Enrichment Sanctuary Project (MESP) – is referenced in the texts. Proposed in 2006 by Foreign Minister Steinmeier, the project would include a multilateral approach and would be controlled under the auspices of the IAEA (cf. Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2007). The proposal was also discussed at various meetings afterwards and has been kept on the international agenda, for example, in the IAEA Council of Governors or interested states in a national meeting in Berlin (Steinmeier 2009c; Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2009). The main motivation behind the proposal and Germany's engagement with the issue at large is stated as being its "support of solutions that resist proliferation while granting the right to the peaceful use of nuclear energy" (ibid.). Also mentioned is that the risks associated with proliferation are to be neutralised without digging up "new trenches between the signatory states to the NPT", a statement that points towards the popular bridge-builder characteristic of Germany (Bundestag 2008).

The next role feature concerns a promotion of the same rules for NWS and NNWS, mainly in terms of the non-proliferation measures they are subject to. The only reference to this comes in an answer to the German parliament when it asked about what measures member states should agree upon at the NPT Review Conference in 2010 (cf. Bundestag 2008). The answer listed more than fifteen objectives, which are categorised in one or another role

feature in the present analysis. Among them is "the avoidance of double standards in combating proliferation" (ibid.). However, as the quote is only mentioned in the entirety of reviewed texts and it is part of a comprehensive list, it is judged as only being endorsed by Germany to a limited extent.

The aspect of increased transparency and accountability is promoted by Germany in numerous text passages and a variety of ways. The most cited passages refer to amplifying the transparency and accountability of NWS. On the grounds of international agreement at NPT Review Conferences, Germany asks NWS for increased transparency and supports reporting requirements by these states (e.g., Bundestag 2008). It focuses on a proposal by the NPT. And it developed and proposed within the NPT context a concrete reporting form for NWS to declare the size of their nuclear weapons arsenals (e.g. Bundestag 2012). However, states are not using the recommended scheme yet. NATO is seen as another area where increased transparency is desired, and this also applies to the US-Russian bilateral relationship. Germany took the initiative at the NATO summit in 2012 to "offer Russia a dialogue on transparency measures about the tactical nuclear weapons in Europe" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012). It "shares the view, that suitable transparency measures in the form of an information exchange between the US and Russia on their arsenals could support the process of including sub-strategic nuclear weapons in the disarmament process" (Bundestag 2010b). In addition, there are several references explicitly to nuclear material. In a motion accepted by parliament, the German administration is also required to promote disclosure of plutonium stocks (Bundestag 2010a). Although stated earlier by the government as abstract goals for their international engagement (Bundestag 2008), concrete objectives, for example in the framework of the NPT, are yet to be formulated.

One fully-fledged non-proliferation role characteristic is the increase in verification. The most-often cited goal by Germany is promotion of the IAEA Additional Protocol. The "Federal Government sees in the IAEA security agreement and the Additional Protocol the core elements of an effective control of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2007). According to this position, Minister of State Hoyer said "it is essential to strengthen the IAEA's control options via the Additional Protocol as an integral part of the verification standards" (Hoyer 2010). Several text passages follow such a theme and state the goal of universalising the organisation control mechanism (e.g., Bundestag

2008). Within the NPDI group, Germany campaigns for the implementation of the Additional Protocol by non-nuclear-weapon states and produces proposals to support such an implementation in the NPT process (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2013). However, signing and ratification of the protocol has also been brought up with partners in the EU, the G8 and in bilateral relationships (Bundestag 2012). The verification system of the CTBTO is cited as a second issue. These references have already been dealt with under a separate and specified role characteristic. However, it should be noted here that financial support is given to increasing such a system within the framework of the European Union (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2010).

The next role feature is the enhancement of legal measures. Against the backdrop of the remarks at the beginning of this segment, it is well conceivable that Germany is indeed broadly engaged in such an undertaking. One example is its efforts to find a common interpretation of how to deal with states that break out of the NPT. However, these legal enhancements are already covered by other characteristics. The present conceptual feature applies to legal terms that can be looked at anew in a more significant manner. A treaty to ban nuclear weapons or a NWC, which has been proposed by many NNWS, civil society in many states and experts in the follow-up to the humanitarian initiative, would be such a legal measure. Germany does not positively engage with this or other examples, or with the broader scheme. Indeed, it rejects the Nuclear Weapons Convention, a fact that was described in the 'Meta Aspects' (cf. also Bundestag 2012).

Several references are found in the reviewed documents that endorse the characteristic of enforcing rules engrained in the NPT and addressing NPT break-outs, respectively. The merging of these into issues in the general role concepts of NNWS appears to be valid also for the German role conception, as both issues are mentioned together half of the time. A prime example of this is the speech by the Minister of State Werner Hoyer to the General Debate of the NPT Review Conference in 2010. He stated that "in view of our experiences with North Korea, Germany thinks it is necessary for the NPT states parties to agree on rules governing withdrawal from the Treaty and reaction to Treaty violations" (Hoyer 2010).

Only one single reference is made to specifying the irreversibility concept in nuclear disarmament. It came as part of a general request within an accepted motion of parliament to put the thirteen steps proposed at the NPT 2000 Review Conference back on the agenda

at the 2010 gathering of the treaty members (Bundestag 2009). In a similar way to the role characteristic of equal rules for NWS and NNWS on nuclear non-proliferation, the fact that the irreversibility idea is rarely mentioned, and when so only within a more comprehensive list justifies describing German engagement with the issue as being limited only.

Moving on from the specific role characteristics in the category of content-based international objectives to an overarching observation, one notable remark concerns the subject area spanning nuclear energy in more general terms as well as nuclear export controls and nuclear security in specific. These issues go beyond the role features identified in the abstract role concepts of NNWS. However, they are highlighted by German policy-makers to a quite significant extent. The prime example of this is the description in the annual disarmament reports, which has an entire section attributed to it (cf. Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2007 until 2013). One may rationally question on this basis whether the role conception of Germany – and by extension also the analytical role grid for NNWS more generally – should include these issues. In order to address this question, one may look towards the role conception in more detail and to what extent the topics around nuclear energy indeed form a significantly new feature.

The expert community does not directly name nuclear energy as an issue to be considered as a characteristic in the role concepts of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament. However, the more specific topics of nuclear export controls and nuclear (material) security are flagged up most prominently under what is conceptualized as the role feature of 'increased transparency and accountability', which also covers related aspects of the IAEA and its safeguard system. Although more of a non-proliferation aspect, the link to nuclear disarmament has been mentioned by experts. The German role conception appears to point, indeed, in a similar direction. Taking an annual disarmament report as representing an overarching testimony of the German view, the main section on nuclear disarmament does not include policies on nuclear energy, export control and nuclear security. These are instead included under a separated heading of broader mechanisms for curbing proliferation risks. In there, transparency and accountability as well as the IAEA are indeed a major focus, while other institutions such as the Nuclear Suppliers Group or the Zangger Committee are also named in the nuclear realm.

This general analysis suggests that the topics under scrutiny here are to some extent already covered by the established role characteristic pertaining to transparency and accountability. Other aspects of the German role conception appear to lie outside of the analysed role, which does focus on nuclear disarmament. Although adjacent non-proliferation measures are included in this role and coded in accordance, the restraint of risks associated more generally with the proliferation of nuclear-relevant material/technology/energy is too weakly linked to the core role to be considered a formal part of it. This said, it is worth bearing in mind the issues of nuclear energy, export control and nuclear security in the following examination of the German role performance in order to assess whether the link becomes stronger and whether its inclusion in the abstract role concepts for NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament might be meaningful in future analysis.

### **Foreign Policy Style**

The last role category is that of 'Foreign Policy Style', containing a total of five distinct role characteristics. All of the features are mentioned positively by Germany in the reviewed documents. The two role aspects at the ends of the spectrum, 'insisting' and 'helping', are referenced in a significant number of text passages, with the two styles of 'pressing' and 'promoting' cited to an even greater extent. The last characteristic of 'promoting a middle position' is not directly cited as much, but cross-analysis leads to the conclusion that it is an approach to foreign policy that is used at least as widely as promoting or pressing for an outcome are.

It should be noted upfront that some topics are associated with different foreign policy styles for Germany. In dealing with the nuclear dossier of Iran, for example, Germany insists on a certain solution and also stands up for its own interests (see subsequent paragraphs). In such cases, the topic is placed within the role characteristic to which the most references occur. In all topics concerned, one foreign policy style is cited significantly more often than others (as will be specified for each topic in the following).

Before turning to the concrete role features, it can be recalled that the analytical role concepts identify almost all characteristics pertaining to the international realm as being some form of multilateral action. National objectives, by contrast, are mostly seen as being accomplished by solitary action by one state within its own borders, in several cases in coalition with inner-states parties such as civil society. Looking at German role conception,

one sees that the country acts fully in line with such an approach. A prime example of a statement relevant to this comes from a speech by Gernot Erler entitled "40 years of NPT: What is at stake?" After outlining several major changes in the international environment, such as the emergence of international terrorism, Minister of State Erler states that

the international community has to tackle these challenges and dangers together. We can only deal with them effectively if we work together. Today more than ever, our maxim must be: security is indivisible. We have to make best use of our common instruments ... and the NPT as the cornerstone of the non-proliferation system must clearly occupy a very prominent place in this endeavour. (Erler 2008)

Moreover, the previously described organisation of international affairs is perhaps the clearest evidence of Germany's cooperative approach to foreign policy in the field of nuclear disarmament (see role category 'International Objectives (Organisational)'). This category includes only specific characteristics that highlights working with others. Even working with civil society within Germany's national border is seen as being bound by multilateralism. The already cited speech by Silberberg at a national conference on new paths for disarmament and arms control makes this clear by highlighting that discussions have to be "always on the basis of existing multilateral agreements and the norms anchored therein" (Silberberg 2007).

The first foreign policy style listed in the conceptual role grid is 'insisting'. Within the analysed documents, the word 'insist' is used often. However, phrases such as 'must do' or 'cannot accept' are also seen to express a similar meaning, that is, demanding something forcefully and/or not accepting refusal.

Almost all references coded accordingly have been made in the context of the nuclear programme of Iran. Foreign Minister Westerwelle put it bluntly when he said that Germany simply "cannot accept a nuclear armed Iran" (Westerwelle 2013), while similar strong statements are made widely (e.g. Erler 2009b). The main actor cited as being the one to achieve such an objective is the coalition of E3+3. A diplomatic solution through negotiations by the E3+3 with Iran is the procedure favoured by German. "Within the framework of the E3+3, we continue to aim for a diplomatic solution with Iran" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2010). Citations referring to the tough E3+3 approaches often also involve direct references to international law. As such, the annual disarmament report from 2010 states that Germany

will "demand compliance with the responsibilities of the UN Security Council resolutions by Iran and comprehensive cooperation with the IAEO" (ibid.).

Taking into consideration the limited success of these negotiation rounds, the German government also envisages financial sanctions: "In order to bring Iran closer to our proposals, the USA as well as the European Union have significantly increased their sanctions towards Iran ..." (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012). Minister of State Hoyer expressed even more clearly the toughness of this stance when he argued that "further sanctions must make it clear to Tehran that this refusal has a price" (Hoyer 2010). Sanctions are seen as falling under the 'insist' role characteristic as these measures apply economic force and arguably demand a change of policy, even more so than diplomatic efforts. As far as sanctions are concerned, the E3+3 countries plus the European Union are mentioned as actors, while Germany sees its efforts as being incorporated in the EU sanctions. The texts examined state that resolutions on sanctions are coordinated within the framework of the "E3/EU+3" (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2008) and refer only to the EU in sections that specifically discuss its efforts regarding the enforcement of sanctions, but do not refer to Germany as an individual nation (e.g., ibid.). It is noteworthy that, as with political measures, economic sanctions are also based on international agreement within the European Union and the E3+3. Moreover, Germany also refers to sanctions being legitimised by resolutions of the UN Security Council (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2013).

The remaining references to the subject of the role characteristic relate to North Korea, in particular its nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programme. The link to the Iranian issue is clear and German officials do in most places name North Korea in the same passages as Iran. All annual disarmament reports state in the same or similar fashion that Germany "insists on the demands of the UN security council towards North Korea, in particular the discontinuation of WMD and missile programmes" (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2009). Guido Westerwelle suggested that the six-party talks, including also the US and China, is the forum that Germany recognises as a negotiation body (Westerwelle 2013).

Two observations are worth noting. Firstly, the toughest role characteristic of insisting is only found in regard to cases of non-proliferation in the German documents reviewed. The administration does not forcefully express demands concerning any issue within the core realm of nuclear disarmament.



Secondly, in both the Iranian and the North Korean case, which are cited in the role characteristic, German policy-makers cite international law, and the UNSC resolutions in particular, as the main bases that Germany insists upon adhering to. This UN body involves only the five recognised NWS and resolutions are made by consensus. In their favoured approach to both cases – E3+3 and six party talks – allied NWS are seen to be essential parties. Moreover, and in general, halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons is one of the three main objectives of the entire NPT, the internationally most recognised treaty concerning nuclear issues and cornerstone of the regime in Germany's opinion. As such, the statements also underline the importance of international law and agreement with NWS when Germany applies the foreign policy style of insisting.

To 'press' is the next foreign policy style defined. This characteristic is found much more widely than the insisting style and does in fact have the most references of any singular style. This role feature primarily involves 'forcefully putting forward' a claim/position or urging someone/something to undertake a certain action. Direct references to such a characteristic can be found in the reviewed texts, for example, in terms of the NPTI urging a further decrease of the function of nuclear weapons in doctrines (Bundestag 2013a) or pushing for better financial support for the IAEA (Bundestag 2009).

The German verbs 'eintreten' (Engl.: stand up for or defend something), 'einsetzen' (Engl.: champion and take a stance for something/someone), 'auffordern' (Engl.: prompt or urge something/someone), and 'aufrufen' (Engl.: call on someone / call for something) are also used in numerous places. As such connotations resonate with the definition of the role characteristic, which can also mean to 'try persistently to persuade someone', such verbs are considered to be subsumable under the present role feature. Further, the adjacent characteristic of promoting, dealt with below, involves sometimes much weaker foreign policy styles that can be clearly differentiated from defending an issue. Germany champions, for example, the "swift implementation of the recommendations and responsibilities in the Action Plan [agreed upon in the final document of the NPT Review Conference 2012]" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2010). When it takes the initiative on a certain stance, such as sharpening NATO's profile on disarmament (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2007), Germany also stands up for the introduction of such measures afterwards. Indeed, most references in the role characteristic involve the verbs to champion / to take a stance. Mentioned to a

much lesser extent are the notions of standing up for something/someone and calling for something/on someone. Examples include "standing up with great engagement for general and global disarmament" (Bundestag 2012a) and calling on the states outside of the NPT to "join it as NNWS" (Bundestag 2012).

Germany presses for multiple issues, ranging from nuclear disarmament topics to non-proliferation measures. Combining a push for both, the administration mentions several times that it champions the implementation of the 2010 NPT Action Plan. The most references to a single issue concern the reduction of nuclear weapons in general and tactical nuclear weapons in Europe in particular. In addition to the just-cited example of general disarmament, various text passages coincide in expressing that the Federal Government agrees "to champion at the NPT Review Conference ..., in the drafting of the new NATO Strategic Concept and vis-à-vis the American allies, that the remaining atomic weapons in Germany be withdrawn" (Bundestag 2010b). Other disarmament issues that are pushed are the function of nuclear weapons in doctrines (e.g., Bundestag 2013a) and providing negative security assurances (e.g., Bundestag 2010a). All references combined, this foreign policy style is applied even more in terms of advancing non-proliferation. Some texts speak of a call to implement the IAEO Additional Protocol (e.g., Bundestag 2012), to champion a NWFV (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012) and to achieve a multilateralisation of the nuclear fuel cycle (Steinmeier 2008). Also widely mentioned are taking a stance in favour of ratifying the CTBT and a swift start to the FMCT negotiations (e.g., Bundestag 2008).

The next role characteristic is that of 'promoting a middle position'. This foreign policy style is closely linked with the responsibility of a bridge-builder in the general role concepts of NNWS. Both the role characteristic itself as well as the link to acting as a bridge-builder can be clearly observed in the case of Germany. The bulk of mentions in the documents are made in reference to the framework of the NPT and a compromise between actors (NNWS/NAM) or thematic positions (NNP/ND), not in regard to concrete issues. Bearing in mind that non-proliferation and disarmament resemble "two sides of one coin", Germany "accordingly champions finding a compromise" (e.g. Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2008). This is also partly seen to be achieved through the European Union, which "aims to equally strengthen and advance the three NPT pillars ..." (e.g., Bundestag 2008). The link between the role characteristic of being a bridge-builder and the foreign policy style of promoting a

middle position is most clear in references to the NPDI. The Federal Government "sees [the initiative] as especially suitable to build bridges and equally champion disarmament and non-proliferation" (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012).

The style of promoting a middle position also appears with regard to situations in which Germany has pressed for advances on nuclear disarmament. In those cases, Germany took the initiative first, but still remains committed to finding consensus on the issue. This also resembles the observation concerning the level of German responsibility between being a leader and bridge-builder. A prime example is the German initiative within NATO which aims to withdraw tactical nuclear weapons from German soil. Although Germany has stated its intention to effect such a removal and also instigated debate about this within NATO, it is of the conviction that "this debate concerns NATO as a whole, and we [Germany] should work toward a NATO consensus on this important question" (Gottwald 2011).

One might question why the negotiations with Iran do not qualify for inclusion in the present foreign policy style. One could argue that Germany also takes a clear position towards and is active in finding common agreement on this issue and in promoting such agreement. However, Germany and the entire E3+3 are not only clear on certain aspects of the potential consensus approach, but have been insisting on them for years, even though the measures do not seem to be agreeable for Iran. Whatever Germany's reasons for not promoting a position that lies more in the middle of the objectives of the conflicting parties, it definitely does not effectively engage in such a process, as the lack of an agreement to date partly shows.

There are almost as many references subsumed under the role characteristic of 'promote' as there are for the pressing style when one combines these with references that match the similar style of 'help'. In accordance with the conceptual description of the present characteristic, several words indicate a reference to the theme of promoting. Named under this definition are in particular the verbs 'support' (Ger.: 'unterstützen'), 'encourage' (Ger.: 'begrüßen'), 'promote' (Ger.: 'werben', 'hinweisen auf', among others), advocate (Ger.: 'befürworten') and the phrase 'put on the agenda' (Ger.: 'auf die Tagesordnung bringen'). All words or phrases can be found directly or indirectly referenced to a significant amount in the texts, while supporting is applied in most cases. In one example regarding NWFZ, the German administration states that "NWFZ are principally an important addition and valuable

support for the global non-proliferation regime and are firmly welcomed and supported by the Federal Government. Thus, Germany agreed to the respective resolutions in the first committee of the UNGA ... " (Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2008).

More generally, most issues directly related to the 'promoting' foreign policy style are transparency and accountability (e.g., Bundestag 2013a), multilateral fuel cycle, (e.g. Bundestag 2012), verification and in particular the IAEA Additional Protocol (e.g., Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2013), nuclear weapons reductions (e.g., Bundestag 2008), a decreasing role of these weapons in doctrines (e.g., Bundestag 2009), the FMCT and the CTBT as well as NWFZ (e.g., Bundestag 2012).

Not named in the general role concepts, but in the reviewed documents for the German case, is the verb 'to welcome' (Ger.: 'begrüßen'). This is defined by the Oxford Dictionaries in 2014 as "an approving reaction" to someone or something. By that, it is understood to entail endorsing a person or an issue and promoting it. Most references by German policy-makers welcome the establishment of NWFZ in general and a NWFZ in the Middle East in particular. The above-cited example can be viewed as supporting this claim.

The last foreign policy style of 'help' was already identified as having a similar meaning to the style of promoting. Although it was defined there as directed at NAS and involving helping them to make progress on nuclear disarmament fronts, it emerged from the German documents that a subset of the same verbs serve as indicators of such a theme as they do for the 'promote' role characteristic. These are 'to welcome', 'to advocate', 'to support', and 'encourage', with supporting statements being again the most commonly used.

It might appear plausible because of that to combine both characteristics. However, the application of the role feature of 'helping' as a distinct style proves valuable in the case of Germany. It is analytically valuable as the text passages can be clearly divided into being directed at the broader advancement of nuclear disarmament and actors in the field and aimed directly at NAS. Moreover, the foreign policy style can be linked to other characteristics such as the bona vide observer and the bridge-builder – a relationship that cannot be drawn to the style of a promoter. For this reason, 'to help' remains a distinctive role characteristic.

Proceeding to the reviewed documents, it can be recorded that almost all references to the helping style are made in relation to numerical nuclear disarmament. In particular, Germany offers its help to the US and Russia in their processes of reduction, whether in terms of tactical nuclear weapons, intermediate-range weaponry, or strategic missiles. As such, a motion accepted by parliament in 2009 demanded that "the Federal Government support a verifiable and irreversible START treaty between the United States and Russia, which comprises warheads and delivery vehicle and envisages their destruction" (Bundestag 2009). Welcoming statements when speaking of the INF treaty (e.g., Bundestag 2008) or encouraging text passages referring to a "complete nuclear disarmament in the [nuclear] sub-strategic field" are other examples of this foreign policy style (Bundestag 2010a). It is noteworthy that helping NAS other than the US and Russia is not significantly mentioned in the texts. Although references are made to the support of the six-party talks by Germany (e.g., Abrüstungsbericht 2008), such references are rare and focus largely on issues other than helping the NAS involved.

However, the foreign policy style of helping NAS is quoted roughly as being mentioned to the same amount in the German texts as the insisting style. The repeated references are in line with the observation provided under the category 'Will to Shape International Affairs' that Germany views itself partly as a bona vide observer as well as its clear endorsement of the role characteristic of recognising nuclear disarmament efforts by NAS. In both features, the United States and Russia are also named among the NAS. Moreover, the appliance of the helping style mostly to issues relating to nuclear weapons reductions makes the link to those characteristics even clearer. Among the various nuclear disarmament aspects in which both nations have made very limited progress, Germany helps them in this by making legal demands for nuclear reductions. Although praising a NAS is a much more favourable action than helping such a country to make progress on nuclear disarmament in the German view, the alignment of Germany with such an objective and being vocal about it does bring together its own interest in nuclear disarmament and in commenting positively on NAS activities.

Moving on from the specific role characteristics to a more general observation, a note on the link between foreign policy styles and the issues it is applied to is worth stating. That way, conclusions about the identified link to the international agreements as well as about

Germany's 'Will to Shape International Affairs' can be reached. In summary and in line with the above conclusions, all issues that are to be advanced with one of the present styles are firmly grounded in international law and/or international agreement. However, there are differences in the degree of political agreement. Each of the foreign policy styles, depending on the issues covered, overlaps to some extent with one of Germany's responsibilities in shaping the advancement towards nuclear disarmament.

The toughest style of insisting only comes up in relation to the nuclear proliferation cases of Iran and North Korea. This is also arguably the topic of most international agreement, both legally and politically. Not only does Germany act with the NWS in the group of the E3+3 and cites UNSC resolutions as the basis for sanctions against Iran, it also follows one of the three main objectives of the NPT (halting non-proliferation) that are in principle also endorsed by the other non-nuclear-weapon topical differences. As the foreign policy style of insisting is found mainly in relation to the cases of Iran and North Korea it appears closely connected to the role characteristic of 'cooperate', which covers those issues as well.

The somewhat weaker style of pressing as well as the much softer approach of promoting largely cover the same issues. Germany does not appear to make a difference concerning when to use one of the two styles. The thematic focus of Germany in regard to these styles is almost exclusively on items within the thirteen practical steps agreed to at the NPT 2000 Review Conference. The only clear additions to the list are NWFZ as well as the decisions regarding the proliferation cases Iran and North Korea. By and large, the thirteen steps plus the two named are the international objectives Germany endorses, leaving out the aims that are dealt with in other international organisations as well as several facilitating measures. By that it can also be noted that the two styles cover disarmament and non-proliferation topics.

However, the issues addressed differ from the one in the insisting characteristic in terms of the international agreement reached on them. The legal basis might be comparably strong as the thirteen steps represent a clear international legal foundation and a particularly strong one for Germany (e.g., Bundestag 2008), while NWFZ have been strongly endorsed by every final document of the NPT since the 2000 practical steps. However, political agreement with other allied countries and NWS in particular is present in general on these issues, though topical differences exist. The United States, for example, does agree to nuclear weapons reductions, but should in Germany's view be pushed/asked to cover more

weapon categories and go further in the disarmament process. While the US does agree to decrease the role of such weapons in their doctrines, in Germany's view, they could go further in doing so; the United States propose a model for an international fuel cycle, but might be convinced to adapt to the German proposal.

The weakest foreign policy style of helping is employed by Germany in relation to the US and Russia, and mainly on the topic of their nuclear reductions. With this narrow focus, the foreign policy style covers specifically one of the topics that Germany also pressed for and promoted. Thus, no further conclusions can be drawn about this foreign policy style and the international (political or legal) agreement it may be associated with.

On the basis of the topics related to the three styles of pressing, promoting, and helping, the approaches appear to be linked to Germany's responsibility level of assisting and leading. However, as largely the same topics are advanced by these styles, no further allocation can be made.

The foreign policy style of promoting a middle position occupies a special position as it is mostly referenced in respect to the general disarmament process, such as a compromise between NWS and NAM or consensus in NATO and EU. Concrete issues are mostly not mentioned. That makes it also more difficult to relate the style to the degree to which the related issues are based on international agreement or international law. However, Germany sees itself as promoting a middle position only within international legally based frameworks (NATO, EU, and NPT). Moreover, it takes into account the positions and interest of NWS and NNWS, which are members of the respective organisations in different combinations. This stresses - in potential terms - both political agreement as well as disagreement with these states. The strong mediating nature of this style links most clearly to the will of Germany to be a bridge-builder in the process towards nuclear disarmament.

Examining in an overarching manner the issues as well as political and legal basis of the foreign policies styles, it becomes clear that the approach of promoting a middle position is even more present than the actual coding suggests. Text passages make significant use of language that fits in with the style of promoting a middle position already and link it to the characteristic of pressing someone or for something. Moreover, Germany also appears to promote a middle position when it helps with and promotes topics. This conclusion can be drawn as Germany offers to promote and help with the disarmament process where it is

firmly grounded in international law and where there is fundamental agreement with allied countries, in particular NWS. These qualities can also be closely related to the definition of the foreign policies style of promoting a middle position. Issues are advanced that are politically agreeable in principle by some conflicting parties, in particular allied nations, and conform to the legal expectation of the broader international community, especially through the NPT. Only the translation of the basic objective into reality appears to differ in the foreign policies styles. To what extent Germany actually views itself as promoting a middle position in these issues is not specified in the reviewed texts, but the documents indicate such a style.

After outlining all role characteristics found in the official statements by Germany, a summary of the results can provide a better overview of the vast amount of data (see Table III). The table listing all role characteristics produced in the chapter on the general role concepts of NNWS is used as a fundament to provide a synopsis of this kind. The German role conception is then incorporated in the table by colouring the respective features in relation to the extent to which Germany complies with the characteristics. To recap what was laid out in detail in the methods chapter, green points towards an aspect greatly referenced and is the one most cited in the role or issue category. Blue means that the role feature is found to a significant extent in the reviewed documents, while orange indicates existence in the role conception of the country to a limited extent. Red is defined as not found or negated in Germany’s role conception.

Role Category (Meta Aspects)		Role Characteristic (Meta Aspects)
Will to Shape International Affairs		- Important - Active
Approach towards Nuclear Disarmament		- Incremental / Evolutionary - Clearly defined / Planned
Role Category		Role Characteristic
Will to Shape International Affairs	Form of Will	- Supporter (Assistant / Co-operator) - Leader (Bridge-builder / Leader)
	Sphere of Influence	- National sphere - International sphere



<p><b>National Objectives</b></p>	<p><u>'Function of Nuclear Weapons'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- End nuclear sharing</li> <li>- Reduce reliance on extended nuclear deterrence</li> </ul> <p><u>'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Clear position on nuclear disarmament</li> <li>- Increase of national governmental resources and capabilities</li> <li>- Limit the workings of the nuclear industry <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Stronger relations with civil society</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p><u>'Elements of a NFWF'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Enact domestic legal measures</li> </ul>
<p><b>International Objective (Organisational)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Work with NWS and/or NAS</li> <li>- Work with other NNWS</li> <li>- Work with civil society</li> <li>- Work with international organisations</li> </ul>
<p><b>International Objective (Contentual)</b></p>	<p><u>'Function of Nuclear Weapons'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Decrease prominence of nuclear weapons in NATO policies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Decrease reliance on nuclear deterrence</li> <li>- Stronger negative security assurances (NSA)</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Wider application of the no-first-use (NFU) principle</li> </ul> <p><u>'Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reduce nuclear weapons arsenals and the establishment of ceilings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Oppose modernisation of nuclear weapons</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Reduce US forward-deployed tactical nuclear weapons in Europe <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- De-alert</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p><u>'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Keep nuclear disarmament on the international agenda <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Recognise nuclear disarmament efforts by NAS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Do studies on nuclear disarmament issues</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Organise meetings, conferences, and/or committees <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Better governance of international institutions</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>- Deal with defiant states to the NPT (India, North Korea, Iran)</li> </ul> <p><u>'Elements of a NFWF'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Work towards universal membership of the NPT <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Recognise hurdles for nuclear disarmament</li> <li>- Examine condition for nuclear disarmament <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Establish NWFZ</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>- Engage with conventional weapons in context of nuclear disarmament <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Work towards entry into force of CTBT <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Start FMCT negotiations</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Promote international nuclear fuel cycle management <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Same rules for NWS and NNWS</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Increase transparency and accountability <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Increase verification <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Enhance legal measures</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>- Enforce rules engrained in the NPT / Address NPT break-outs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Specify irreversibility concept</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<p><b>Foreign Policy Style</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- insist</li> <li>- press</li> <li>- promote a middle position</li> <li>- promote</li> <li>- help</li> </ul>

Table III: Role Conception (Germany)

### 6.2.3.) Ideal Types

The following section brings the established role conception of Germany into the analytical ideal type classifications of non-nuclear-weapon states in advancing nuclear disarmament. It

will do so by relying on the classification details and in particular the operationalisation proposed in the last chapter when the ideal type roles were established on the basis of the expert discourse. These details will be introduced briefly for the purposes of structuring, but not restated in their entirety, also leaving out measuring specifics (see section 5.3). The insights into the German role conception detected in the previous sections of 6.2.2. are allocated to the ideal type scheme.

The entirety of role characteristics that are found to a great extent are organised in the ideal type role conception of Germany on two axes, with each having two parts or dimensions. The first axis (y-axis) is concerned with the scope of the role. It relates to the extent to which non-nuclear-weapon states advance nuclear disarmament. The scope of the role can either be inclusive or exclusive. The second axis details the shape of the role, portraying the posture of NNWS when it comes to affecting progress on disarmament issues. The shape can be either offensive or defensive.

At first, the German role conception is to be allocated to the scope of the ideal types. The scope includes the role categories of national and international objectives - both organisational and contentual - as well as the sphere of influence (part of Will to Shape International Affairs). As none of seven national objectives is endorsed to a great extent by German policy-makers, the category is marked 'exclusive'. The same assessment is reached for the content-related international aims, where eleven out of twenty-eight role features are found to such a degree. Only the organisational side of the international goals is classified as inclusive as two out of four role characteristics are present. In total, thirteen of the thirty-eight national and international objectives are found to a great extent in the German case. In regard to the sphere of influence, only the international sphere is mentioned to such a degree in the case study, resulting in it being evaluated as exclusive. The total assessment of the scope is exclusive for the German role conception. This is because three out of four role categories are judged to be exclusive, with only one being marked as inclusive.

Moving to the shape of the role, this ideal type axis comprises the foreign policy style as well as the Form of Will (part of the Will to Shape International Affairs). Germany's style is to a great extent characterised by promoting, promoting a middle position, and pressing. While promoting represents a defensive style, the other two are seen as offensive. With two out of

three foreign policy styles being offensive, the role category is judged overall to be offensive. With respect to the Form of Will, the leader sub-characteristic of a bridge-builder and the supporter sub-characteristic of assisting are found to a great degree in the German case study. As the first is idealised as offensive and the second as defensive, the form of will is balanced and a stalemate is present here. However, the tendency in the will of Germany is clearly towards the responsibility of a bridge-builder, making an assessment in the ideal type attribute of 'offensive' valid. This leads to a total assessment of an offensive shape in the case of Germany.

The overall classification of the German role conception in the ideal type role conception framework is exclusive / offensive (see Table IV, marked green)

It should be noted in regard to the overall classification, however, that within the dimension of shape, the defensive orientation was also present in the category foreign policy style and that only a tendency tipped the balance to Germany's categorisation as offensive. Furthermore, it can be noted that in the dimensions and scope, there would have been a stalemate between the dimensions (inclusive / exclusive) if role characteristics were to be considered that are not only found to a great extent in the case of Germany, but also to a significant extent. Although only a tendency would tip the balance, the overall classification would change to inclusive / offensive.<sup>175</sup>

	Inclusive / Defensive	Inclusive / Offensive	Exclusive / Defensive	Exclusive / Offensive
<b>Form of Will</b>	Supporter	Leader	Supporter	Leader
<b>Sphere of Influence</b>	National and International	National and International	National or International	National or International
<b>National Objectives</b>	Pursue >50%	Pursue >50%	Pursue <50%	Pursue <50%
<b>International Objective (Organisational)</b>	Pursue >50%	Pursue >50%	Pursue <50%	Pursue <50%
<b>International Objective (Contentual)</b>	Pursue >50%	Pursue >50%	Pursue <50%	Pursue <50%

<sup>175</sup> The calculations behind such an assessment are, in summary, the following. The scope is assessed to be: 'National Objectives' (exclusive), 'International Objective (Organisational)' (inclusive), 'International Objectives (Contentual)' (inclusive), 'Sphere of Influence' (exclusive). The stalemate is resolved in favour of inclusive, as in the largest category of 'International Objectives (Contentual)' 23 out of 28 objectives are endorsed. The shape is assessed to be: Foreign Policy Style (offensive and defensive), Form of Will (offensive and defensive). The stalemate is resolved in favour of offensive, as there is a tendency in both the Foreign Policy Style and Form of Will towards promoting a middle position and bridge-builder, respectively.

Foreign Policy Style	'help', 'advocate', and/or 'promote a middle position'	'insist' and/or 'press'	'help', 'advocate', and/or 'promote a middle position'	'insist' and/or 'press'
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Table IV: Role Conception (Germany) in Ideal Type Role Concepts

### 6.3.) Performance

The upcoming chapter determines the role performance of Germany in advancing nuclear disarmament as found in the official statements and working papers introduced during the 2012-2015 review cycle of the NPT by Germany, the European Union and the Non-proliferation and Disarmament Initiative.<sup>176</sup> The rationale behind this process and the process of doing so itself have been described and substantiated in detail in chapter three. In summary, the role concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states established in chapter 5 is being used as an analytical grid in order to filter corresponding aspects from Germany's actions at the Review Conferences. The structure of the chapter follows the organisation of the proceeding examination of the German role conception in order to achieve consistency and make the subsequent analysis of results even more fluid. As the framing conditions for NPT RevCons and the stance of Germany have been outlined in sections 5.2. and 6.1., the present elaboration moves directly to an analysis of the German role performance in the review cycle spanning 2012 to 2015. The 'Meta Aspects' of Germany's role performance at the conferences will be detailed first, before its behaviour in consideration of the five role categories and its various characteristics are described. The role categories and subordinated role characteristics will each be introduced at the respective place to support understanding within the chapter, though remarks are kept as short as possible in order to avoid replication from chapter 6.2. and the codebook. Afterwards, the related German role performance feature will be described, also giving remarks related to the significant content-related aspects which came to light in the German role conception. A last segment classifies the role performance of Germany in the set of ideal types. A summary of the role aspects can be found at the end of section 6.3.2., a placement of Germany's role performance in the ideal type scheme is given in section 6.3.3.

<sup>176</sup> The following section (6.3.) describes specifically the role performance of Germany in advancing nuclear disarmament. As this makes confusion with other meanings of the term 'role' (that is its connotation as 'function', 'role concepts', or 'role conception') unlikely, the term 'role' is employed more often by itself in order to make the text more readable. Moreover, the following section describes specifically the German role performance in the timeframe of 2007 to 2015. Thus and for the sake of readability, the text omits from explicating this timeframe at most instances.

### **6.3.1.) Meta Aspects**

The first of two pairs of 'Meta Aspects' pertain to the role category of the 'Will to Shape International Affairs'. The underlying themes which hold true for most manifestations of the will of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament are their 'important' and 'active' role in such an endeavour.

#### **Will to Shape International Affairs**

The importance of the role played by Germany is mentioned in various places throughout the reviewed documents. Direct references are not found as widely as indirect ones. One of the few instances is a statement by the Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative stating that their composition as a diverse group of non-nuclear-weapon states enables them to “play a constructive and proactive role” in bringing about progress within the NPT (2014a). Although the reason why the number of straightforward references to their importance is limited is not something that the present analysis focuses on, it may be noted that statements of this kind are often deliberately held back partly in order not to give the impression of arrogance and to remain as diplomatic as is usual at gatherings such as the review conferences of the NPT. Subtle hints at the centrality of the German role behaviour are found much more often and mostly in relation to the overall architecture of nuclear reductions. The European Union, for example, “takes note with appreciation” of the NPDI initiatives to promote the NPT Action Plan in the field of non-proliferation and disarmament (EU Statement 2012a). It is worth highlighting here that these hints at the significance of the German role are in almost all cases made either relating to nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation together or to non-proliferation exclusively (e.g., Mixed Group Working Paper 2014a). This indicates already the prominence of non-proliferation in the German efforts that will be further substantiated and described in the following role characteristics. At a higher level of analysis, the statements and even more so the range of detailed working papers submitted by Germany and the groupings it associates itself with show the importance attached by Germany to its role in advancing nuclear disarmament (as well as its activities, the next role characteristic). In much of the same vein, the role aspects in official texts coded with a view to virtually all following characteristics can be counted in the categories because they promote Germany as an actor in disarmament affairs in some way or another.

A similar picture emerges from the texts with respect to the active nature of Germany's conduct during the NPT Review Conferences and supports the assessment of this role characteristic as being referenced to a great extent. Various statements by Germany as well as NPDI and the EU also speak directly about activeness. Examples range from more general remarks that the "European Union is actively contributing to the global efforts to seek a safer world for all and create the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons" (EU Statement 2012d) and the NPDI reaffirming their deep commitment to actively implementing the 2010 Action Plan (NPDI Statement 2013a) to issue-specific diplomatic action stressing that "Germany also actively assists the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty" (German Statement 2014b), to name just a few. Although similar adjectives are less coded, wordings of the same theme such as "committed to engage" (EU Statement 2012a) or "standing ready to contribute" (German Statement 2015a) are also found. Indirect references are a commonplace in virtually all the source material. Different levels of analysis can be highlighted. Activeness is referred to concretely in the texts, for example, when talking about the EU action to chair the talks on the Iranian nuclear programme between the E3+3 and Iran throughout the examination period outside of the NPT negotiations (e.g., EU Statement 2014a) or NPDI's repeated proposal for a draft standard nuclear disarmament reporting form within the NPT context (NPDI Working Paper 2012d). As argued in the section above, the statements and the official paper that were submitted as input to the conferences as well as all the role characteristics within them speak of the active nature of Germany. This very point is also named in several places in the texts. As such, the EU highlights that its efforts to implement the NPT will be underscored and illustrated "through working papers that we will table at this PrepCom, as well as through information events and further interventions during this meeting" (EU Statement 2012d). In addition to that and taking an even more broader view, the establishment of NPDI itself can be regarded as an active behaviour in advancing nuclear disarmament, as the assembly gathered with the specific goal of taking "forward the consensus outcomes of the 2010 NPT RevCon ... and seeking the continued and systematic reduction of nuclear weapons leading to their total elimination from our world" (NPDI Statement 2012b).

An additional observation and side-note on the activeness of Germany in relation to the two main groupings it associates itself with, namely the EU and the NPDI, may be shared at this point. Measured by its official interventions of speeches and working papers, Germany was

less active at the beginning of the Review Cycle – the years 2012 and 2013 in particular – while engaging with longer and more detailed contributions by its own delegation in 2014, which peak at the Review Conference in 2015. In contrast, its involvement through NPDI as well as the EU was strong from the start and continued through the three preparatory meetings for the treaty in terms of speeches and, in particular, through a substantive number of working papers on the part of NPDI. In 2015, however, NPDI and the EU become almost inactive, leaving the floor to its member states such as Germany itself.

### **Approach towards Nuclear Disarmament**

The second pair of Meta Aspects relate to NNWS's general 'Approach towards Nuclear Disarmament', which might be either an incremental and evolutionary process or a planned one with clearly defined steps.

The reviewed documents show most clearly that Germany sides with an evolutionary process towards a world without nuclear weapons. The country's approach is named in a range of speeches and working papers and all of its appearances favour a step-by-step procedure. The NPDI also champions a "pragmatic and step-by-step approach aiming at their [nuclear weapons] total elimination" (NPDI Statement 2013a) and portrays it as "evident that also in this area [the function of nuclear weapons in NWS' postures], change takes time and is rather incremental than revolutionary" (NPDI Statement 2013b). A working paper submitted by Germany along with a miscellaneous group of other NNWS and Canada gives particular insights into the approach Germany envisages and which revolves around the idea of 'building blocks' (Mixed Group Working Paper 2014a). In essence, these would be "practical, yet concrete near to midterm ... actions in support of a world without nuclear weapons that should and can be taken" (ibid.), encompassing multilateral, plurilateral, bilateral or unilateral deeds. As the working paper illustrates, this process can still be qualified as fitting in with the incremental approach to nuclear disarmament, because it builds on the view of a challenging reality, focuses on steps that can be taken in this environment in a balanced manner, and sets no fixed timetable. Nevertheless, the named approach moves towards the idea of a clearly defined and designed procedure that defines the second role characteristic under this category. This is because the idea of 'building blocks' entails an unambiguous drive towards eliminating nuclear weapons and identifies a range of elements that lead to such a prospect, while seeing it as a common endeavour to

realise these elements not only one-by-one but also simultaneously. That a planned approach is distinctly different to what Germany advocates in its actions is already hinted at in the just-cited working paper, which sees a nuclear disarmament framework or a nuclear weapons convention as a final 'building block'. German Ambassador Michael Biontino made this point undoubtedly clear at the Review Conference in 2015 by saying that "in the NPT community, many partners are wondering whether the step-by-step approach is still valid. Some ask whether it might not be more appropriate ... to start negotiations on a nuclear weapon ban or convention today. Germany does not share this view" (German Statement 2015b).

### **6.3.2.) Characteristics**

The first role category deals with the 'Will to Shape International Affairs' and the two sub-categories of its fundamental form of will and its proclaimed sphere of influence. Looking at the basic 'Form of Will', the two specific role characteristics of 'supporter' and 'leader' depict the main roles a NNWS may take on in advancing nuclear disarmament.

#### **Will to Shape International Affairs**

Before providing further details on the analysis of these two aspects, it is worth noting here Germany's behaviour in terms of another feature that was identified below the threshold of becoming a role characteristic in the German role conception; this is, being a bona fide observer. In the speeches and working papers at the NPT Review Cycle, this trait is much less visible. Throughout the years, Germany and the groupings it associates with do indeed repeatedly recognise the positive aspect of the behaviour of other parties to the treaty, a fact that is recorded in the present analysis as the similarly named contentual international objective. However, in cases where such praise is more controversial, the welcoming attitude is mostly coupled with some sort of recognition of shortcomings or, to a lesser degree, even negative actions. As such, an increased transparency on the part of some NWS is noted in a working paper by the Non-proliferation and Disarmament Initiative (2012d), but is accompanied with a call for a greater need for and expectation of more detailed measures. With even stronger wording, the Initiative acknowledges steps taken by the US and Russia "to mitigate the risk of avoidable nuclear war", but is "concerned by the lack of declared or assumed reductions in operational status since the 2010 Review Conference" (NPDI Working Paper 2014c).



Moving on to the main role characteristics of 'supporter' and 'leader', the German performance can be qualified as lying between the two. Both role characteristics are referenced more or less equally. Differences are, however, clearly shown within the more detailed shape of each characteristic. The forms of 'assistant' (supporter) as well as 'bridge-builder' (leader) are named about twice as much as their respective counterparts. What is more, references to the characteristics of 'co-operating' and 'leading' also involve the role aspect of 'building bridges', as will be described in the respective passages, making this shape of will even more prominent in the German behaviour.

The supporter characteristic includes the two sub-features of 'assisting' and 'cooperating'. The disparity in the category favours the assisting characteristic with about twice as many references made to it in comparison to 'co-operating'.

The weakest references to the role characteristic of 'assisting' are marked by the passive endorsement of the main actors or issues in the disarmament process and are mostly conveyed in the source documents by the verb 'support'. The two prime contexts for such an approval are the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free-zones, in particular in the Middle East, and the work of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Various actions centre on the theme that "Germany continues to support the establishment of a Middle East zone free of nuclear weapons" (German Statement 2014b), backing the conference in general, the appointed facilitator of the conference, and/or the formal decisions taken with regard to the gathering (see, for example, also German Statement 2013). Regarding the IAEA, the delegation from Berlin stated, in different ways, that "with more than 35 years of experience in safeguards, research and development, and the appropriate research networks, Germany will continue to support the IAEA" (German Statement 2014b). Similar tones of assisting are also highlighted by the welcoming of others' policies, a fact that was already touched upon in the analysis of the bona fide observer above. NWS, particularly Russia and the US, and their efforts to reduce nuclear arms are a subject often referred to (e.g., EU Statement 2014b).

The view of nuclear-weapon states as the main actors in advancing nuclear disarmament – while NNWS support them from the sidelines – is indeed a point that was made on several occasions in the reviewed material and is worth accentuating. This is because the role characteristic of an assistant is also defined by a belief that, while all states have a shared

responsibility, NWS can and should lead the process and NNWS are only there to provide help. A case in point is made in one working paper, which says that indeed “all states, and in particular but not exclusively those possessing nuclear weapons, have a responsibility in shaping that environment” (Mixed Group Working Paper 2014a).

A reference like this to a shared but not equal duty in bringing about nuclear abolition is also important in helping to allocate more sharply a group of references which state that Germany plays a more active or engaging role. While the connotation of actively working towards disarmament in itself qualifies the behaviour of NNWS as falling under one of the following characteristics, relocating its sense of duty towards other actors gives good reason to qualify the respective performance by Germany as one of assisting. References that speak of such a qualification employ at times the verb ‘assist’ or the noun ‘assistance’, for example when writing about the nation “actively assisting the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty in building on the verification regime, through close cooperation” (German Statement 2014b). Other similar verbs also bear this meaning, for example, ‘enabling’ or phrases such as ‘making contributions’ to others works (e.g., EU Statement 2013a) or ‘giving advice’ to others upon request (NPDI Statement 2013a).

The second manifestation of the supporter characteristic is that of ‘co-operating’. Direct mentions of the verb ‘cooperate’ or use of the noun ‘cooperation’ in that manner can only be found infrequently (e.g., NPDI Statement 2014a), including references to similar themes, like when NPDI advocates that “disarmament and non-proliferation education should be done in a collaborative way” (NPDI Working Paper 2012a). More widely referred to is the form of will depicted while speaking of the definitional aspect of working jointly towards the same end, i.e. nuclear disarmament. Sometimes this appears more visibly in phrases such as ‘collectively strive’ (ibid.) or when referring to the disarmament process as ‘inclusive’ (Mixed Group Working Paper 2014a). In other cases, the mention of work on a particular issue but omitting any indication of a hierarchy between oneself and other actors is understood as qualifying text samples for the inclusion under the present role characteristic (e.g., EU Statement 2013a).

A related aspect concerns the work done by Germany within groups it is active in. In particular, those groups which are encompassing NWS can often be coded for the ‘co-operating’ characteristic as the definition of the role feature assumes a somewhat equal

responsibility between NWS and NNWS. References to actions by NATO and the EU in general can be seen as fitting this criterion. A prime example is, of course, the negotiations of the E3+3 – comprising the five NWS and Germany as well as the EU as chair – with Iran on its nuclear programme (e.g., EU Statement 2014a). The group is portrayed as one body, with its members having equal responsibility.

Alongside such a perception, it can be noted that many of the references to the cooperating characteristic are not made in the context of a single or small group of participants, but in relation to larger framings such as the NPT Review Conference and its Action Plan (e.g., EU Statement 2013a) as well as the EU or NPDI (German Statement 2014b). A link to the form of a bridge-builder can be seen here, because decisions are made based on consensus within these bodies. As the NWS can be expected to have somewhat different positions to one another, to other non-nuclear parties and to Germany, there is at least a possibility there for Germany to assume a bridge-building role.

The second characteristic pertaining to the willingness of non-nuclear-weapon states to advance nuclear disarmament is that of a 'leader', either as a straightforward 'leader' or a 'bridge-builder'. Although both manifestations are found regarding the German role performance at the Review Conferences, German officials behave in ways associated with the role characteristic of a bridge-builder about three times more often than in ways that fit with the straightforward leader feature.

Direct use of the verb 'lead' is found in relation to only one situation in the reviewed speeches and working papers, which is the leading role of the EU High Representative in negotiations between the E3+3 and Iran (e.g., EU Statement 2012c). The related phrase still in the leadership theme, namely 'taking initiative', is found more often in the source material. References are made by the European Union in relation to organizing seminars on the topic of the NWFZ in the Middle East (e.g., *ibid.*) or in the case of the NPDI, expressing their "intention to take initiatives to support the substantial work of the Preparatory Commission of the CTBTO" (NPDI Statement 2012b), amongst other cases. An indirect connotation to the leader characteristic can be found in behavioural patterns that are signalled by phrases such as 'will do' or adjectives such as 'committed', as well as a thematic emphasis across several documents and within them. Particularly in those cases where behavioural patterns do not show an indication of limitation for the respective action, an

association to the present role feature is assumed to be fitting. One example is the omnipresent reiteration of the EU that upholding the NPT is a “priority” and that it “will promote” the implementation of the Action Plan of 2010 (e.g., EU Statement 2013a). Moving from wordings to a higher level of analysis, the establishment of the NPDI can be viewed as a form of will that corresponds with the present characteristic. Not only does the name of the group contain the word ‘initiative’, but the praxis of designing and implementing a new way specifically designed to promote nuclear disarmament and related measures makes such identification adequate. Although the concrete work of the group may be categorised under the bridge-builder feature as will be argued below, the action of initiating a forum for these work processes is an example of leadership.

It emerged from the text that, even though Germany takes the initiative in some issues, its responsibility as a bridge-builder is present in many of such cases. This relation between the two attributes might be not unexpected when one considers the analytical role roster of NNWS, where both belong to the same characteristic of 'leader'. However, the closeness or even combination of the two manifestations in Germany’s actions is noteworthy. In all the references, the leading role is placed within a realm of negotiation that is central to the bridge-building characteristic. The European Union may take the lead in the context of the Iranian nuclear situation, but it does so within the framework of international discussions with the goal of reaching a multilateral agreement, to reiterate a point already made above.

In contrast to the notion of a straightforward leader, the more negotiation-based manifestation of the overall characteristic is directly quoted in several places. As such, the Non-proliferation and Disarmament Initiative states in a general manner, for example, that it “can play a constructive and proactive role in bridging diverse positions to help craft a successful outcome at the 2015 NPT RevCon” (NPDI Statement 2014a). Other keywords can also be associated with the central theme of the bridge-building characteristic, namely being active in organising a negotiation process that is likely to go beyond the current policies of conflicting parties. Words like ‘consensus’ (for the 2015 NPT RevCon outcome; e.g., NPDI Statement 2014a) as well as phrases like ‘on the basis of agreements freely arrived at’ (by states in the respective region of a potential NWFZ; e.g., EU Statement 2014b) are used in this regard.

References to the theme of Germany's responsibility as a bridge-builder are made in large quantities in the reviewed texts and statements and are made almost exclusively in the context of the NPT. Although the context of the NPT is the frame of the present case study, which may account for the high the number of mentions in regard to the treaty, the close relation to the NPT does show to such an extent only in the present 'Form of Will' characteristic of a bridge-builder. A more in-depth analysis also supports the observation that Germany indeed acts in a bridge-building fashion to advance nuclear abolition, in particular in the NPT.

Despite not explicitly using the term 'bridge-builder' or similar terms, a fair share of coded text passages depict Germany's overall behaviour within the NPT and the respective review conferences with the core elements of the present role characteristic. Both in statements by the European Union and NPDI, the general purpose of actions is linked to "a comprehensive, balanced and substantive implementation of the forward-looking 2010 Action Plan" (EU Statement 2012d) or similar language. By emphasising balance and comprehensiveness in particular, the statements highlight the compromise between different positions within the community, while terms like 'substantive' and 'forward-looking' indicate an interest in going beyond the status quo. The only reference to the bridge-builder characteristic made in terms of a different framework other than the NPT, namely the Conference of Disarmament, also shares these themes. In this treaty environment as well, Germany advocates "dealing with nuclear disarmament within the context of an agreed, comprehensive and balanced programme of work" (German Statement 2014b).

One of the main areas in which the feature of bridging conflicting positions is referred to is the main divide within the NPT community between NWS that prioritise non-proliferation measures and NNWS, in particular the NAM members, that underscore the need for steps towards disarmament. Recognizing such a divide, NPDI acts "to jointly advance the nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation agendas as mutually reinforcing processes" (NPDI Statement 2013a). German statements as well as those by the European Union refer to the same idea by frequently committing themselves explicitly to the advancement of all three pillars of the NPT, comprising non-proliferation and disarmament as well as the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Another area cited in the source documents is the conflicting perspectives on the approach that may be best suited to realise a nuclear-weapon-free world. In particular, the idea of building blocks as an approach to nuclear abolition, as outlined under the respective role characteristic above, can be interpreted as an attempt by Germany to build bridges between the two main camps representing an incremental and a clearly defined process respectively. In fact, the introduction of the working paper that explicitly outlines the process states that, in order to ultimately “eliminate the risk of catastrophic humanitarian consequences from the use of nuclear weapons, the international community should focus not on differences but on common ground by identifying concrete and practical “building blocks” for that shared goal” (Mixed Group Working Paper 2014a). Two aspects deserve to be highlighted in this statement in terms of the bridge-builder characteristic. Firstly, this approach favours the idea of marching together in terms of practical measures. In other words, promoting the common denominator that is central to the bridge-builder. Moreover, and secondly, the paper is also framed in terms of the humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons, the idea that lies at the heart of the humanitarian initiative which has given the most momentum to the planned approach to nuclear disarmament in recent years. Although Germany remains with the building-blocks idea in the realm of a more evolutionary approach, it engages with and moves towards proponents of the alternative procedure as much as it deems possible. Even the boundaries of this possibility are defined in a way that speaks to the present characteristic as it is defined by the common ground between states, including NNWS as well as NWS, believing that “nuclear disarmament processes will need to be as inclusive as possible” (ibid.).

Lastly and more abstractly, the importance Germany attaches to moving forward in a manner that revolves around negotiated agreements is visible in the close association of its behaviour with the European Union and NPDI. Its tight alliance with both groups was expressed, for example, by the German Ambassador Hellmut Hoffman at the 2012 PrepCom when he stated that his “government would continue to pursue its objectives primarily through the European Union and the Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative” (German Statement 2012b). Both groups arrive at their agreed positions and actionable outcomes through a process of finding consensus among the more or less divergent positions of its members. Whereas the EU counts various NNWS as well as two NWS amongst its members, the Initiative is cross-regional and includes aligned and non-aligned

NNWS. The fact that Germany pursues its objectives within such frameworks further underscores its bridge-building role characteristic.

Moving on from the specifics of the bridge-builder, two final notes are worth mentioning concerning the overall role characteristics pertaining to the form of will. Both observations stem from an overarching analysis of the references in this category and can shed additional light on the German role performance as just outlined. The first addresses the relation of supporter and leader characteristics to the issues at hand, while the second concerns the importance of international law and/or fundamental agreement with allied countries for Germany, something that was already uncovered in its role conception as a state.

Are the role characteristics of Germany's actions during the 2015 Review Cycle of the NPT outlined above linked in any meaningful way to the issues at stake in any respective situation? A concise hint that the answer to this is yes is given by the fact that Germany promotes trust as a main element in an environment that enables progress towards a NFWF. The related working paper states that

such trust must be built through demonstrated implementation of concrete disarmament measures by all states possessing nuclear weapons, as well as ongoing commitment to non-proliferation by all non-nuclear-weapon states.  
(Mixed Group Working Paper 2014a)

Although the German administration acts across the entire range of disarmament and non-proliferation topics, a tendency to be more active in issues in the latter of these two is suggested here. This inclination is further looked at and indeed substantiated under the role category examining the content-based international objectives. For the present analysis on the supporter and leader characteristics, the citations and similar references found in the source texts suggest that the main responsibility of Germany and its will to take on more of the leader role lies within the topics of nuclear non-proliferation. In contrast, nuclear disarmament issues are primarily portrayed as being the business of NWS, an aspect that corresponds to the supporter characteristic.

Scrutinizing the data of the German role performance in quantitative terms along the described lines indeed sustains this impression. Across the four imprints of the form-of-will category, Germany only behaves as an assistant concerning issues of nuclear disarmament –

which corresponds to the weakest form of will. The characteristic of a co-operator, not to mention the two versions of a leader, are not referenced at all. When it comes to non-proliferation matters, however, the German performance switches. Almost all references pertain to a cooperating and leading role characteristic, while a good number of instances mention Germany's behavioural pattern as one of assisting NWS or other actors. Interestingly, only about one third of the codes of the actions associated with the bridge-builder can be linked directly to non-proliferation issues. Instead, the majority of situations where Germany acts in a bridge-building manner are related to the more abstract or general advancement of the NPT and its objectives, including disarmament and non-proliferation.

This emphasis on the NPT and its objectives on the whole fits in well with the second observation that surfaced in the coding process for the German role performance in terms of its form of will, namely the importance that Germany as a state gives to international law and/or a fundamental agreement with allied countries as a basis for its actions. This is a common theme that emerged from the texts in much the same extent as already observed in Germany's role conception. As this was already described at some length during the analysis there, the notes here can be limited to linking the idea to the performance of the state. This also makes sense, as the matter resurfaces in regard to role behaviour categories concerned with the organisational aspects of international objectives as well as foreign policy styles and will be dealt with in more detail in those segments as well.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty itself is by far the most-often cited international treaty and the one which Germany attributes most importance to when acting at the Review Conferences. "From Germany's point of view, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty remains the cornerstone of the international disarmament and non-proliferation architecture" (German Statement 2014a). Statements of similar kind are repeatedly made by the NPDI and the EU (e.g., NPDI Statement 2012b and EU Statement 2012d). The Action Plan negotiated and agreed upon at the 2010 NPT RevCon is the specific legal document that serves as the grounds upon which Germany bases its actions. As such, as a prime example, the Non-proliferation and Disarmament Initiative was established for the very purpose of advancing this Action Plan. With that, one can also clearly recognize in its efforts a reverence for international law. References in the source texts on the importance of the NPT as a whole as well as the milestones defined at the gathering in 2010 speak further to the significance



Germany attaches in its behaviour to the fundamental agreement with allied countries. This is because the forum and its final conclusions represent the broadest possible conformity among states in the international disarmament regime. To operate firmly on these grounds also translates into valuing harmony with the policies of other actors. Germany's siding in particular with members of the European Union and the NPDI or the United States in the coded passages highlights the importance it places on a basic union with allied countries in particular.

This observation is less remarkable when it comes to the supporter characteristics, as this trait is defined by agreeing with partners and helping them along the way towards nuclear disarmament. However, in this regard as well, it can be stated that all the issues Germany supports with its actions are based clearly in international law and in fundamental agreement with NNWs and NWS, in particular its closest partners. The leader characteristics, by contrast, involve per definition much lesser conformity with fellow governments or NGOs. However, Germany's role performances in respect to these characteristics are also being steadily based on international law and in agreement with allies. As a leader, Germany only acts on topics that meet these criteria in the first place – then it moves ahead fairly freely. One example is the committed implementation of NPDI's recommendations for promoting disarmament and non-proliferation education (NPDI Working Paper 2012a). Directly following the first international agreement on the importance of such schooling measures under Action 22 of the 2010 NPT Action Plan, the Initiative championed this from the PrepCom in 2012 onwards, though other parties and allies have remained rather quiet on the subject. One example subsumed under the bridge-builder characteristic are the negotiations within the Conference on Disarmament on the FMCT. A cut-off treaty for fissile material is included in various international agreements as a nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament measure and has the support of the German allies as well as most other actors. On this basis, Berlin pushes this topic with scientific experts' meetings, consultations as well as other activities with the aim of achieving results that go beyond the status quo and aim to dissolve the deadlock in the CD.

A second sub-category of the 'Will to Shape International Affairs' is the proclaimed 'Sphere of Influence'. The abstract role concepts of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament distinguish between the national sphere and the international sphere. In sum, it can be

attested that only a low number of references are made to a German role performance in the national sphere. As the two spheres cover the entirety of role aspects, the vast majority of text passages relate to the international sphere, covering both regional and global role aspects. Evidence for such a conclusion and examples can be found below in the sections dealing with national and international objectives, respectively.

### **National Objectives**

The second role category concerns 'National Objectives'. In line with the conceptual role of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament, the national objectives are structured according to the overarching issues in the disarmament process, namely the 'Function of Nuclear Weapons', 'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures', and 'Elements of a NFWF'. Overall and as indicated beforehand, Germany's endorsement of the national aims listed is low. Five out of the seven features determined by the general role concepts for a NNWS are not named or are negated in the reference material about German behaviour, while two others are found to a significant degree.

The two characteristics of ending nuclear sharing and reducing reliance on extended nuclear deterrence are placed in the first section relating to the function of nuclear weapons. With regard to the first, promoting a termination of nuclear sharing arrangements would put Germany in a position where it would have to end its related commitments within NATO (i.e. the support NATO, and in particular the United States, in carrying out nuclear strategies). There is no evidence of such action by Germany moving towards such an end or towards the ending of nuclear sharing in more general terms. On the contrary, representatives from Berlin indirectly negate the role characteristic by reaffirming Germany's commitment to the responsibility taken on under past decisions within NATO, prominently including nuclear sharing. In the NPT General Debate, Ambassador Biontino says that while "Germany is firmly committed to its obligations within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance, it is resolved to help create the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons in accordance with the goals of the Non-Proliferation Treaty" (German Statement 2014a). Statements referring to the more technical side of the issue at hand, that is, no longer stationing nuclear weapons on its home soil, are not made at all.

The second role characteristic concerns the reduced reliance on extended nuclear deterrence. A strategy that Germany itself relies on through its membership in NATO and

the US nuclear umbrella. In all the source texts, no reference has been made to such a measurement, either by Germany itself or by the Non-proliferation and Disarmament Initiative or the European Union.

With regards to the second bulk of issues under the headline of 'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures' no countable references related to the two aspects of limiting the workings of the nuclear industry and increasing the national governmental resources and capabilities were found. However, the two other role elements of stronger relations with civil society and a clear position on nuclear disarmament are mentioned to a significant degree.

German efforts to enhance the relationship with civil society actors on a national or sub-national level can be found in its behaviour at the NPT Review Conferences. In general terms, it recognises “the significant role that civil society can play in the field of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation” and “is ready to intensify its engagement with civil society organisations in order to attain our common objectives” (NPDI Statement 2013a). One measure carried out by the European Union was, for example, the proposal and later implementation and maintenance of the European Union Non-Proliferation Consortium (e.g., EU Statement 2012a). However, most references to this role characteristic are made in relation to nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation education. Both the EU and NPDI cite the importance of the issue, while the latter grouping of NNWS engages more deeply with it. They see it as an “integral part of [their] joint work” (NPDI Statement 2013a), a diplomatic activity that was further substantiated by submitting a working paper specifically on this issue.

The two role features of increasing the national government resources and capabilities as well as limiting the workings of the nuclear industry are not highlighted specifically in the German behaviour. However, references to the IAEA and the organisation's verification system are closely linked to both role characteristics. Two examples in this regard are German actions towards “establishing and maintaining state systems of accounting for and controlling nuclear material, as a key to enhancing the effectiveness and efficiency of IAEA safeguards” (NPDI Working Paper 2012b) and towards “reaffirming the principle that states parties should demand the conclusion and implementation of a Safeguards Agreement ...with IAEA as a condition for new supply arrangements” (NPDI Working Paper 2013c). As

the working of the IAEA and its safeguard arrangements are subsumed within the abstract role concepts of NNWS under the feature of 'increasing verification', further references will be stated there. Moreover, German statements on export controls, such as in the second citation, are not coded as a characteristic at all, a decision that is substantiated in the remarks given under the role category 'International Objectives: Contentual' and the sub-heading concerning Elements of a NFWF.

Taking a clear position on nuclear disarmament is the next role characteristic to be looked at. Germany itself, as well as within the framework of the EU and NPDI, unambiguously affirms the goal of a world free of nuclear weapons in its actions, which constitutes the first definitional aspect of this feature. Indeed, the biggest number of direct references are made towards this affirmation and its more general nature. Theo Peters, diplomat from the Netherlands, speaks on behalf of the NPDI and reaffirms that it is "this goal that brought the NPDI together in The Hague this year, that will bring us together in Hiroshima in 2014 and that will guide us through the Review Process until 2015" (NPDI Statement 2013a). The EU and Germany are somewhat more cautious at times in what they say and refer more often to establishing the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons (e.g., EU Statement 2013b, German Statement 2014a), but still highlight the end-goal of Article VI of the NPT.

Moving on to the more detailed facet of the role characteristic, the specific performance of Germany may indicate a stance on respective disarmament and non-proliferation issues discussed. Viewing the entirety of role characteristics, it can be summed up that most are indeed mentioned to some extent. However, it is worth highlighting that negative references in the documents analysed for the German role performance are rare. The main reason can be seen in the choice of the German government on what topics it acts on. Its delegation is free to choose what issues it would like to address and what ones it would rather not engage with, for whatever reason. The just described role characteristic of ending nuclear sharing arrangements provided a precedent here. Making its position even clearer, a clear delineation of the topics Germany acts upon can also be found in source documents. In particular, the more than a dozen analysed working papers by the NPDI provide an exceptional level of detail on a very broad range of topics. The superficial nature of several of the general statements is thereby more than balanced out.

It should be noted, though, that whether role characteristics are clearly delineated cannot be assessed conclusively. For such a conclusion, additional information would be needed about what other policies exist and what specific manifestations of the characteristic these could be delineated from. The clearness of role features itself would, thus, have to be assessed in regard to every single case in a more in-depth analysis.

In the last issue complex of 'Elements of a NWFN' only one role characteristic was established in the general role concepts of NNWS advancing nuclear disarmament, namely non-nuclear-weapon states enacting domestic legal measures. No act by Germany relating to this theme could be found in the source documents.

### **International Objective (Organisational)**

The next role category examined is 'International Objective (Organisational)', comprising the work of Germany with NWS and/or NAS, NNWS, civil society, and international organisations, respectively. In sum, it can be concluded that references to all actors and a relationship with them are made in the reviewed texts. Quantitatively most featured are remarks involving NWS/NAS, with international organisations in second place in such a ranking, but with only a small gap in number of times referred to. References to NNWS and civil society are much fewer than to the first two but still significant.

Before each one of these actors is looked at below, it is worth stating that the above conviction of Germany to work with others on the basis of international law and/or an international agreement that emerged from the texts also applies in the present category. This is a fundamental conviction by Germany in the way it sees the organisation of international progress towards nuclear disarmament.

On a more general level, actions carried out by Germany throughout the NPT Review Conferences are tinged by this theme. For example, Jacek Bylica – a high-ranking official of the European External Action Service – stated in the General Debate of the 2015 treaty gathering that his organisation “remains firmly committed to the rule of law in international relations, including in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation” (EU Statement 2014a). The most prominently referred to legal accord in the references is unsurprisingly the NPT and, in particular, the Final Document and its roadmap agreed in 2010, with Germany clearly stating that it “stands by” this (German Statement 2015a). The emphasis to past and

current international settlements, obvious in nearly every working paper submitted by the NPDI, gives further impetus to this feature.

Giving examples for the link of Germany to the respective actors in the role category, criticism of Russia over the perceived violation of Ukrainian territorial integrity can serve as one instance where international law and an agreement with allies relates to the actions of Germany vis-à-vis NWS and/or NAS. One might consider negative security assurances and the negative effect of the intervention of the Russian Federation on Ukrainian territory to be a specific issue that is relevant to the advancement towards nuclear abolition. The respective behaviour of Germany, the EU as well as NPDI here builds clearly on its interpretation of global rules, out of which “the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, as well as Russia's specific commitments to respect Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity under the Budapest Memorandum of 1994” are highlighted (EU Statement 2014a). Moreover, proposals for the way ahead include coordination with allies, in particular Ukraine, Russia, the US, and the EU in this case. The work with international organisations per se fits in with the idea being discussed here, as these are usually established by the global community. An example is the Conference of Disarmament as a collaborative forum. In this context, the European Union stated that it “remains committed to treaty-based nuclear disarmament and arms control and stresses the need to renew multilateral efforts and revitalise multilateral negotiating bodies, in particular the Conference on Disarmament” (EU Statement 2013b). The issue of NWFZ highlights this theme in relation to Germany's work with NNWS, as it is virtually always based on global legal customs such as the principles set out by the UN Disarmament Commission in 1999 and involves an agreement between the non-nuclear-weapon states of the relevant territory (e.g., EU Statement 2014b). Lastly, interactions with civil society also follow the same procedure. As such, for NPDI, engagement with civil society is based on and promotes its deep commitment to the NPT and is to be carried out with broad support for the principles of international law and mutual agreement at national, regional and global levels (NPDI Statement 2012b).

In terms of the specific role characteristics of German performance, the first one is the work with NWS and/or NAS. The special responsibilities of states that possess nuclear weapons are highlighted by Germany in several instances. Common are statements that push for a

further reduction in the global nuclear stockpile in particular by NWS and NAS (e.g., EU Statement 2014b).

Furthermore, most references address all those states as a group, and do not single out an individual nation. The behaviour of NPDI in particular reflects this theme, but it can also be found in activities by the EU and Germany itself. A typical example is the working paper submitted by NPDI (2015b) in which it summarises and reiterates its proposed actions in the review cycle, ranging from recognizing the value of nuclear-weapon-free zones to respecting fully existing commitments with regards to security assurances – referring in these and numerous other instances to ‘all nuclear-weapon states’ as addressees. The ‘all’ group of states does also, explicitly, encompass NAS in cases such as a memorandum on the production of fissile material (e.g., NPDI Statement 2014a).

If states that possess nuclear arms are being addressed individually, then the United States and Russia have by far the highest quantity of codes to their names, with physical cutbacks in weapon quantities habitually being the issue at stake. As such, Germany “calls upon the United States of America and the Russian Federation to continue their bilateral efforts to constructively engage with each other in order to achieve further reductions” (German Statement 2015b). However, a few statements already go beyond these two states in the reduction process, saying that the “Action Plan stipulates that all nuclear-weapon states, not only the two states with the largest arsenals, should reduce all types of nuclear weapons” (NPDI Working Paper 2014e).

In this regard, the European Union in particular emphasises the “significant steps taken by the two nuclear-weapon European Union Member States” (EU Statement 2014b). This also directs attention towards the fact that the European Union itself contains both NNWS and NWS and that working within this framework can be interpreted as dealing with nuclear-weapon states.

The call for steps in the direction of fewer nuclear arms also indirectly includes non-nuclear-weapon states - the next group of actors in the present role category - in a few official announcements. The working paper by NPDI just cited goes ahead and states that the international community should bear in mind “that all states parties are called upon to engage in multilateral disarmament negotiations under the provisions of article VI” (2014e).

However, the bulk of references are directed at other topics, and prominent among these are NWFZ (e.g., German Statement 2014b) and transparency measures (e.g., NPDI Working Paper 2015b). One extraordinary case is the explicit naming of the Ukraine, which clearly has to do with the aforementioned professed breaches of the Budapest Memorandum. Activities by Germany, the NPDI and the European Union in this regard call for the treaty's credibility to be restored (e.g., EU Statement 2014a). In line with what was written about the previous role characteristic, the fact that Germany pursues this and most other objectives primarily through the European Union and the Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative shows that Germany works with NNWS that are part of both organisations.

A working relation with civil society is cited least, but nevertheless still underscored by several source documents. To stimulate debate on nuclear disarmament in general, Germany sees organising and holding meetings as a viable way (e.g., German Statement 2014b), while the European Union supports establishing a network of European think tanks and research centres to encourage political and security-related dialogue (e.g., EU Statement 2014a). However, the most references are made to non-proliferation and disarmament education as a measure when it comes to cooperation with civil society. Highlighted in particular by the NPDI in statements and in a related working paper, the members of this grouping are "resolved to empowering members of our societies with the necessary awareness, knowledge and skills to make their own contribution, as national and world citizens, to the realization of the global disarmament and non-proliferation objectives" (NPDI Statement 2013a).

The last role characteristic under the present category is concerned with German efforts within and with international organisations. A smaller portion of the passages marked during the analysis relate to IOs as a forum. Almost all those references are made to the Conference of Disarmament. It appears to be clear that the CD "should be the place to forge multilateral treaties" (EU Statement 2012a). However, as the institution moves into its 19th consecutive year of stalemate "Germany is concerned about the CD's functionality as the sole permanent multilateral disarmament treaty negotiating body" (German Statement 2014a). Nonetheless, several sources view the FMCT as being the main issue to be negotiated in it.

A far greater number of codes can be attributed to international organisations as actors. The most mentions refer to the institutions concerned with verification. The IAEA is highlighted



as having a “key role” (EU Statement 2014a) to play in this regard. The two mechanisms of the Safeguards Agreement and the so-called additional protocol of the agency are given particular emphasis. For Germany

without saying that a robust nuclear non-proliferation system depends on the IAEA's safeguards system and its effective implementation. The IAEA must have adequate resources and political support to fulfil its safeguards mandates. The Conference should promote an IAEA Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement together with an Additional Protocol as the international verification standard. (German Statement 2015d)

Furthermore, the IAEA is also afforded special importance (ibid.) in verifying the nuclear-related measures of the Joint Plan of Action between the E3/EU+3 and Iran concerning its nuclear program. The other IO named in relation to verification is the CTBTO. The NPDI, for example, states that it “supports the substantial work of the Preparatory Commission of the CTBTO” (NPDI Statement 2012b).

When taking the floor at the Review Conferences, Germany and the groupings it associates with further reference the United Nations Security Council as the “final arbiter of international peace and security in cases of non-compliance” (EU Statement 2012a). In the narrower realm of working with Russia and on the issues of transparency and dialogue, NATO is also named a few times as an international organisation that should be engaged with (e.g., NPDI Working Paper 2013d).

In addition to the four actors, a somewhat new notion found in the codes is the plain citation of working with “member states” (e.g., German Statement 2012a) or “states parties” (e.g., EU Statement 2013a) of the Non-proliferation Treaty. As the case study focuses on deliberation within this legal framework, these references are far from surprising. Indeed, in terms of substance, these codes can be found in the two role characteristics of relations with NNWS and NWS, which together make up the cluster of member states of the NPT. The naming of ‘member states’ and ‘states parties’ is thus also not considered an additional role characteristic. However, the numbers of codes that are directed to this assemblage make a note worthwhile.

## **International Objectives (Contentual)**

This section deals with German role performance characteristics in the category 'International Objectives (Contentual)'. The section is structured, like the national objectives category, according to the overarching issues in the disarmament process, namely 'Function of Nuclear Weapons', 'Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces', 'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures', and 'Elements of a NFWF'. This category is referred to most in the reviewed documents. However, it also comprises the most conceptual features per se according to the abstract role grid. Eleven out of the twenty-eight role characteristics are found in the German documents to a great extent, with the most endorsements for Elements of a NFWF. Four more role features are present to a significant amount in Germany's role performance, with five characteristics endorsed to a limited extent and eight not mentioned or rejected, respectively.

With respect to the function of nuclear weapons in current military postures, four characteristics of a role of NNWS were proposed. Germany makes positive comments on only one of them. The other three are either not named at all or are even hinted at negatively through Germany's behaviour at the NPT review conferences.

The first feature, a decrease in the prominence of nuclear weapons in NATO policies, is not directly mentioned in the texts reviewed. However, one response by German Ambassador Biontino suggested that Germany does not support such a decrease in prominence. He stated in 2015 that, for the time being "nuclear weapons are still assigned a function in military doctrines. This also applies to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, of which Germany is a member" (German Statement 2015b). In view of Germany's strong loyalty to international agreements such as the one underlying the work of NATO, it seems fair to interpret this diplomatic stance as at least supporting keeping the prominence of nuclear weapon in NATO policies. It should be noted that Germany does act in the direction of favouring this role characteristic at the Review Conference, though in a way that is too modest to be counted as a positive endorsement. NPDI proposes, for example, increasing the mutual understanding of nuclear force postures of NATO and the Russian Federation (NPDI Working Paper 2013d), which may lead to a decrease in the prominence of nuclear weapons in the respective force postures in the long term.

The next role characteristic of promoting a decreased reliance on nuclear deterrence is closely related to this. It is, therefore, not surprising that references are not made by either Germany, the Non-proliferation and Disarmament Initiative or the European Union to this topic.

In contrast, references to the objective of aiming for stronger negative security assurances (NSA), the next role characteristic, are given to a great extent in the source documents. Not only is the interest of non-nuclear-weapon states in receiving unequivocal and legally binding security assurances from NWS recognised as legitimate (e.g., EU Statement 2014b), in Germany's view, those assurances should be one of the apparent benefits of adhering to the NPT. Going even further, diplomats from Berlin state that "it is high time to also start negotiations on a multilateral instrument on legally binding NSAs" (German Statement 2015c). A standalone working paper on the issue by the NPDI gives more details on how NSAs are endorsed specifically. Two specific instances are highlighted. The first is a commitment by NWS to establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones and the respective adjustments in the nuclear postures (e.g., *ibid.*). The other concerns the case of Ukraine, what was already mentioned in previous paragraphs. Following the breach of the Budapest Memorandum of 1994, which gives security assurances for both conventional and nuclear, the European Union calls "for and re-emphasises the importance of the immediate and full implementation of those steps" (EU Statement 2014a).

The related role characteristic of widening the application of the No-first-use (NFU) principle was not endorsed publicly by Germany within the NPT Review Cycle from 2012 to 2015.

The second issue in the disarmament process concerns nuclear forces. Again, four role characteristics are envisaged by the general role concepts of NNWS advancing nuclear disarmament. Germany's statements at the conferences clearly endorse one of them to a great extent and makes significantly positive remarks on another, while two features are referenced only to a limited extent.

Reducing nuclear weapons arsenals and establishing ceilings is the first of those role features. As the most cited characteristic under this sub-category, references range from general to concrete remarks. More abstractly, Germany reiterates that the only guarantee against the use or threat of use of atomic bombs is their total abolition. Based on such an assessment, for example, NPDI stresses "the need for a systematic and continued reduction

of all types of nuclear weapons ... by all states possessing [them]" (NPDI Statement 2014a). To a lesser extent, setting ceilings is also mentioned in general terms in diplomatic utterances pressing NWS not to increase their nuclear arsenal (e.g., NPDI Working Paper 2015a).

Following on from the special responsibility of states with the largest stockpile for reduction, which was already outlined above, it makes sense that Germany highlights the United States and Russia in the present role characteristic.

The NSTART treaty in particular is mentioned in this regard. As such, the European Union welcomes the ratification of the accord between the two nations and even states that the "implementation of this Treaty and the pursuit of the bilateral disarmament process are the most important issues on the disarmament agenda" (EU Statement 2012a). The proposals by President Barack Obama in 2013 to further reduce nuclear weapons in a new round of disarmament talks between the two superpowers is also highlighted as an opportunity in this regard that "must not be lost" (German Statement 2015b). The two NWS within the European Union, Great Britain and France, are also individually named a few times in the reviewed text as actors concerning the issue of nuclear weapon cutbacks, which the two countries have done unilaterally (e.g., NPDI Statement 2012b). Advocated reductions, between the United States and Russia but also beyond, cover the entire spectrum of strategic, non-strategic, deployed and non-deployed atomic weapons.

The policy of reducing tactical nuclear weapons, particularly those of the United States and forward-deployed in Europe, is a role characteristic by itself. References to non-strategic nuclear bombs are found to a lesser extent than to nuclear weapons per se, but still significantly. NPDI welcomes the implementation of the NSTART and continues to urge in particular "the inclusion of non-strategic nuclear weapons in any future nuclear disarmament processes" (NPDI Statement 2013a). However, none of the coded passages do actually refer directly to the US as the owner and Europe as the location of the sub-strategic nuclear weapons which are to be reduced. This link is found indirectly, though. The clearest example of this in the text is a conjunction of those weapon types, the US and Russia as actors, and the aforementioned initiative by US President Barack Obama in June 2013 in Berlin. After encouraging the two Cold War adversaries to include non-strategic nuclear weapons in the next round of their bilateral nuclear arms reduction, the statement by EU

diplomat Jacek Bylica continues that “in this context, we welcome the proposals made by US President Obama in June 2013 in Berlin ... to seek bold reductions on US and Russian non-strategic weapons in Europe” (EU Statement 2014a). An explicit endorsement of the Obama proposal and the link to a US-Russian reduction process in general also by Germany and the NPDI in other outputs at the NPT review conferences make it reasonable to see at least some of those passages as positive remarks on the present role characteristic.

The next role feature is an opposition to the modernisation of nuclear weapons. Almost all the limited references in this regard come from NPDI, with one comprehensive positioning of the European Union (EU Working Paper 2015b), but no action by Germany on its own. Basing its actions on the Action Plan of 2010, in a working paper on the post-NSTART reduction process as well as in other places, NPDI states that NWS should refrain from developing, qualitatively improving nuclear weapons, and says they should stop developing advanced new types of nuclear weapons (e.g., NPDI Working Paper 2014e). Although not directly using the word ‘modernisation’, this theme is precisely what the expert community on which the abstract role grid is based was referring to in substance.

A similar picture emerges from an analysis of de-alerting the status of nuclear weapons. Only the Non-proliferation and Disarmament Initiative proposes actions in this regard. These proposals are quite substantial. However, in the scheme of the present analysis they are considered to endorse the role characteristic only to a limited extent due to the fact that only this grouping picks upon the issue. A joint working paper by Germany and the other eleven NNWS in the Initiative is a clear sign of the significance they attribute to the topic (NPDI Working Paper 2014c). They urge all NWS and NAS to take steps towards de-alerting their nuclear forces. This is based on the conviction that de-alerting nuclear forces is not only a significant step towards a NFWF, but also reduces the risk of catastrophic humanitarian consequences from an unauthorised or accidental launch. It is linked via this framing to the 2010 Action Plan (Action 5), which provides sound and internationally agreed grounds for advancing the issue.

Staying with characteristics concerned with the disarmament process, the next paragraphs moving on to the issue complex of ‘Facilitating Measures’. Six specific role features are differentiated. Overall, five of them are mentioned positively by German policy-makers,

three to a great extent and two to a significant and limited degree, respectively. One characteristic is not referred to by Germany diplomats.

The first role aspect relates to efforts to keep nuclear disarmament on the international agenda. By being active – see the ‘Meta Aspects’ section of the same name – on the international level, Germany publicises the issue as well as engaging with it and thereby indirectly endorses such a role element throughout most of the texts. A specific and compact example is a statement by the European Union during the General Debate at the 2012 PrepCom. The Union states that it promotes the “universal adherence to and full implementation of all non-proliferation and disarmament treaties and conventions, in particular the NPT” (EU Statement 2012d), an action that falls under the definitional aspect of advertising nuclear disarmament. The contribution goes on to outline that this is done not only through diplomatic means and initiatives, but also through practical training and support. The working papers as well as other interventions and proposals tabled at this and the other gatherings of the treaty community speak to and underline such a statement.

The next role characteristic of recognising nuclear disarmament efforts by NWS/NAS is named frequently in the source material. The biggest portion of mentions refers to the reduction process of nuclear weapons, in particular with respect to the United States and Russia and the New START treaty. Praise is given to the successful implementation of the accord, and to the decrease of nuclear arms that is at its core (e.g., EU Statement 2013b). The proposal of President Obama to even go beyond NSTART in a new round of disarmament measures with Russia is welcomed by Germany along the same lines (German Statement 2015b). Unilateral steps by the United Kingdom and France are highlighted to a lesser amount (e.g., NPDI Statement 2012b). A second, large pool of codes is attributed to transparency efforts by all NWS and at times by the two European possessors of nuclear arms specifically. As such, the meetings of the five NWS on the follow-up to the NPT Review Conference each year in the period under review and the discussions about transparency, among other measures, are welcomed (e.g., EU Statement 2013a). In addition, further references to these and other issues can be found subsumed under the role category ‘Foreign Policy Style’ and the characteristic of ‘promoting’ to be found there. One of the key words for this role feature signals the recognition of disarmament efforts, namely the verb ‘welcome’.

A final note must be made concerning the characteristic of ‘bona vide observer’, which potentially links to this demand for action by NWS and/or NAS. This trait is only mildly present in the behaviour patterns at the NPT review conferences and in the coded material, an observation that fits in with the results for the Form of Will category at the beginning of the chapter.

In regard to the role characteristic of doing studies on nuclear disarmament issues, the only mention is given in the context of the humanitarian consequences of nuclear weapons, which should be “based on fact-based scientific studies” (NPDI Statement 2014a). However, apart from this rather abstract endorsement of the idea, no further explicit references to Germany actually doing scholarly work can be found. Interpretations of other actions as indirectly promoting studies, for example, as a foundation to make well-grounded assessments and policy proposals, could be drawn. However, this link is considered too weak to count towards the present role characteristic.

In contrast, organising meetings, conferences, and/or committees is mentioned positively several times. Although references are quantitatively confined to a limited extent in comparison to other role characteristic in this sub-category, the issues covered are relatively diverse. In several places, meetings of scientific experts to support negotiations on the FMCT are mentioned (e.g., NPDI Statement 2012b). Seminars with regard to the NWFZ in the Middle East (EU Statement 2012d) as well as those aimed at providing relevant technical assistance to states for the implementation of IAEA verification measures are two other examples that speak to Germany’s behaviour in this feature (NPDI Working Paper 2012b).

Regarding better governance of international institutions, Germany in particular makes improvements to mechanisms to verify non-proliferation an issue in its diplomatic efforts at the NPT discussions. The Provisional Technical Secretariat of the Organisation around the CTBT is one of those mechanisms, and helping this also includes the early completion and provisional operation of the International Monitoring System on the technical side (e.g., NPDI Working Paper 2013a). Financial contributions to the CTBTO in order to improve its governance are named by the European Union (e.g., EU Statement 2013b). Moreover, monetary support is highlighted in relation to the safeguard system of the IAEA (NPDI Working Paper 2013g). Against the background of the official and standalone agenda topic of ‘Improving the effectiveness of the strengthened review process’ it is not surprising that

German Ambassador Hellmut Hoffmann endorsed institutional reform within the NPT (German Statement 2012a). Holding meetings of the Preparatory Committee in Vienna, close to the IAEA, is one concrete proposal put forward in this regard.

Dealing with states that defy the NPT is much more widely referenced. Indeed, these more criticising positions towards others show about as much as the more encouraging ones collected under the role characteristic described above of recognising disarmament and non-proliferation efforts of NWS and NAS. In general terms, Wolfgang Rudischhauser, senior member of the European External Action Service, makes clear the overall focus of the EU, which is also shared by the NPDI and Germany. He states that the international community “continues to be faced with major proliferation challenges by the DPRK, Iran and Syria: these must be addressed in a resolute way in order to maintain the credibility and effectiveness of the NPT regime” (e.g., EU Statement 2013c).

The strongest defiance is voiced in relation to the DPRK, though the amount of references is about the same as on the Iranian case. One reason may be the sheer range of issues that run against the common opinion of the international community. As such, not only a number of developments in the country’s uranium-enrichment programme are strongly criticised, its nuclear tests are also condemned. Moreover, the launches of short-ranged as well as mid-range ballistic missiles is mentioned as a blatant violation of its international obligations under the UNSC and are perceived as additional escalatory actions and provocations (e.g., NPDI Statement 2013a, EU Statement 2014a). In line with such a broad perspective on the DPRK’s ‘misbehaviour’, as it were, the European Union calls on the state to abandon all its existing nuclear and ballistic missile programs. More concretely and in terms of its nuclear activities, a full compliance with its NPT and IAEA safeguards obligations is envisaged with the ultimate objective being the denuclearisation of the Korean peninsula (e.g. EU Statement 2012c)

The central issue in dealing with Iran is the nature of the country’s nuclear programme. Grounded in suspicions that it may not be exclusively peaceful, the objective is to ensure that all obligations under the NPT are met by the state in the Middle East, while fully respecting Iran’s right to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes (e.g., EU Statement 2012c). In order to achieve such an outcome, engaging in the negotiations in the EU3+3 format that were held throughout the period under review, is voiced as the primary means,



together with meaningful discussions on practical confidence-building steps along the way. The process and the positive momentum towards a final text for a Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action – the formal agreement aimed at in the negotiations – is praised by Germany, with its diplomats stating in 2015 that “the Conference should take note of the substantial progress achieved during the review cycle” (German Statement 2015d).

It is noteworthy at this point that the tone in the approach to the perceived defiance by Iran and North Korea is a significantly different one. While the former is generally dealt with in softer terms, the nuclear-armed state on the Korean peninsula is dealt with much more toughly. This aspect is examined in more detail under the role category of ‘Foreign Policy Style’, which speaks directly to these differences in the role behaviour.

Apart from Iran and North Korea, a limited number of statements in the reviewed records also refer to the Syrian case. Based on an official IAEA report in June 2011 on non-declared activities revolving around the country’s suspected nuclear reactor in Dair Alzour and other sites, “Germany deplores Syria’s ongoing non-compliance with its nuclear safeguards obligations” (German Statement 2015d), under which the operation of nuclear reactors are to be made transparent. In reaction, the European Union also called for remedying Syria’s non-compliance with the NPT Safeguards Agreement and for urgent and transparent cooperation with the Agency to clarify matters (e.g., EU Statement 2013a).

No references at all are made to India and potential civilian nuclear cooperation, an aspect that came up in the German role conception.

The fourth and last, though most comprehensive, block of issues to be looked at in this role category regards elements of a nuclear-weapon-free world. A total of fourteen role characteristics are conceptually differentiated. The documentation of Germany’s patterns of behaviour reveal that the country fully endorses six of those, while two are supported to a significant and one to a limited extent. Five role characteristics are not mentioned or even denied.

The first role feature, to work towards universal membership in the NPT, is cited to a significant degree in the documentation of the German performance at the NPT review conferences. Direct references are made various times, employing the noun ‘universalisation’ in regard to the Non-proliferation Treaty (e.g., EU Statement 2013a). The

theme is also referred to by calling for “all states still outside the NPT to join the Treaty as Non-Nuclear Weapon-States” (German Statement 2014a). The importance given to such a measure is further underlined by placing it in a priority position within the speeches and working papers, in several cases following directly after their commitment to the NPT, its pillars, and the Action Plan agreed in 2010 (e.g., EU Statement 2013a). The universalisation of other treaties and related organisations, such as the IAEA and its safeguards system, is also voiced in a few instances and linked, though indirectly, to the NPT through its positive overall impact on non-proliferation and disarmament (e.g., NPDI Working Paper 2012b).

Germany's recognition of hurdles for nuclear disarmament, the next role aspect, shows up in its role performance. This fits in well with the fewer references to the ‘bona fide observer’ as the state and its associated organisations appear to be more willing to voice that “serious challenges remain in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation and we must face them with resolve” (EU Statement 2013b).

About one-third of the coded text passages are attributed to obstacles to disarmament. “With regard to nuclear disarmament”, Ambassador Michael Biontino stated in 2014, “Germany is convinced that further progress is needed” (German Statement 2014a). The issues mentioned, in particular by the NPDI, and within their working papers, range from hard measures such as further reductions in nuclear weapons and their operational status to non-materialised regional or multilateral disarmament negotiations and further transparency measures (see NPDI Working Paper on the respective topic). The remaining references are made towards non-proliferation hurdles, especially the stalemate in the Conference of Disarmament and on the FMCT negotiations (e.g., EU Statement 2012a) and the proliferation risks posed by states defiant to the NPT (e.g., EU Statement 2012c).

It is worth mentioning that most of the topics are also framed as problematic for the NPT as a regime. Mr Biontino, for example, placed the aforementioned call for further progress on disarmament in the context of achieving Article VI of the NPT. The proliferation crisis could, in his view, even jeopardise the integrity of the Treaty as a whole.

The role feature of examining conditions for nuclear disarmament, in the sense of critically investigating and clarifying them, is not directly mentioned in the analysed texts. Nearly every topic could potentially fall under this characteristic, as every measure appears to be perceived to some extent as having to be reached in a ‘step-by-step’ or ‘building blocks’

approach in support of the ultimate goal of a NWFW – and a look at these can be understood as an indirect indication of the examination of the condition for nuclear disarmament. However, such a link is rather weak. No passages in the statements or working papers do actually specifically and/or comprehensively lay out the circumstances that would make nuclear disarmament a reality. Therefore, no codes are assigned to the present role feature.

By comparison, the characteristic of establishing NWFZ is widely touched upon in official documents. NWFZ are seen generally as a means for enhancing global and regional peace and security pending the total elimination of nuclear weapons. Thus, great importance is attached to the development of internationally recognised nuclear-weapon-free zones. Most of the references are made towards the establishment of a zone free of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems in the Middle East. Expressing their regret for not holding the planned conference in Helsinki, which aimed to facilitate such an establishment, diplomats continue to support the cause in general, the facilitator of the preparatory conference and all parties concerned in their activities (e.g., EU Statement 2014a). Other geographical zones are also mentioned, most popularly the ones in Central Asia and South-East Asia (e.g., German Statement 2014b). NPDI, in addition to their working paper on the NWFW in the Middle East, also shed light on the link of these measures to negative security assurances in another detailed manuscript submitted in the NPT review cycle. It calls upon NWS to withdraw any reservations to NWFZ treaties and to give participating NNWS legally-binding assurances for non-threatening nuclear postures (NPDI Working Paper 2013e).

Germany also engages with conventional weapons in the context of nuclear disarmament. It does so, however, not on a conceptual basis or with regard to Ballistic Missile Defence – as mentioned initially by the expert community upon which the abstract role concepts are built – but by seemingly mixing together conventional and nuclear arms in the pursuit of nuclear disarmament. A more general aspect of this is the risk associated with the proliferation of missiles in as far as they are capable of delivering weapons of mass destruction (e.g., EU Statement 2014a). The most-named specific case is the DPRK nuclear tests and satellite launches using ballistic missile technology. In a non-discriminating way, the European Union, for example, calls on North Korea to abandon all its existing nuclear and ballistic missile programmes in a complete, verifiable and irreversible manner in order to foster nuclear

disarmament (EU Statement 2014c). A similar convergence can be observed in the case of Ukraine and the revitalisation of the Budapest Memorandum, which entails nuclear as well as conventional negative security assurances. As only a lower number of references are made to conventional weapons and related text passages do not engage with the topic in a direct way, the role characteristic is assessed to be endorsed to only a limited extent.

The following role characteristics under the topic of 'Elements of NFWF' speak directly to the relationship between nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation by involving non-proliferation measures not only as a means in themselves but also in order to foster the disarmament process. The linking between both topical areas is clearly voiced in a number of German statements and working papers. Nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament are described as “mutually reinforcing” (NPDI Statement 2012b) and “represent two sides of the same coin” (Mixed Group Working Paper 2014a). The general principle also applies to the framework of the NPT in as much as it “is common knowledge that the three pillars of the NPT are intrinsically intertwined” (German Statement 2014a). In these and similar statements, Germany’s stance can be depicted as neutral, not favouring one of the two areas.

However, it is noteworthy that other statements hint slightly at the observation that was indicated in several places in the German case study already, namely that more emphasis may be placed and more action pursued in the realm of nuclear non-proliferation than nuclear disarmament by Germany. An intervention at the 2015 RevCon stated that a “rock-solid non-proliferation regime is one of the crucial preconditions for our shared goal of a world free of nuclear weapons” (German Statement 2015d). The same notion of engaging in non-proliferation first as a step towards the further-away goal of disarmament is also visible in references to concrete issues. The negotiations for a FMCT as well as a lowered operational readiness for nuclear weapons systems are described, for example, as an essential step towards a world free of nuclear weapons; increased transparency is an important precondition for further progress in nuclear disarmament (NPDI Statement 2014a, 2014c, 2014d, respectively).

A factual analysis of the entirety of the codes within the role category of contentual international objectives attributed to nuclear non-proliferation in contrast to nuclear disarmament supports such an observation. About twice as many references are made to

the ten identified non-proliferation issues in comparison to disarmament topics. However, about half of the total number of coded passages do not fit either category and belong to more peripheral issues on the way towards a NFWF. This softens the divide.

The first non-proliferation-related characteristic is the work towards the ratification of the CTBT. The language of the German diplomats at the review conferences is clear: “Germany would like to reiterate that the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty must finally enter into force. In the 21st century, there is no space for nuclear tests” (German Statement 2014a). The treaty and its implementation are regarded as crucially important to nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation in the German view, which is also shared by its associated partners (e.g., EU Statement 2013a). In line with such an assessment, they commonly urge those states whose signatures and ratifications are due and necessary for the accord to enter into force to sign and ratify it. In an extension to these appeals, every signatory is appreciated, such as the Central African Republic, Ghana or Indonesia. These statements point to a universalisation of the treaty, which goes beyond its mere entry into force. Working papers submitted by both the European Union and the Non-proliferation and Disarmament Initiative underline the positive significance attached to this role feature.

The other major treaty that should be on the nuclear disarmament agenda in Germany’s opinion given at the NPT gatherings is the FMCT. According to the abstract role characteristic, not the process of bringing the legal accord into force is to be advanced, with the focus being on getting negotiations on the treaty started. In the German perspective, the diplomatic deliberations on a treaty prohibiting the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons “should begin without further delay” (German Statement 2015a). The already mentioned stalemate in the Conference on Disarmament, where the FMCT negotiations are placed by the current mandate, is identified as the primary hindrance to such a commencement. In order to revitalise the negotiation body and the formal discussions on the treaty, a range of proposals is tabled in the reviewed statements. These range from a reiteration that national security concerns can and should be addressed as part of the negotiation process rather than as a prerequisite to it and a proposal for confidence-building measures before the treaty negotiations such as declaring an immediate moratorium on the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons to contributions to expert meetings that

feed ideas related to a fissile material cut-off treaty back into the CD (e.g., EU Statement 2013b and NPDI Working Paper 2012c).

The next two role characteristics are not mentioned in the reviewed documentation on the German role behaviour, namely promotion of an international nuclear fuel cycle management system and of identical rules for NWS and NNWS, mainly in terms of the non-proliferation measures they are subject to. With regard to the former, it is remarkable that comments on the supervision and processing of nuclear fuel by the European Union are very limited in number, while NPDI and Germany do not engage with the issue directly at all. However, such references are provided in the context of the exclusively peaceful use of nuclear energy, with no link to nuclear disarmament or even non-proliferation being stated. According to the selection criteria of the present thesis, such utterances are not reflected in the analysis of the German role performance – a point that was mentioned beforehand and will also be further detailed at the end of the present role category. Concerning the role feature of applying the same rule set for NWS and NNWS alike, Germany at times pushes this, for example when the NPDI called for regular transparency reports “not just by the nuclear-weapon states, but by all states parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and not just on nuclear disarmament, but on all three pillars of the Treaty” (NPDI Working Paper 2014d). These proposals come with limitations or conditions, though. The cited statement continues: “However, the Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative re-emphasises the special responsibility of the nuclear-weapon states to report on their nuclear disarmament activities” (ibid.). As the abstract role feature is described by the expert community as an egalitarian measure, these actions are not considered positive references.

In stark contrast, the role aspect of increased transparency and accountability is promoted by Germany in numerous text passages and in a variety of ways. The vast majority of references are made towards a heightened level of transparency, which is in the 2010 Action Plan “for good reason” (German Statement 2015a). Actions are first and foremost concerned with the number of weapons in the arsenals of NWS. While some remarks are directed at the United States and Russia (e.g., NPDI Working Paper 2013d) or France and Great Britain (EU Statement 2014b), continued efforts by all NWS in this respect are emphasised generally.

In addition to the meetings between the five nuclear-weapon states in the timeframe of the review cycle that are seen as helping to build trust and transparency between them (e.g., EU Statement 2014a), this objective also motivates calls for informative reports on existing nuclear arsenals, including weapons as well as materials. As mentioned in the previous role feature, though the exposure obligation is incumbent on all NPT Member States, it is hard to deny that Germany views the five NWS as having a particular responsibility to report on their stockpiles. An extraordinary action to foster transparency is the NPDI proposal of a standard reporting form, which was first introduced officially at the First Preparatory Committee in 2012 (see NPDI Working Paper 2012d) and reiterated later in various statements and working papers. The two issues accountability and transparency are indeed seen as being closely related, as the abstract role feature suggests. So is, for example, the just-named standard reporting form intended by NPDI “to increase transparency and accountability in the nuclear disarmament processes” (NPDI Statement 2012b). However, a few references do employ the word ‘accountability’ or similar terms directly.

A further role characteristic that tends to be regarded as a non-proliferation measure in nature is increasing verification. The performances of Germany at the Review Conferences engage with such a topic to a great extent. The most emphasis is placed on the IAEA as the provider of verification mechanisms to ensure full compliance with international obligations under nuclear-related treaties (e.g., EU Statement 2012d). The IAEA Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement, in particular, in combination with an Additional Protocol, is considered to be the international verification standard. Based on the clearly voiced assumption that these regulatory texts reflect the current norm, Germany calls upon all states that have not yet done so to conclude safeguards agreements with the IAEA and adopt the agency’s Additional Protocol (e.g., German Statement 2014b). Although the group of states that German diplomats appear to have in mind when making such requests are typically all-encompassing, proposals can be found directly addressed to NWS (prominent in the NPDI Working Paper 2015a) or NNWS such as Iran (German Statement 2015d). A second and much less frequently highlighted provider of verification is the CTBTO. Welcoming the fact that the International Monitoring System of the organisation proves its effectiveness by detecting nuclear tests before the actual treaty is in full force, financial contributions to support such a routine are mentioned (*ibid.*).

The next role trait is the enhancement of legal measures. Against the backdrop of the remarks on the prominence Germany gives to international law-based regimes, it is conceivable that its behaviour indeed demonstrates such an engagement. However, the most relevant legal enhancements, for instance in relation to the CTBT or FMCT, are already covered by other specific characteristics. The present conceptual feature applies to legal terms that can be regarded as new in a more significant manner. A treaty to ban nuclear weapons would be such a legal measure, just to name one prominent example. Germany does not positively engage with such an initiative or with the broader scheme in the reviewed documentation of the NPT Review Cycle from 2012 to 2015.

Another, more specific legal improvement centres on the role characteristic of enforcing rules engrained in the NPT and addresses NPT break-outs, respectively. The starting point for including the topic in the actions of Germany is the priority of upholding the NPT. As NPDI puts it concisely, “the integrity and universality of the Non-Proliferation Treaty must be maintained. To this end, it is important to take a holistic approach, both to encourage parties to remain in the Treaty and to discourage them from withdrawing” (NPDI Working Paper 2014b). The cited working paper is indeed a clear sign of engagement with the role feature because it focuses on the issue of exercising the right of withdrawal contained in Article X of the Non-proliferation Treaty. The tone of these and other coded actions is one of arriving at a common understanding on how to respond effectively to any withdrawal from the NPT (e.g., EU Statement 2012d).

The last role feature is that of specifying the irreversibility concept. Germany does indeed refer a few times to the principle in conjunction with verifiability and transparency and in relation to the implementation of the nuclear disarmament obligations engrained in the NPT (German Statement 2014b), in particular in the context of nuclear arms reductions (e.g., NPDI Working Paper 2015a). It thereby builds on the reaffirmation of the 2010 Review Conferences that these three ideas should guide measures in the field of nuclear disarmament and arms control. Although it links the notion of irreversibility to specific contexts, it does not specify the concept beyond that. Therefore, a limited endorsement appears to be a valid assessment in terms of the German role performance.

Having surveyed the entire role category of contentual international objectives, an overarching remark on the topics of nuclear energy in more general terms as well as nuclear



export controls and nuclear material security in specific is due. These were already flagged up in the analysis of the German role conception, where it was concluded that the feature of 'increased transparency and accountability' does cover the aspects pertaining to the role sufficiently, though further investigation of the contentual international objectives may continue to assess a potential ascertainment of standalone characteristics.

Indeed, the issues named do appear in the actions of Germany and its associated groups at the NPT Review Conferences. However, no link between nuclear disarmament – which is at the core of the present role concepts and thus of primary relevance for a potential inclusion of one or the other topic – and nuclear energy, export control or nuclear security is named explicitly. The connection to the non-proliferation realm, which includes measures that are seen by the expert community as well as German diplomats as indirect disarmament efforts, is rather weak. This is mainly because the subject matters are generally placed in the context of peaceful uses (of nuclear energy) and not non-proliferation.

With regards to the security of nuclear materials, for example, the EU generally encourages instruments such as the Integrated Regulatory Review Service, Operational Safety Review Teams, and International Physical Protection Advisory Service (e.g., EU Statement 2014a). In working papers specifically on the issue, the organisation does not relate at all or relates only on the side-lines to non-proliferation efforts, let alone disarmament ones (e.g., EU Working Paper 2014a and 2014b). One exception is the reference to enhanced nuclear security in order to "reduce the threat of nuclear terrorism" (NPDI Statement 2014a). Related text passages by NPDI as well as the EU (e.g., EU Statement 2012b) and Germany link this particular case with the IAEA and its verification architecture.

As exemplified with regards to nuclear security, the two issues of nuclear export controls (e.g., NPDI Statement 2014a, 2013a, 2012b) and nuclear energy (e.g., EU Statement 2014a) are also connected in more general terms to non-proliferation, if at all, via the IAEA as an institution and verification as a topical area. Indeed, nuclear energy, nuclear material, export controls and verification, in particular by the IAEA, are at times blurred together in several combinations and put under the heading of proliferation and/or peaceful uses of nuclear energy (for a comprehensive example, see NPDI Working Paper 2015).

As no references directly link the issues named to nuclear disarmament and indirect connections via non-proliferation are considered to be weak, respective text passages are

not coded effectively for German's role performance and no new and separate role characteristic is established. However, it should be noted that the German actions with regard to the IAEA and verification are coded under the respective role characteristic and are thus included in the country's role performance.

In cases where references associate nuclear energy and the other subsumed issues closer with non-proliferation and/or even directly with disarmament in future studies, an even stronger recognition as being part of the German and NNWS role in advancing nuclear disarmament makes sense.

### **Foreign Policy Style**

The last role category is that of 'Foreign Policy Style', containing a total of five distinct role characteristics. All the features are positively mentioned in the reviewed documents by Germany. The two role aspects at the ends of the spectrum, 'insisting' and 'helping', are referenced in a significant number, with the three styles of 'pressing', 'promoting a middle position', and 'promoting' are cited to an even greater extent. The role characteristic of 'promoting a middle position' is further endorsed by many of the direct and indirect references per se as a cross-analysis of the codes aims to show at the end of the category and along the lines of the previous chapter.

It should be noted upfront that some instances are described by different foreign policy styles, sometimes even clearly changing over time. The nuclear dossier of Iran is one of those instances, as subsequent paragraphs will describe. In such cases, the topic is placed within the role characteristic to which the most references occur. In all instances concerned, one foreign policy style is cited significantly more than the others.

Before turning to the role features, it can be noted that the German role performance clearly builds upon the conviction that externally oriented actions should be multilateral actions. That the multilateral disarmament institutions function is seen as being "vital" for collective security (EU Statement 2013b) and agreed policies such as NPT Final Documents are regarded to be advanced jointly (NPDI Statement 2013a) with NWS and NNWS. Even civil society, which is sometimes portrayed as more of an international actor, is encouraged to work closely with governments to achieve a world free of nuclear weapons (e.g., NPDI Statement 2012b). More evidence for the German cooperative approach to foreign policy in

the field of nuclear disarmament can be found in the outlined organisation of its international work (see role category 'International Objectives (Organisational)'). In instances where individual and unilateral actions are advocated, this is clearly within the boundaries of a consensual framework defined on a multilateral basis beforehand. As such, Germany states that actions “such as the ratification of the CTBT, can be brought about without the corresponding engagement of other states” (German Statement 2015b). What is more, single acts are envisaged as being followed by joint ones, as exemplified by NPTDI stating that unilateral nuclear arms reductions are valuable, but cannot replace multilateral negotiations (NPTDI Statement 2014a).

The first foreign policy style listed in the conceptual role of NNWS is 'insisting' and it can be found to a significant extent in the reviewed data. Within the analysed documents, the verb 'must' is the term used most to refer to this theme of demanding something forcefully and not accepting refusal. The coding of German behaviour also suggests that appliances of the word 'urge', which by itself falls under the next role characteristic of 'pressing', together with the amplification by the adjective 'strongly' portrays the same or a similar meaning.

The prime example for such a claim is the most-cited topic under the present role feature, namely the addressing of proliferation cases. The documents are clear on the policy that the international community continues to be faced with key proliferation challenges, “which must be addressed in a resolute way” (EU Statement 2012d). In particular, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea “must refrain” from further nuclear testing and abandon all nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programmes (e.g., German Statement 2015d). Other statements “strongly urge the DPRK to abandon all its existing nuclear and ballistic missile programs” (EU Statement 2013a), referring to the very same idea (also very similarly expressed) by employing either 'must' or 'strongly urge'.

In addition to North Korea, Iran was also addressed in such a strong tone by Germany during the NPT Review Conferences (e.g., EU Statement 2013c). However, while the country on the Korean peninsula is the recipient of the present foreign policy style to the largest degree and throughout the period of the review cycle, fewer statements are made in an insisting manner to Iran. What is more, these statements are seen only in the early years in the analysis (2012 and 2013), while the style appears to change during the following years to increasingly become a more pressing and then promoting one, which will be detailed below.

Apart from these main directions in the present characteristic, other topic areas and signal words came to light sporadically. Prominently among the issues is the reiteration at several interventions that “the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty must finally enter into force. In the 21st century, there is no space for nuclear tests” (German Statement 2014a). An indirect connotation of the insisting theme is the phrase ‘will do’. In close relation to the ‘leader’ characteristic, these words are associated with the strong tone in the style if no indication of limitation for the respective action is given. One example is the emphasis by the European Union on making the IAEA Comprehensive Safeguards Agreement together with the Additional Protocol the verification standard, which is highlighted in various statements and given top priority without putting conditions on such an action (e.g., EU Statement 2012d). It is noteworthy that the stronger foreign policy style only appears in the German role performance with regards to non-proliferation matters. The dealings with defiant states as well as verification measures such as the CTBT fall into this category, too.

To ‘press’ is the next foreign policy style defined. This characteristic is found much more widely than the insisting style, with about one-third of the references made to it. Within the role feature, the phrase ‘call on someone’ is employed with the greatest frequency by German diplomats. The audience that such statements are addressed to is almost exclusively states, in particular member states to the NPT (e.g. EU Statement 2012a). The closely linked wording of ‘call for’ is also used, though only in a few instances such as the NWFZ in the Middle East (NPDI Statement 2013a). Moreover, the newly added signal word during the coding of the German role conception ‘urge’ can be found numerous times in Germany’s behaviour during the NPT Review Conferences, mostly in regards to NWFZ and the Iranian nuclear program (e.g., NPDI Statement 2014a).

Looking at the issues related to this foreign policy style in more detail, it can be noted that the entire range is covered by the German role performance: from general aspects which concern in particular the work on the implementation of the NPT and the Final Document of the 2010 NPT Review Conference (e.g., EU Statement 2012d) to specifics of core nuclear disarmament measures such as the reduction of nuclear arms and the adherence to qualitative ceilings (e.g., NPDI Working Paper 2014e) to the function of nuclear weapons in military postures (NPDI Statement 2014a). Facilitating steps towards a nuclear-weapon-free world and those concerned with the non-proliferation side of the coin are also named

plentifully. The establishment or strengthening of NWFZ (e.g. German Statement 2014b) is mentioned several times, as are the verification mechanisms of the IAEA, the CTBT, and the FMCT or a related memorandum on the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices (e.g., NPDI Statement 2013a). In addition, the nuclear dossiers of states considered to be proliferation-relevant – Iran, the DPRK, and Syria – are engaged with in a pressing manner. Building upon the remark in the previous role feature, it is worth noting that Iran as well as North Korea have both received a forceful push by German diplomats across the years of analysis, also paired at times with the other tones of ‘insisting’ or ‘promoting’ in the same statement, but with regards to different aspects. The implementation of the Joint Plan of Action between the E3+3 and Iran, for example, is welcomed by NPDI while urging the Middle Eastern state to continue with the implementation steadily (NPDI Statement 2014a). This and similar occurrences can be understood against the background that the foreign policy style ‘pressing’ lies in-between the other two diplomatic tones named.

The next role characteristic is that of 'promoting a middle position'. This foreign policy style is closely linked with the responsibility of a bridge-builder in the general role concepts. As with regards to the previous role characteristics, this style can be found to a great extent based on the references directly coded. A more holistic view that will be argued for at the end of the section reveals an even greater prominence of this foreign policy style. The link to bridge-builder can also be clearly observed in the case of Germany's role performance.

A chief example of promoting a middle position is the statement by Ambassador Jacek Bylica of the European External Action Service during the General Debate of the second preparatory meeting of the NPT Review Conference. He states that

the EU reiterates the priority of upholding the NPT. Our objective for the whole NPT Review Cycle is to strengthen the international nuclear non-proliferation regime and achieve tangible and realistic progress towards the goals enshrined in the NPT. With a view of attaining this goal, the EU, during this Second Session of the NPT PrepCom, will continue to promote a comprehensive, balanced and substantive implementation of the forward-looking 2010 NPT Review Conference Action Plan Conference. (EU Statement 2013a)

The first aspect of the definition of the present tone in foreign encounters is that of taking a clear position. Ambassador Bylica does this by identifying the overarching objective of the organisation he represents, the grounds from where to start and the path between the two stations. The Action Plan is picked as the foundation for the EU's work during the negotiations and the upholding of the treaty in general terms as an aim, a seemingly common position that is also important in terms of the style of encouraging a consensus agreement. Lastly, the way ahead is envisaged as being comprehensive, balanced and substantive and thereby indicating a balance between the pillars of the treaty itself and the main interest between NWS and NAM/NNSW, which is arguably one of the main sources of disagreement in the treaty community. These aspects can be viewed very concisely in the cited statement and in very similar ones by the NPDI (e.g., NPDI Statement 2013a), while the idea behind that is directly/comprehensively or indirectly/partially present is numerous codes of the German role performance.

The references to finding and promoting a middle position between conflicting parties are commonly made in relation to some kind of framework and are less issue-specific. This observation was also made during the analysis of the bridge-building characteristic highlighted in the category Form of Will and further shows the kinship between the two role aspects. Most-named is the NPT itself, in which format Germany acts together with its partners and works hard to strengthen the consensus underpinning that treaty (German Statement 2015a), but the Conference of Disarmament as a negotiation body is also highlighted. More specific realms in which the idea of promoting a middle position is present are the gatherings to establish or reinforce NWFZ (e.g., German Statement 2014b) and the deliberations with Iran on its nuclear program. Although these deliberations are attached to an issue, decisive for the present point is that the actions of Germany and the E3+3 are based on the Joint Plan of Action (JPA), a common position agreed with Iran in 2013, and on moving ahead in a cooperative spirit to bridge the differences in view and in interests (e.g., EU Statement 2014a).

About as many references as there were for the pressing style are subsumed under the role characteristic 'promote', which amounts to approximately one-third of the total codes in the category. All the signal words identified by the expert community as well as the verb 'to welcome' highlighted in the German role conception can be found directly referenced in the

reviewed documentation of the German role performance. 'Supporting' and 'encouraging' are the ones employed most, while 'promoting' and 'welcoming' are also used extensively. Terms such as 'advocate' and phrases such as 'put on the agenda' can be found less frequently (see, for example, the statements during the General Debate in 2014 of all three reviewed actors for a representative overview; EU Statement 2014a, German Statement 2014a, NPTI Statement 2014a). The spectrum of the two previous analyses covers this topic neatly and no addition to the coding handbook is necessary.

In a further similarity to the foreign policy style of pressing for a particular issue or a particular actor, the issues related to 'promoting' cover all categories of the contentual international objectives. Core nuclear disarmament measures such as the arms reductions agreed between the United States and the Russian Federation under the New START treaty and adjustments in the nuclear postures of NWS are envisaged to a significant degree (e.g., EU Statement 2012a). Further, the German actions engage with most of the remaining issues under the categories of facilitating instruments and elements of a NFWF that include non-proliferation actions as well. No particular topic is highlighted, but references are spread across the topical palette from transparency (e.g., German Statement 2015a) to the universalisation of the NPT (e.g. EU Statement 2012d), to name just two examples.

Following previous indications, a specific comment is owed in the case of dealings with Iran. It was mentioned that the Islamic state was addressed in the earlier phases of the review conference primarily in a strong tone demanding its adherence to the NPT and other rules of the nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation regime. In 2014 and 2015, this attitude changed in the foreign policy style to one of promoting. Though 'insisting' or 'promoting' are still present in relation to some aspects of the countries' nuclear program, statements by German diplomats employed the verb 'to welcome' in these years to a significant extent, which is a new development (e.g., EU Statement 2014a or German Statement 2015d). One striking reason observable in the statements is "the agreement on the Joint Plan of Action (JPA) reached on 24 November 2013 in Geneva as a result of talks on the Iranian nuclear programme between the E3+3 and Iran" (ibid.). Based on such an agreement, Iran was addressed in the following two review conferences in softer terms and in a more cooperative manner.

The last foreign policy style of 'help' was already identified in the German role conception as having a similar meaning to the style of promoting. The two foreign policy styles are signalled by the same words, but the foreign policy style of helping is specifically directed at NAS and involves helping them making progress on nuclear disarmament fronts. This continues to be valid, also for the role performance of Germany during the NPT Review Conference, where the style can be found in a clear manner and to a significant extent.

The most references use the term 'welcome', ranging from general issues such as the meetings of the United States, Russia, China, France and the United Kingdom in the years of the Review Cycle to discuss their individual progress in implementation across all three pillars of the NPT (e.g., EU Statement 2013b) to specific comments on the arms reduction progress between the US and Russia (e.g., EU Statement 2012a). The other signal words of 'supporting', 'promoting', and 'encouraging' are also present; for example, in the somewhat special case of supporting NWS as well as NNWS by providing diplomatic support to the parallel declarations signed by the NWS with Mongolia on the country's nuclear-weapon-free status in September 2012 (EU Statement 2013b). Further references can be found in the description of the role characteristic of recognizing nuclear disarmament efforts by NWS/NAS, which is closely linked to the present notion.

The abstractly plausible link to the bona vide observer is rather weak in the role behaviour due to the already described pattern that Germany couples praise for disarmament efforts by NWS/NAS with some sort of recognition of shortcomings or, to a lesser degree, even negative comments where these are deemed controversial.

Moving on from the specific role characteristics, it is worth highlighting the link between the German foreign policy style and the issue at stake in the respective situation, which underpins earlier observations. Firstly, and as supported by passages from the source texts in the sections above, the cross-analysis of contentual references with the tone taken by Germany at the NPT gatherings makes clear that, while German diplomats 'press', 'promote' and 'help' on a range of nuclear disarmament as well as non-proliferation measures, a distinct selection can be noted in terms of the remaining two styles. The reviewed documents show that the strongest tone of 'insisting' is applied only to non-proliferation instruments, while 'promoting a middle position' is used mainly in general and not in issue-



specific circumstances. This also reinforces the results of the same analysis in the German role conception.

Secondly, all issues that are to be advanced with one of the present styles are firmly grounded in international law and/or international agreement. However, there are differences in the degree of political agreement. For the strongest tone of insisting, all the coded passages not only build upon such grounds but cite them clearly. While the CTBT itself is, for instance, a widely endorsed treaty with near-universal endorsement of its core mission, the aforementioned proliferation cases of North Korea and Iran as well as Syria (EU Statement 2013a) are unambiguously engaged with in the legal framework of the UNSC resolution and IAEA standards. What is more, the general insisting on a solution to perceived threats by these situations aims to “maintain the credibility and effectiveness of the NPT regime” (ibid.) and is embedded in its consensus structures. This is also arguably the topic of most international agreement, both legal and political.

In line with the advancement of similar issues that was noted within the respective descriptions, the importance given to international agreement by Germany is also similar when using the tones ‘press’, ‘promote’ and ‘help’. The legal basis might be strong in a way comparative to the style of ‘insisting’ seen in the cases of nuclear reduction, security assurances, or working in the field of disarmament education, to name just a few. Although political agreement with other allied countries and NWS in particular is present in general on these issues, topic-based differences exist. As such, the United States and Russia may agree on a nuclear arms ceiling under NSTART and other treaties, but Germany still pushes for greater cuts. Negative security assurances are provided in various domains, but could be given out more frequently and as legally binding according to German diplomats; and disarmament education may be pursued by the European Union, but more work could be done in the view of the NPDI working paper on the topic. The foreign policy style of promoting a middle position occupies a special position as it is mostly referenced with regard to the general disarmament process, such as advancing the pillars of the NPT in a balanced manner. That makes it also more difficult to relate the style to the level to which the related issues are based on international agreement or international law. However, Germany sees itself as promoting a middle position only within international legally based frameworks such as the EU or the NPT, for example. Moreover, it takes into account the

positions and interest of NWS and NNWS, which are members of some of the respective organisations. This highlights, although in potential terms, the political agreement as well as disagreement with these states.

Based on the cross-analysis of issues and the role characteristics linked to the foreign policy style, it becomes clear that the approach of promoting a middle position – very similar to the bridge-building form of will, to which it is very clearly connected – is even more present than the actual coding suggests. The text passages use this style significantly and there is a connection to the characteristic of pressing someone or for something. Moreover, Germany also appears to promote a middle position when it helps with and promotes topics. This conclusion can be drawn as Germany does offer to promote and help with the disarmament process when it is firmly grounded in international law and a fundamental agreement with allied countries, in particular NWS, is in place. Only the translation of the basic objective into reality appears to differ among these styles, an observation that is very similar to the one in the German role conception. Taking up specifically those issues speaks to the approach of promoting a middle position because topics are advanced which are politically agreeable in principle by some conflicting parties, in particular allied nations, and conform to the legal prospect of the broader international community, especially through the NPT.

In the same vein as in the previous chapter on the German view of its own role in fostering the path towards a nuclear-weapon-free world, the entirety of role characteristics examined for the country’s role performance during the NPT Review Conferences is summed up below in Table V). The colouring intends to aid a clearer overview and indicates the extent to which Germany’s actions show the respective characteristics and was specified in the methods chapter and recapped at the same place in section 6.2.

Role Category (Meta Aspects)		Role Characteristic (Meta Aspects)
Will to Shape International Affairs		- Important - Active
Approach towards Nuclear Disarmament		- Incremental / Evolutionary - Clearly defined / Planned
Role Category		Role Characteristic
Will to Shape International Affairs	Form of Will	- Supporter (Assistant / Co-operator) - Leader (Bridge-builder / Leader)

	<p><b>Sphere of Influence</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- National sphere</li> <li>- International sphere</li> </ul>
<p><b>National Objectives</b></p>	<p><u>'Function of Nuclear Weapons'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- End nuclear sharing</li> <li>- Reduce reliance on extended nuclear deterrence</li> </ul> <p><u>'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Clear position on nuclear disarmament</li> <li>- Increase of national governmental resources and capabilities</li> <li>- Limit the workings of the nuclear industry</li> <li>- Stronger relations with civil society</li> </ul> <p><u>'Elements of a NWFW'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Enact domestic legal measures</li> </ul>
<p><b>International Objective (Organisational)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Work with NWS and/or NAS</li> <li>- Work with other NNWS</li> <li>- Work with civil society</li> <li>- Work with international organisations</li> </ul>
<p><b>International Objective (Contentual)</b></p>	<p><u>'Function of Nuclear Weapons'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Decrease prominence of nuclear weapons in NATO policies</li> <li>- Decrease reliance on nuclear deterrence</li> <li>- Stronger negative security assurances (NSA)</li> <li>- Wider application of the no-first-use (NFU) principle</li> </ul> <p><u>'Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reduce nuclear weapons arsenals and the establishment of ceilings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Oppose modernisation of nuclear weapons</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Reduce US forward-deployed tactical nuclear weapons in Europe <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- De-alert</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p><u>'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Keep nuclear disarmament on the international agenda</li> <li>- Recognise nuclear disarmament efforts by NAS <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Do studies on nuclear disarmament issues</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Organise meetings, conferences, and/or committees <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Better governance of international institutions</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Deal with states defiant to the NPT (India, North Korea, Iran)</li> </ul> <p><u>'Elements of a NWFW'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Work towards universal membership of the NPT <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Recognise hurdles for nuclear disarmament</li> <li>- Examine condition for nuclear disarmament <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Establish NWFZ</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>- Engage with conventional weapons in context of nuclear disarmament <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Work towards entry into force of CTBT <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Start FMCT negotiations</li> </ul> </li> <li>- Promote international nuclear fuel cycle management <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Same rules for NWS and NNWS</li> <li>- Increase transparency and accountability <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Increase verification</li> <li>- Enhance legal measures</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>- Enforce rules engrained in the NPT / Address NPT break-outs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Specify irreversibility concept</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li></ul>
<p><b>Foreign Policy Style</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- insist</li> <li>- press</li> <li>- promote a middle position</li> <li>- promote</li> <li>- help</li> </ul>

Table V: Role Performance (Germany)

### 6.3.3.) Ideal Types

The following section places the established role performance of Germany in the analytical ideal type classification of non-nuclear-weapon states advancing nuclear disarmament. The rationale, process as well as details of the classification were given at the end of chapter five, while summarised in the related section on the German role conception. Thus, an outline of the measurement specifics is waived here and the reader is referred to those passages for further information. It may be sufficient to restate that the entirety of role characteristics found to a great extent are organised in the ideal type role performance on two axes with two dimensions, namely the y-axis concerned with the scope of the role (inclusive or exclusive) and the x-axis related to its shape (offensive or defensive).

The scope of the German role behaviour can be idealised as exclusive. With no endorsement to a great extent of any national objectives, only eleven out of the twenty-eight role aspects under the heading of 'contentual international objectives' are supported to such a degree by the references, making both categories fall on the exclusive end of the scope axis. The same assessment can be reached for the sphere of influence, which sees positive references only to the international realm. The marking 'inclusive' for the organisational aspects of the international objective, with two out of four characteristics being cited often, does not change to an overall favouring of an exclusive inclination of the German role behaviour at the NPT Review Conferences.

The shape of its performance can be deduced as being offensive. References to a great degree are the foreign policy styles of 'pressing', 'promoting a middle position' and 'promoting'. Two out of these three are associated with an offensive profile. In the category concerning the form of will, one defensive (supporter: assistant) and one offensive (leader: bridge-builder) characteristic are to be counted towards the ideal type classification. This leads to a stalemate in the overall assessment, as both role categories are allocated to the same shape in order to reach a clear evaluation. This draw is resolved in favour of the offensive shape, as the role characteristic of being a bridge-builder is more present in German behaviour.

The overall classification of the German role performance in the ideal type role concepts framework is exclusive / offensive (see Table VI, marked green).

	Inclusive / Defensive	Inclusive / Offensive	Exclusive / Defensive	Exclusive / Offensive
<b>Form of Will</b>	Supporter	Leader	Supporter	Leader
<b>Sphere of Influence</b>	National and International	National and International	National or International	National or International
<b>National Objectives</b>	Pursue >50%	Pursue >50%	Pursue <50%	Pursue <50%
<b>International Objective (Organisational)</b>	Pursue >50%	Pursue >50%	Pursue <50%	Pursue <50%
<b>International Objective (Contentual)</b>	Pursue >50%	Pursue >50%	Pursue <50%	Pursue <50%
<b>Foreign Policy Style</b>	'help', 'advocate', and/or 'promote a middle position'	'insist' and/or 'press'	'help', 'advocate', and/or 'promote a middle position'	'insist' and/or 'press'

Table VI: Role Performance (Germany) in Ideal Type Role Concepts

## **7.) Conclusion**

The concluding chapter will first and foremost summarise the findings of the present study. It will do so by giving an overview of the key figures and outputs from the collection and analysis of data pertaining to the two research questions guiding it. The procedures and results of the validity test for both parts are illustrated after that, followed by a description of the main benefits of the study's findings, highlighting in particular their contribution to the scholarly body of work as well as the political state of affairs. The conclusion ends by sketching the central limitations of this work and links them to proposed research pathways ahead.

### **7.1) Findings**

The findings of the research can be divided in terms of the two main parts of the study, which are in turn linked to the two guiding research questions. Thus, the following section addresses the results of the investigations of the role concepts of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament during the years 2007 to 2013 (first research question), before looking at the role conception and performance of Germany as one specific state that fostered the abolition of nuclear arms in this period (second research question). After a short reminder of the methods applied for each research question, the results of this procedure will be summarised, mostly in quantitative terms. An overview of the content-related findings and a distinct qualitative answer to the research questions follows.<sup>177</sup>

#### **Role Concepts of NNWS in Advancing Nuclear Disarmament**

With regards to the role concepts of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament, data was collected with the aim of capturing the views of the disarmament experts' community during the 2007 to 2013 timeframe. The study chose a number of policy-orientated and evaluative writings that relate to the role of non-nuclear-weapon states in nuclear disarmament as the central data source. This body of documents comprised works on general and country-specific role characteristics which were written by authors from several NWS and NNWS, from different establishments within these countries (i.e. think tanks, NGOs, civil society) and from two

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<sup>177</sup> The following text merely summarises the methods and findings, refraining from repeating the full elaboration of the arguments and decisions that led to them. Instead, the reader is directed to the respective chapter for a comprehensive account. The applied methods of data collection and data analysis are detailed in chapter two, while the contentual findings are summarized mainly on the basis of chapter five and six. The procedural findings are given in full in the Appendices or chapters five and six.

argumentative strands ('strategic camp' and the 'humanitarian camp') in the field. Moreover, these writings included at least 10 documents to cover the variety of role characteristics as completely as possible.

The data acquired on this basis was scrutinized by employing the method of qualitative content analysis in a largely inductive fashion. Although the abstract role categories of role theory are taken as a framework, the content-related characteristics of the role of NNWS in advancing disarmament are generated from the expert texts. The procedure of analysing the writings by the expert community applied the first two essential steps of qualitative content analysis, whereby the ideas put forward by experts were summarized before each of those characteristics was explicated using contextual data. References by experts that could not adequately be covered by the structure of the abstract categories were also noted. Moreover, the resulting role concepts were transformed into ideal types, a process governed by the same rule as applied in the summary-step of the qualitative content analysis, i.e. as an abstraction that is still a representation of the original material. Lastly, the operationalisation of the abstract role concepts, which prepared them to be used as an analytical framework in the following case study, was carried out. The role categories as well as the role characteristics and respective definitions and coding rules were prepared, resulting in the fundamental elements of the codebook.

In line with the methodological condition for collecting the data, 36 text documents were chosen (see Appendix 2 for full description). Of these, 17 concerned the general policies and behaviour of non-nuclear-weapon states and were mostly drafted by authors from Western NWS and NNWS, prominently the USA (7). The remaining 18 texts were country-specific. Germany (9) and Canada (6) were the subject of the majority of country-specific texts, authored for the most part by experts from the respective country. Although various texts contained arguments for both strands in the nuclear disarmament debate and cannot clearly be linked to one of these, roughly 22 of the writings can be allocated to the 'strategic camp', while 13 can be subsumed under the header 'humanitarian camp'. The biggest group of authors belonged to think tanks (about 20), followed by roughly 10 who work in the context of NGOs and civil society. An exact distinction here of necessity remains vague, as most of the authors examined fill multiple professional positions.

The analysis of data in these documents translated into 563 coded text passages – or references in the language of NVivo, the qualitative content analysis software used. These were ordered along the abstract role categories identified on the basis of role-theory deliberations: ‘Will to Shape International Affairs’ (45), ‘National Objectives’ (49), ‘International Objectives (Organisational)’ (133), ‘International Objectives (Contentual)’ (215), and ‘Foreign-Policy Style’ (85). In order to adequately represent the references and thereby the expert community, the first of those role categories was broken down into two sub-categories: ‘Form of Will’ (39) and ‘Sphere of Influence’ (6). The category ‘Sphere of Influence’, which has the two role characteristics national and international, had merely six codes of its own, as most responding codes were allocated to the categories ‘National Objectives’ and ‘International Objectives’. In an effort to also summarise the expert references as clearly as possible, a grouping of ‘Meta Aspects’ (36) – depicting themes underlying the established role characteristics and categories – was added as a category outside of the role concepts for informative purposes. A comprehensive and visualised list of the coding outputs (references per role categories distinguished by source document) can be found in Appendix 5.

These codes were further aggregated into 48 role characteristics for the theoretically derived role categories and 4 role characteristics for the empirically derived meta categories (see Appendix 1).

Further abstracted, these were turned into 4 ideal types of the roles a NNWS might take in advancing nuclear disarmament. It was determined that these 4 ideal type roles can be differentiated by 2 main dimensions (see below).

In preparation for application of the constructed role concepts, the information was operationalised in a codebook. In doing so, the role categories as well as role characteristics remained the same. However, core definitions for each of the role characteristics were given – shorter and single definitions for intelligible ones, longer and multiple definitions for elusive role aspects. Additionally, coding rules were provided for those role characteristics that have more than one definition. The final version of the codebook – also including adaptations drawn from the application to the country-specific role of Germany – can be found in Appendix 1.

Insofar as these procedural outputs indirectly answer the first research question, the content-based findings give a direct response to the question posed: *“What are the ideal type role*



concepts of NNWS in the process of achieving nuclear disarmament based on the concepts brought forth by experts on nuclear disarmament in the period from 2007 to 2013?" The 4 ideal types found in the expert community are those of an Inclusive/Defensive and an Inclusive/Offensive as well as an Exclusive/Defensive and an Exclusive/Offensive role.

As becomes apparent in the titles of the ideal type roles, the entirety of the role categories and role characteristics were idealised along four dimensions. In turn, these four dimensions should be viewed as each representing a certain part of two axes. The one axis is concerned with the scope of the role concepts. It relates to the extent to which non-nuclear-weapon states advance nuclear disarmament. The scope of the role concepts can either be inclusive or exclusive (=dimension one and two). Inclusive means that the role covers a wide range of disarmament issues, at least as many as defined in the following paragraphs. On the other hand, an exclusive role extends to only a few topics and fewer than required to be able to be described as inclusive. The second axis details the shape of the role concepts. It portrays the posture of NNWS in terms of affecting progress on disarmament issues. The shape can be either offensive or defensive (=dimension three and four). An offensive shape of the role means that non-nuclear-weapon states aggressively and firmly advance disarmament issues, while the opposite dimension, a defensive stance, means they do so reservedly and complacently.

The precise allocation of role categories to each axis and the dimensions as well as a precise definition of what role characteristics are viewed as exclusive/inclusive and offensive/defensive is provided at the end of chapter five. The table below (Table II) shows in summary the ideal type role concepts (top), the role categories (left) and the responding role characteristics or measurements thereof (centre).

	Inclusive / Defensive	Inclusive / Offensive	Exclusive / Defensive	Exclusive / Offensive
Form of Will	Supporter	Leader	Supporter	Leader
Sphere of Influence	National and International	National and International	National or International	National or International
National Objectives	Pursue >50%	Pursue >50%	Pursue <50%	Pursue <50%
International Objective (Organisational)	Pursue >50%	Pursue >50%	Pursue <50%	Pursue <50%

International Objective (Contentual)	Pursue >50%	Pursue >50%	Pursue <50%	Pursue <50%
Foreign Policy Style	'help', 'advocate', and/or 'promote a middle position'	'insist' and/or 'press'	'help', 'advocate', and/or 'promote a middle position'	'insist' and/or 'press'

Table II: Ideal Type Role Concepts

In order to arrive at the conclusions concerning the form of ideal types, developing the role characteristics – which are the content-based building blocks of it – was a main focus of the current study. A summary of the role characteristics of NNWS advancing nuclear disarmament, as found in the nuclear expert discourse, is displayed at the end of chapter five (Table I). The other ingredient in the ideal type role concepts are the role categories. These were taken from previous role-theory investigations and were discussed in the chapter on role theory.

### Role Conception and Role Performance of Germany in Advancing Nuclear Disarmament

Turning to the second research question – the role of Germany in advancing nuclear disarmament – the study focused on the empirical case between 2007 and 2013 for the country's role conception and between 2012 and 2015 for its role performance. Regarding the collection of data, it examined two distinct bundles of authorised foreign policy documents by high-level decision-makers in the realm of nuclear disarmament during the timeframes of the case study, one for each part of the role. Again, these writings had to include at least 10 documents, with at least one document for each year, though the content-related scope of the individual documents was heavily considered in order to make the selection as representative as possible.

To analyse the data, the ideal type role concepts – with their role categories and role characteristics operationalised in the codebook – served as the analytical grid for structuring the ideas outlined in the selected documents. With this framework, the corresponding aspects of the German policy objectives and actions were filtered out; the third essential step of a qualitative content analysis. Empirical role aspects that were not covered fully, adequately or clearly by the abstract ideal type role concepts were also noted. Deeper analysis of the codes and their relationship was also carried out when it was considered useful for the structuring process. Furthermore, the codebook was enriched and refined on an ongoing basis throughout the process of coding the empirical material. Not only were typical examples listed that can

serve as representative illustrations of the respective role characteristic. Role categories and definitions were also further specified when a different form of the same role aspect was found, including the adaptation of language. Finally, assessment criteria for the extent of endorsement were established in order to reflect the empirical data in as detailed a way as possible at the conceptual level. The operating procedure of examining both the German role conception and the German role performance according to these methodological decisions were closely aligned in order to ensure consistency.

The main procedural outputs from collecting data in ascertaining the German role conception were the gathering of a total of 28 documents, the bibliographic details of which can be found in Appendix 3. The texts covered the timeframe between 2007 and 2013, more specifically 2007 (3), 2008 (4), 2009 (5), 2010 (4), 2011 (3), 2012 (3), 2013 (5) and one text was from the year 2000, as it was a prime reference for several other papers. The bandwidth of sources include responses from government to minor and major interpellations of the parliament (6), accepted motions of parliament (2), speeches by the State Secretary at the Foreign Office or the Minister of State at the Foreign Office (5), speeches by the Foreign Minister (5), speeches by the Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control (2), the Annual Disarmament Report by the Federal Foreign Office for every year (7) as well as Paragraph 15 of the Final Document of the NPT Review Conference in 2000. The German role performance was analysed on the grounds of documents from the Preparatory Committees for the NPT Review Conference in 2012 (10), 2013 (10), and 2014 (12) as well as the NPT Review Conference itself in 2015 (6). Official interventions at the diplomatic gatherings both in the form of statements (21) and working papers (17) were examined as sources. In addition to authorised inputs directly from German diplomats, those by the European Union and the Non-proliferation and Disarmament Initiative are also included, as Germany unconditionally aligns itself with both. Appendix 4 lists the source texts with further details.

The ideas put forward in these documents were coded using the NVivo software. A total of 781 references emerged with regards to the role conception, while the role performance was coded with a total of 1,152 references. Broken down to the level of role categories, these references covered the 'Form of Will' (100 / 114), 'National Objectives' (18 / 32), 'International Objectives (Organisational)' (106 / 214), 'International Objectives (Contentual)' (323 / 424) and the 'Foreign Policy Style' (180 / 307) – with the first number relating to the role conception and the

second to the role performance. Following the procedure outlined with regard to the general role concepts, the 'Sphere of Influence' category was not coded as the references in 'National Objectives' and 'International Objectives' are seen to adequately determine this category as well. The categories of 'Meta Aspects', which have only informative value in the present work, were coded with 54 and 61 references, respectively. No categories outside of the ideal type role concepts were found. As for the general role concepts, a visualisation of references per role categories distinguished by source document can be found in Appendix 6 and Appendix 7.

In terms of the more specific role characteristics, a total of 39 were found in empirical data for the German role conception, and 35 for the country's role performance. The research further distinguished the extent to which the role characteristics were present in the documents. 19 / 19 of those were found to a great extent, with 3 / 3 more present as 'Meta Aspects' to the role, which are not counted in the analysis of the role itself. 10 / 10 role features were present to a significant extent, while an additional 2 features were found that are considered to be outside of the abstract role concepts. 10 / 6 more aspects saw a limited scope of manifestation and 10 / 14 characteristics were not referenced at all in the source documents. Considering those role characteristics found to a great extent, both parts of the empirical role of Germany can be specified as one ideal type in the typology developed by the present thesis.

Throughout the data analysis, the definitions of the role characteristic were specified on the basis of the empirical data. Most notably, and because different manifestations of them were found, additional definitional elements were added, in particular for the elusive role characteristics. Significant specifications are detailed in the chapter on the German role. It was not considered necessary to make any adaptation to the role characteristic just yet, though the additional and significant features found are highlighted in the section on prospective future research. Moreover, the English role characteristic definitions were translated into German by the author. Typical examples for each role characteristic are given if the role characteristic is found in the empirical documents. The final version of the codebook, including adaptations, can be found in Appendix 1.

With this, the key content-based findings in regard to the second research question, namely *"What is the ideal type role of Germany in the process of advancing nuclear disarmament based on its role conception in the period from 2007 to 2013 and based on its role performance during*

*the 2015 NPT Review Cycle?*” can be summarized. The study found that, in both cases, the most distinct role of Germany is that of the exclusive/offensive ideal type.

This conclusion is reached by allocating the German role conception and role performance to the ideal types and its dimensions based on the measurements outlined above. The details of the distribution as well as a table corresponding to the one provided on the general role concepts are shared at the end of the respective analysis in chapter 6 (Table IV / Table VI). Importantly, only those role characteristics that were found to a great extent in the case study were taken to determine the role conception and role performance of Germany to meet the essential criteria of the ideal type methodology (in particular that of being an accentuation of views).

With regards to the scope of the German role conception and performance, the ‘National Objectives’ category was marked as exclusive, with the same assessment reached for the content-related international aims. Only the organisational side of the international goals was classified as inclusive. In total, eleven of the thirty-eight national and international objectives were found to apply to a great extent in the German case. In regard to the ‘Sphere of Influence’, only the international sphere was mentioned to such a degree in the case study as to evaluate it as exclusive. The total assessment of the scope was exclusive for the German role conception and performance because three out of four role categories were judged to be exclusive.

Moving to the shape of both the role conception and performance, the foreign policy style of Germany was to a great extent characterised by promoting, promoting a middle position, and pressing. While promoting represents a defensive style, the other two are seen as offensive. With two out of three foreign policy styles being offensive, the role category was judged to be offensive. With respect to the ‘Form of Will’, the leader sub-characteristic of a bridge-builder and the supporter sub-characteristic of assisting were found to a great degree in the German case study. As the first is idealised as offensive and the second as defensive, the ‘Form of Will’ was balanced. However, Germany still clearly shows a tendency towards assuming the responsibility of a bridge-builder, making an assessment in the ideal type attribute of ‘offensive’ valid. This led to a total assessment of an offensive shape in the German case.

It should be noted with regard to the overall classification, however, that within the dimension of shape, the defensive orientation was also present in the category ‘Foreign-Policy Style’ and that it is only a tendency that tipped the balance towards the offensive categorisation. Furthermore, it can be noted that, concerning the shape of the role (offensive/defensive), the two dimensions would have been equally weighted if the role characteristics found to a significant extent were to be considered, too. Although only by inclination again, the overall classification of the German role conception and performance would have changed to the inclusive/offensive ideal type.

These conclusions in the form of ideal types could only be reached by assessing the variety of characteristics of the German role. In order to illustrate this work, Table III shows the assessment for the German role conception in summary (the same assessment procedure is applied to the German role performance, whose results can be viewed in Table V at the end of chapter 6). While the smaller upper section details the manifestations of the characteristics in respect to the ‘Meta Aspects’ of the role, the bigger section below describes the assessment for the role categories that determine the ideal types. The role categories are listed on the left-hand side, while the role characteristics are on the right-hand side. A green colouring indicates that the respective role feature is found to a great extent in Germany's role conception. Blue means that it is found to a significant extent, while orange symbolises that it can be found to a limited extent in the country’s own view of its function. Red means it has not been found or that it has been negated in the source documents. The phrases in apostrophes and in black support the structuring of the role characteristics.

Role Category (Meta Aspects)		Role Characteristic (Meta Aspects)
Will to Shape International Affairs		- Important - Active
Approach towards Nuclear Disarmament		- Incremental / Evolutionary - Clearly defined / Planned
Role Category		Role Characteristic
Will to Shape International Affairs	Form of Will	- Supporter (Assistant / Co-operator) - Leader (Bridge-builder / Leader)

	<p><b>Sphere of Influence</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- National sphere</li> <li>- International sphere</li> </ul>
<p><b>National Objectives</b></p>	<p><u>'Function of Nuclear Weapons'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- End nuclear sharing</li> <li>- Reduce reliance on extended nuclear deterrence</li> </ul> <p><u>'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Clear position on nuclear disarmament</li> <li>- Increase of national governmental resources and capabilities</li> <li>- Limit the workings of the nuclear industry</li> <li>- Stronger relations with civil society</li> </ul> <p><u>'Elements of a NWFV'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Enact domestic legal measures</li> </ul>
<p><b>International Objective (Organisational)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Work with NWS and/or NAS</li> <li>- Work with other NNWS</li> <li>- Work with civil society</li> <li>- Work with international organisations</li> </ul>
<p><b>International Objective (Contentual)</b></p>	<p><u>'Function of Nuclear Weapons'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Decrease prominence of nuclear weapons in NATO policies</li> <li>- Decrease reliance on nuclear deterrence</li> <li>- Stronger negative security assurances (NSA)</li> <li>- Wider application of the no-first-use (NFU) principle</li> </ul> <p><u>'Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reduce nuclear weapons arsenals and the establishment of ceilings</li> <li>- Oppose modernisation of nuclear weapons</li> <li>- Reduce US forward-deployed tactical nuclear weapons in Europe</li> <li>- De-alert</li> </ul> <p><u>'Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Keep nuclear disarmament on the international agenda</li> <li>- Recognise nuclear disarmament efforts by NAS</li> <li>- Do studies on nuclear disarmament issues</li> <li>- Organise meetings, conferences, and/or committees</li> <li>- Better governance of international institutions</li> <li>- Deal with defiant states to the NPT (India, North Korea, Iran)</li> </ul> <p><u>'Elements of a NWFV'</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Work towards universal membership of the NPT</li> <li>- Recognise hurdles for nuclear disarmament</li> <li>- Examine condition for nuclear disarmament</li> <li>- Establish NWFZ</li> <li>- Engage with conventional weapons in context of nuclear disarmament</li> <li>- Work towards entry into force of CTBT</li> <li>- Start FMCT negotiations</li> <li>- Promote international nuclear fuel cycle management</li> <li>- Same rules for NWS and NNWS</li> <li>- Increase transparency and accountability</li> <li>- Increase verification</li> <li>- Enhance legal measures</li> <li>- Enforce rules engrained in the NPT / Address NPT break-outs</li> <li>- Specify irreversibility concept</li> </ul>
<p><b>Foreign Policy Style</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- insist</li> <li>- press</li> <li>- promote a middle position</li> <li>- promote</li> <li>- help</li> </ul>

Table III: Role Conception (Germany)

## 7.2.) Validity

The validity of the present study as a whole is understood mainly as the validity of the findings of its two major parts. Therefore, this section will outline the conclusions on the validity concerning the general NNWS role concepts and both parts of the country-specific German role consecutively. Moreover, the implications for the validity of the main role-theory proposition are assessed. As with the paragraphs on findings, the methodological decisions to determine the validity of the research presented are recapped beforehand.

According to the validation methods, the over-all success of the qualitative content analysis carried out is established by showing that its results agree with what they claim to represent. This can be validated by measuring predictive validity, which is the scale to which predictions acquired by one method agree with directly observed facts. It should be noted that the procedure does not aim to validate the research results in terms of generalisability or falsifiability, but in terms of the meaningfulness and applicability of the conceptual roles to empirical data.

Applied to the language of the first research question, the predictions are the categories and characteristics of the general role concepts as well as the aggregated ideal types, while the directly observed facts are the German role conceptions and role performance in these dimensions. For the second research question, predictions are the contents of the categories and characteristics of the German role conceptions and its ideal type and the directly observed facts are the related aspects of the role performance of Germany.

It is worth recalling that, in cases of a mismatch relating to the form (or manifestation) of general as well as country-specific role categories or characteristics, the role concepts and the codebook are both specified accordingly. Only a mismatch on the level of substance (or essence) is understood to be a disagreement in terms of validity. These instances are flagged below and described in more detail in the section on Further Research.

As the validity procedure for the first part of the research was carried out by applying the general role concepts of non-nuclear-weapon states to the German case, all that remains to be done is to make the outputs of this analysis explicit. The predictions of the first part were that the role concepts for NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament have 5 categories with 48



characteristics – with another 2 categories and 4 characteristics in the informative grouping of ‘Meta Aspects’ – and 4 ideal types. It was observed that the country-specific role conception as well as the role performance positively referenced all of those 5 role categories, while the 2 meta categories were also found. On the side of the more concrete role characteristics 39 / 33 were found in the empirical data, with 3 of the meta characteristics present. However, 2 additional characteristics emerged from the source documents, which were not defined by the abstract role concepts beforehand. The German role could be further allocated to one ideal type.

While all predicted general role categories could be observed in the country-specific case study, an agreement of about 81% / 69% can be stated for the role characteristics. Moreover, one specific ideal type out of four was present for both the conceived and actual role of Germany. One must bear in mind that the role concepts as a whole and the ideal types even more so are, by definition, accentuated utopias that cannot be expected to match completely with the real scenario. An agreement of about eight-tenths and seven-tenths, respectively, of the raw conceptual characteristics between the general concepts and the country-specific role parts can be viewed as high. Therefore, the research and results regarding the first research question are considered to be valid.

The validation process for the second part of the study involves an examination of the agreement between the German role conceptions and its role performance. As both parts were established based on the same abstract role concept, an explication of the results in the overall quantitative form presented beforehand plus a more qualitative look at the individual items in view of their congruence will serve this purpose. In general terms, the German role conception was predicted to include 39 intrinsic and 3 meta role characteristics, plus 2 features found in addition in the empirical material. Moreover, the five categories of the abstract role concepts and an ideal type were clearly present in the source material in the German role conception. In contrast, the performance of Germany at the NPT Review Conferences showed a similarly positive endorsement of role aspects, with a slight difference in that it supported only 35 characteristics. Examining the data in more detail, it can be stated that the level of endorsement across the characteristics largely matched, with the same number of features referenced to a ‘great extent’ and ‘significant extent’. A minor difference appeared in the degrees of ‘limited extent’ (10 / 6) and ‘not found’ (10 / 14). Looking at this in more detail, the

differences become broader on the level of individual characteristics when compared one-by-one. While all the role features in the categories 'Meta Aspects' as well as 'Shape of International Affairs' and 'Foreign Policy Style' are cited to the same extent by policymakers and diplomats, the conception varyingly dissents from the behaviour in the other groups. A disagreement by one degree (e.g., great endorsement / significant endorsement) is present in 1 item of 'National Objectives: Contentual' and 'International Objectives: Organizational' and 10 more in the category 'International Objectives: Contentual'. An even grosser incongruity of two or even three degrees of endorsement can be found in 5 more characteristics pertaining to the content-related aims. The resulting ideal type for both the role conception and performance of Germany, however, did not change. In both parts of the case study the German role is marked exclusive/offensive.

Summarised in percentages and considering the level of analysis looked at, the congruence between the German role conceptions and role performance is about 85% for the reference of characteristics in general as well as when comparing their degree of endorsement at large. For the more specific item-to-item contrast of the extent to which a characteristic is present in the two role parts, the overlap drops to about 65%. However, if only the greater differences in endorsement degrees of two or three are counted (e.g., great endorsement / limited or no endorsement), about 90% of the coded role features match.

In line with the assessment reached on the abstract role concepts of NNWS, a congruence of ideal types, eight-tenths in general terms and nine-tenths in a specific examination can be viewed as high. Therefore, the role conception of Germany established in terms of the second research question is considered to be valid. However, the lower and merely medium correspondence of six-tenths in the most meticulous analysis points to the differences that exist between the German view of its role and the actual role performance when one looks at the nuances.

This investigation of empirical congruence also relates to the main theoretical claim of role theory under scrutiny, which is the hypothetical influence of a state's role conception on its role performance. In line with the expectations described in detail in chapter four, the high overlap between the role fractions of Germany on a general level does indeed point to a significant correlation between the two. Thus, it validates this claim, particularly with regard to the overall

direction of conception and performance. The differences in the detailed comparison do suggest that the influence declines in the specifics of the role, in its fine distinctions. However, the relationship even on this finer level can be assessed as strong, as an actor is expected to have multiple roles and enact them to a varying degree in (slightly) different situations, while its overarching role conception incorporates them all and sets the frame for these role performances.

### **7.3.) Contributions**

As with any scientific work, the present research aims to bring certain benefits and make certain contributions to justify itself. Following some words on the expected benefits of the findings, this section will go on to show the need for such a contribution to the body of scholarly work and to the actual political situation as well as the actual results of the study in these regards. More detailed information and references can be found in the chapter on the literature review and the preliminary remarks in the chapters on the role concepts of NNWS and the role conception and performance of Germany. As was the case with the previous section, the two research questions with the distinct benefits and contributions achieved by reaching an answer to them will be dealt with subsequently.

The role concepts for non-nuclear-weapon states advancing nuclear disarmament during the timeframe of 2007 to 2013 were developed with the expectation that this has the intrinsic analytical benefit, on the one hand, of better grasping the role of NNWS. The findings just presented plainly relate to that. Fully fledged role concepts, including theoretically derived role categories and conceptually derived role characteristics, have been established. Moreover, these were abstracted into a set of ideal types with two sorts of categorical schemes and operationalised in a codebook. On the other hand, these concepts aim to provide a tool to be used to provide a systematic description and comparison of empirical roles as well as carry out basic normative assessment of them. The current case study of Germany has its own merits in this regard, but the analytical framework of the general role concepts is, of course, not limited to this example. In fact, any empirical case that fulfils the minimum requirement of being a non-nuclear weapon state can be examined using this method. Because of the clearly defined minimum requirement of the role concepts, the way has also been prepared for applying them to more cases as well as in comparative works.

The PhD project contributes to the literature by providing systematic, comprehensive, detailed and clear models of the role of non-nuclear-weapon states in nuclear disarmament during the period of 2007 to 2013. The need for such concepts is linked to two major shortcomings in the related body of literature. Firstly, no concepts of the role have been established in such a manner to date. The majority of studies base their role concepts on the analysis provided in the same text. As their analysis deals mostly with much bigger issues than the role of NNWS and/or focuses only on certain elements of the role of NNWS, the role concepts are limited, too. In relation to the narrower focus of their analysis, authors address different aspects of the role such as the behavioural style of non-nuclear-weapon states or their policy objectives, and do not rely on a systematic analytic scheme. The role characteristics found by experts are, in turn, described in a divergent manner. Moreover, as researchers mostly take only a perfunctory look at the role concepts, a detailed description of role characteristics is lacking. The concepts and their defining elements remain unclear, as the texts do not sufficiently explain these.

In the realm of political affairs, it was argued in chapter five that an involvement of NNWS is either necessary or at least helpful for advancing the disarmament process. It was outlined why the diminishing prospect of global nuclear war as well as the increasingly multilateral nature of international affairs witnessed after the end of the Cold War has given rise to the notion that nuclear weapons today have more political, domestic and symbolic value. Parallel to this, efforts to reduce the stock of weapons of this class have become more and more complex. Activities to this end have involved a multitude of purely nuclear but also a range of only partly related, mostly non-nuclear issues. With that, many more states and civil society within nations have become affected by and involved in the abolition of nuclear weapons. The two-sided complexity has given rise to the assumption that NAS cannot achieve disarmament by themselves. They need other players to join them in this endeavour. As the study showed in chapter five, one essential group of players are NNWS, comprising over 180 individual nations. To illustrate the need for non-nuclear-weapon states to act, consider just one example in the realm of verification: Due to their expertise, NNWS can be regarded as helpful in providing and establishing knowledge on questions pertaining to technical nuclear verification. However, their contribution to the actual process of verifying disarmament measures including reduced arsenals of nuclear material, which a significant number of them hold themselves, is also necessary if significant advances are to be made towards a NFWF.

One of the main contributions of the present research lies in establishing the role concepts of NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament in the timeframe of 2007 to 2013 analytically within the scholarly debate, paving the way for policy proposals by further studies. As this PhD study can be understood largely as a piece of foundational or basic research, the general role concepts developed here of necessity did not go as far as to provide applicable political outputs. However, such real-world outputs are the ultimate aim of the study. Its findings can be further refined, normatively assessed, and finally used to produce tangible political recommendations in the future.

Moving from the general to the country-specific role, the present research claims to have the intrinsic value of determining Germany's role conception and role performance during the years of 2007 to 2013/2015, which facilitates a better understanding of the function of any important state in terms of how this relates to the process of nuclear disarmament. Again, the findings relate directly to such an understanding. By carrying out a comprehensive case study on Germany's role conception and role performance, a sum of about 40 role characteristics have been defined, contextualised and evaluated in basic terms in chapter six. By placing them within the framework of the ideal type scheme, a clear-cut role has been established, and this can also be applied by future studies in order to analyse, compare and assess other periods of the role conception or the role performance of a state. Furthermore, there is also an added and instrumental value to be gained. By establishing Germany's role in advancing nuclear disarmament through the ideal type role concepts of NNWS, the empirical case validates the more general role concepts. From this, potential refinements and avenues of further research can be identified. While the validity aspect was described in the previous section and requires no further description, the general role concepts were to a large degree refined as part of the process of analysing both parts of the German role; the outcome of this can be found in the specified definitions of the codebook. More points for improving the NNWS role concepts were identified in the paragraphs on validity and will be described under the heading 'Further Research'.

A solid understanding of Germany's role in the realm of nuclear disarmament during the years of 2007 to 2013/2015 and the link between the conceptual role of NNWS in general and the empirical role of Germany are, thus, what this piece of research has contributed – first and foremost to a body of literature that has to date lacked both. No conception of Germany's role

in nuclear disarmament in a systematic and detailed manner was found in the writings examined. These failed to take a sufficiently in-depth look at the role conception, which also resulted from the fact that a multitude of aspects related to (or even going beyond) the self-proclaimed objectives of Germany in disarmament were addressed in what were rather short writings. Some studies seemed to pick and choose the disarmament aspects they highlighted in an unsystematic manner. What is more, further examination showed that a link between the conceptual role and an empirical counterpart was also largely missing. Studies that described the policies of NNWS in the area of nuclear disarmament in most cases did not reconcile this empirical picture with a (theoretically induced) conception of a country-specific role. In cases where such a role conception was to some extent developed, the empirical measurement or validation was missing. A refinement or test of the role was not even possible in most cases.

Moreover, the benefits of this PhD project are its valuable contributions to the realm of German policy in a similar manner as outlined in relation to the general role concepts of NNWS, thus further establishing its meaning as a piece of foundational or basic research that can serve future studies and policy recommendations. In addition to the need for and potential of NNWS and middle powers such as Germany to promote nuclear disarmament in general, the increasing engagement of Germany and its policymakers with this issue renders it necessary to gain a better understanding of Germany's role. Some spotlights include its active stance at the 2005, 2010 and eventually 2015 NPT Review Conference as the most important gathering on nuclear issues and its joining of the newly formed Non-proliferation and Disarmament Initiative (NPDI) in order to foster the implementation of the NPT. Moreover, the administration's declaration that it would champion the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from its soil inside NATO and vis-à-vis the US partners can be seen as an example of Germany's activeness internationally. Domestically, the 13 interpellations by the German parliament that specifically addressed nuclear disarmament in the period from 2007 to 2013 may be highlighted to show Germany's activeness in the field. The fact that there are so many diverging interests in the realm of nuclear weapons in Germany contributes to the complexity of Germany's role, making an in-depth understanding of it vital in order to be able to propose effective policy decisions.

Adding to the intrinsic and instrumental value of both the general and country-specific roles, this piece of the present research also aimed to generate intrinsic benefits in the realm of role theory. The objective was to apply the central conceptual language frames of role theory as

well as to examine the potential theoretical relationship between those concepts. This end was served in that the procedures used in the study rested firmly on the foundations of role theory, both conceptually and theoretically. The PhD operationalised role theory firstly by establishing the role concepts of NNWS advancing nuclear disarmament from 2007 to 2013. It then continued to apply these abstract role concepts to the empirical case of a member of this group, here Germany. Both the country's role conception and its role performance were examined for the years of 2007 to 2013/2015, before these two parts of the German role were checked for congruence. By this, the main role-theory claim that these two variables influence one another could be validated.

Such an application of role theory was identified as a shortcoming within the current literature, in particular, in the field of foreign policy analysis. More abstractly, the two areas where such a deficiency can be found are the conceptual domain and theoretical domain related to it. Most studies take only one individual concept and do not examine how it relates to other instruments in the RT toolbox. The result is that both the descriptive and the explanatory value remain limited. None of the academics reviewed employ role theory in any substantive way to comprehensively explore the role concepts of a NNWS, let alone the more specific function of this group or even an individual member of it, in fostering nuclear disarmament.

#### **7.4.) Limitations and Further Research**

The stringent focus of this work allowed for concentrated research, but also meant that certain aspects that have relevance to the subject matter presented here had to be left unexamined. In the following section, some of the main shortcomings are highlighted and potential further research avenues are proposed. These paragraphs will deal, in particular, with the validity of the conceptual roles, the understanding of the empirical role and the normative assessment of both.

Although the validity of the conceptual roles has been successfully tested, shortcomings in the validity of its claims come with the research design and the nature of the present study. One of the two main shortcomings is related to the generalisability of the ideal types and their role elements. The strength of the testing procedure lies in its validation of the meaningfulness of the newly developed general role concepts. However, in terms of generalisability, the method only starts to validate the concepts. This is because the role concepts, based on their definition,

cover all cases of non-nuclear-weapon states that advance nuclear disarmament. This sample comprises potentially all of the more than 180 NNWS. Measuring the role concepts against only one of these is, hence, greatly limited in terms of testing its generalisability. In particular, the validity of the concepts in relation to non-Western NNWS needs to be highlighted here because, not only is the case study a Western NNWS, the data collected was mainly taken from documents from or about Western countries.

Another limitation of the validation method relates to the accurateness of the role characteristics. The study employed a case study to validate these appropriately and mostly by showing the presence of the conceptual role aspects in an empirical role. In the process, role characteristics were tested in terms of their form (leading to adaptations in the codebook) and their content (leading to the proposed pathways detailed below). However, the contents of the role characteristics were not comprehensively examined and validated by themselves. Nuances in the role aspects, such as strengthening and weakening interrelations between them, could hardly be spotted by the research design.

The main focus of the research design on the general NNWS role concepts and its validation through the case study also implied a somewhat lesser focus on the aspects of understanding the empirical role. Although the German role conception and role performance has been examined with great consideration, this orientation still led to shortcomings. The specifics of both parts of the country's role were studied in accordance with the analytical grid of the abstract role concepts for NNWS and related methodological decisions. This meant that, on the one hand, any kind of relational or deeper analysis of characteristics and categories was only performed when deemed useful in the context of the general role concepts. On the other hand, even prominent features of the German role parts that emerged in the case study were merely flagged up. Finally, the role was established on the basis of official government outputs, waiving a deeper analysis of the respective individual positions.

A more comprehensive understanding of the German role conception and role performance might be achieved with the great variety of research designs developed within the field of international relations. At this point, in particular, those pathways will be staked out in the next sections which take the established role categories and characteristic as the starting point for a



more in-depth look at them. This appears not only valuable for conceptual investigations of the German role but, in particular, where research results are to have direct relevance for policy.

A third shortcoming is the normative assessment of the ideal type roles and the underlying concepts. The research summarised outputs by the expert community that are all presented by the respective authors in the period from 2007 to 2013 as aspects of a role of non-nuclear-weapon states that advance nuclear disarmament. This selection is the basic normative orientation of the study (methodologically detailed in chapters two and four). However, the analysis did not go beyond this basic stance to determine which of those role aspects or which combination of them – ideal types in terms of the study's findings – is best suited to advance nuclear disarmament and under what conditions.

Such an analytic-normative examination would be of particular value, as it would provide further nuances to the role concepts and make more precise assessments of empirical roles possible, including more realistic policy recommendations. If further investigation would, for example, prove the offensive/inclusive ideal type to be the most promising role for NNWS in the context of NPT Review Conferences, the actual role of states such as Germany could be evaluated against this ideal type and role aspects that diverge from this ideal type could be discussed realistically as policy recommendations for the next NPT review cycle.

For Germany, the current study can, at best, provide orientation concerning the possible pathways that such analytical-normative assessments might go down. The section below will highlight one prominent instance that started to emerge in the analysis of Germany, namely the unbalanced and status-quo-oriented role characteristic of bridge-builder.

For all of the three aforementioned shortcomings, further avenues of research can be proposed that would cover the aspects the present study has left open.

The limited validation of the conceptual roles can be extended by generalising its claims. The most obvious way to achieve such an objective is to conduct further case studies that apply the general role concepts and its ideal types to other countries. Following more closely the argumentation of this study, Western NNWS such as Canada, Japan or Australia might be examined. Building on the foundations presented here, future research may turn towards non-Western NNWS such as Mexico or Costa Rica – states that have an increasingly influential

function in the current nuclear disarmament debate. Moreover, conceptual examinations, particularly of documents from or about non-Western NNWS, may prove valuable in firmly extending the validity of the claims of the general role concepts.

With regards to shaping out the nuances of the role characteristics as well as validating them as part of concepts that depict the advancing of nuclear disarmament, further academic efforts may focus on looking into the ideal types and their elements from conceptual and theoretical perspectives. Role characteristics as the smallest component of the role concepts can be examined alone or in sets. As such, future research projects might investigate, for example, if and to what extent the different styles of foreign policy pursued by non-nuclear-weapon states have any impact on the actual reduction of nuclear weapons by NWS and whether the effectiveness of a certain style changes within different contexts.

In addition to these two points, the present research found that some aspects of the general role concepts may be worth adapting in terms of substance, the most prominent of which is summarised below. Further research may analyse whether these aspects do indeed merit inclusion in the role concepts. Specifically, and related to the role categories, efforts might focus on whether they can be considered as fitting in with the abstract and theoretical role concepts derived from role theory. Concerning the role characteristics, research could also examine whether there are strong enough arguments for advocating such aspects as part of role concepts for NNWS in advancing nuclear disarmament.

Concerning the categories of the role, the major addition to the basic scheme derived from role theory suggested by the research synthesis are the so-called 'Meta Aspects' (see chapter five). These can be understood as underlying themes to the specific characteristics of the five other role categories. The first feature pertains directly to, but also goes beyond, the role category of the 'Will to Shape International Affairs', the second speaks to a general approach towards nuclear disarmament.

The category 'Will to Shape International Affairs' as an abstract role category includes, in summary, the specific form or shape of the will of states to assume a certain responsibility in the international realm. Two aspects, however, hold true for most of those manifestations of the will. As such, they are treated as 'Meta Aspects' to this very category and the role concepts as a whole. The two aspects described non-nuclear-weapon states in nuclear disarmament as

'important' and 'active'. The second feature that emerged from the expert discourse as an underlying theme to the conceptual role of NNWS is the recommended approach towards nuclear disarmament. In contrast to the aspects outlined above, the feature did not link to one role category but to the fundamental philosophies relating to the advancement of disarmament. It affects, to a varying degree, all the categories of the role concepts. Two approaches could be identified: an evolutionary and a planned one.

On the level of role characteristics, three additional aspects of the general role concepts came to light during its application to the case of Germany in chapter six, with the first two significantly referenced in both the country's role conception and its role performance. The first emerged with regards to a more fundamental German view of the organisation of the international progress towards nuclear disarmament. This is the country's conviction that it should work with others on the basis of international law and/or an international agreement. The second concerns an engagement with the contents of international objectives relating to nuclear energy, nuclear security, and nuclear export controls, while the third pertains to the category of 'Shape of Will' and can be described as Germany's role aspect of being a bona fide observer.

The role aspect of working with others on the basis of international law and/or an international agreement was most comprehensively elaborated on in an introductory speech by Minister of State Reinhard Silberberg at a joint conference of the Federal Foreign Office and the German Foundation of Peace Research in 2007. In his opening remarks to the conference, which focused on new directions in disarmament and arms control, he stated that "we are invited to talk about new paths in disarmament and arms control today, then always on the basis of existing multilateral treaties and the common norms anchored within them" (Silberberg 2007). He continued, "... the paths of multilateral treaties are still expedient, but we should take care of their preservation, extension and, where necessary, adaptation of the path network." After going into detail about reasons for the "indispensability of such an approach" he concluded that "we operate on the grounds of multilateral agreements. We operate so to say on firm ground."

The topical area spanning nuclear energy in more general terms as well as nuclear export controls and nuclear security were present in both parts of the German role to quite a significant extent, even if not formally part of the abstract role concepts. Within the case study,

the direct link between the issues named and nuclear disarmament and the indirect connections via non-proliferation are considered to be too weak to justify establishing a new and separate role characteristic just yet. However, if these issues are to be associated even more closely with non-proliferation and/or even directly with disarmament in future studies, it would make sense to recognise them more strongly as part of the general NNWS role concepts in advancing nuclear disarmament.

The role characteristic of a bona fide observer arose from the texts, as Germany in many regards describes actions by other parties in favourable terms. Although statements by Germany that described the actions of other parties were valid and truthful, they were often limited to the one viewpoint that concentrates on the positive aspects of behaviour. It is worth noting for further research that there might be limits to its inclusion in the role concepts coming from the conceptual orientation towards an advancement of nuclear disarmament. The passive nature of the role characteristic may stand in contrast to such an intention of advancing nuclear disarmament; if that were the case, the role characteristic would be outside of the role concepts developed here.

And secondly, the understanding of the German role as presented here, both its own role view and its actions, may be consolidated by delving more deeply into the identified categories and characteristics, specifically through additional methods and more detailed examination.

Methodical triangulation is a valuable option in order to go beyond the formal statements made by officials when examining Germany's role in advancing nuclear disarmament. Additional approaches, such as collecting information in interviews or selecting resources from the bureaucratic apparatus behind the representatives as well as other more contextual sources in order to gather more informal or atmospheric perspectives are conceivable. Moreover, and with special relevance for Germany's role performance, future studies might examine records that address the implementation of role features and in this way enrich the present study's focus on diplomatic actions. It could be validated, for example, to what degree Germany actually fosters the objective of working towards making the CTBT really happen by analysing the outputs of its delegation within the CTBTO, its financial and technical contributions to this governing body of the treaty, and/or the expert knowledge and procedural support it supplies to candidate countries.

Building on the concrete functional characteristics identified, prospective research endeavours may also pick up on these and examine them in more detail. Every individual feature as well as the ideal types can be selected for this purpose and investigated over a longer time span, in relation to other characteristics by applying different conceptual lenses, or in regard to its overlap between the role conception and role performance, to name just a few possibilities. Three aspects appear especially relevant for such an effort as they emerged in chapter six as outstanding characteristics of the German role conception and role performance. These more general trends are the high importance Germany gives to international law and/or international agreement, its preferred approach of being a bridge-builder and promoting a middle position, and a preference for stronger involvement in nuclear non-proliferation than in nuclear disarmament issues. While the first has been outlined above and the second will be the subject of the following paragraphs, the divide between non-proliferation and disarmament topics in the German role deserves some further description here. The coding process showed that higher significance is attributed by government officials to measures that come under the cluster of non-proliferation, both in their own role conception and their role performance during the NPT Review Conferences. Nuclear disarmament topics receive proportionally lesser references. What is more, the manifestations of the German willingness to advance the objectives of a nuclear-weapon-free world also tend to be stronger ('insisting' and 'co-operating') on non-proliferation measures and weaker ('assisting') on core disarmament ones.

A last proposed pathway for further studies is the normative assessment of conceptual roles and, subsequently, the discussion of proposals for policy changes. Upcoming research questions may ask which of the ideal type role concepts developed here or what other subset of role characteristics of NNWS advance nuclear disarmament most effectively, most efficiently or most rapidly? What conditions and factors influence in what way, whether and to what extent NNWS are successful in fostering the process towards the abolition of nuclear weapons? What policy recommendations for a specific state can be generated out of these insights?

One specific proposal for further research in this direction will be touched upon as an example. It relates to the German role characteristic of being a bridge-builder in nuclear disarmament affairs in general, while at the same time occupying an unbalanced position between the conflicting parties in the field and rarely going beyond the status quo in its policy proposals.

Such an observation emerged in chapter six of the present study and was also elaborated on by the author in a separate publication (Knöpfel 2015).

The case study carried out showed that it is a significant part of the German role conception to be a bridge-builder in terms of the responsibility it aims to adopt in fostering nuclear disarmament. The analysis also showed that its stance leans towards NWS in general as well as towards certain aspects, and that the country sees itself building bridges only when the issue at hand is embedded in current international law and/or agreements by allies in principle. Further studies could look at the normative questions and establish whether role aspects fit together effectively. It may be argued that a bridge-builder can work best when it treats NWS and NNWS equally when arranging or negotiating an agreement and that it should produce results that go beyond current policies. If this normative assessment was found to be conceptually correct, its implications for German policy and Germany's overall stance on nuclear disarmament issues could be discussed. Should Germany adopt the role of a bridge-builder that treats other parties equally and one whose proposals go beyond the status quo? Concrete policy recommendations, taking the specifics of the German case into consideration, may be the outcome of an investigation into this question.

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It might be argued that the role of NNWS and Germany in advancing nuclear disarmament is more in the spotlight within the current international discourse than ever before. Changes in the nuclear disarmament discourse in recent years through the humanitarian initiative and the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons have led to increasing acknowledgement of the function that non-nuclear-weapon states fulfil in fostering steps towards nuclear abolition (Hanson 2018). In particular, calls for a bridge-building role of NNWS as well as other players to close the deepening rift between nuclear haves and have-nots feature prominently in the debate and can contribute towards making positive progress at the 2020 NPT Review Conference and beyond (Guterres 2017; Shetty 2017; Group of Eminent Persons 2018). This is a function that NNWS in general are potentially well-suited to take on (Williams 2017; Berger 2017). Indeed, the contemporary developments highlight the complex and at times paradoxical situation of NNWS such as Germany in such an endeavour, being trapped between supporting and opposing a reliance on nuclear weapons. The importance and responsibility of Germany

and other middle powers in reducing such reliance in the role of bridge-builder and other role types, however, makes it important to develop well-thought-out policies to deal with their situation (Meier/Suh 2016).

In such a context, a comprehensive understanding of the roles of NNWS and Germany in advancing nuclear disarmament is of heightened relevance. The present study set out to provide further input for such an understanding. May its findings facilitate the process of successfully ridding the world of nuclear weapons.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1 – Codebook

Role Categories (Meta Aspects)	Role Characteristic (Meta Aspects)	Definition <sup>178</sup>	Typical Example <sup>179</sup>	Coding Rule <sup>180</sup>
<b>Will to Shape International Affairs</b>	<b>Important</b>	1. “great significance or value” 2. Within the nuclear disarmament process, NNWS are highlighted as actors	“The Federal Government remains as third largest contributor [to the CTBT verification system] one of the most important supporters of the treaty”	If either of the two definitions is found, the role characteristic is true  Otherwise the role characteristic is false

<sup>178</sup> If there is more than one definition, these are separated by “1.”, “2.”, etc. Hyphens indicate further specifications of the definition. For the more elusive role categories of ‘Form of Will’ and ‘Foreign Policy Style’ the specifications of the definition are limited to four; more may be found in the chapter on the role concepts of NNWS in the respective section. The definitions are based on the analyses of the expert community (see chapter on role concepts of NNWS). Most definition elements are drafted by the authors on this basis. If a specific word is the definition (this word is applied in the expert community to express the role characteristic) it is enclosed by single quotation marks. If a specific phrase serves as a definition and is either quoted by the expert community or by the Oxford Dictionary, it is enclosed by double quotation marks. References are provided in the chapter on the role concepts of NNWS in the respective section.

<sup>179</sup> In cases of more than one definition, the typical example refers to the first definition (marked by “1.”), if not explicitly stated differently. The typical examples are quotes taken from the documents examined to establish the German role, the translation is done by the author. References to the quotes are provided in the chapter on the role of Germany in the respective section, where additional examples of the role characteristic are also illustrated. If the role characteristic is not represented by a typical example in the documents, no typical example is given.

<sup>180</sup> If only one definition is stated then the coding rule is: “If the definition is found, the role characteristic is true; Otherwise the role characteristic is false”. In accordance with remarks in footnote 1 and the method chapter, given definitions shall be the basis for the selection of coding units in the respective documents, though they may require adaptation to the context and language.



	<b>Active</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "participating or engaged in a particular sphere or activity"</li> <li>2. Functions of NNWS are highlighted the disarmament process</li> </ol>	"The Federal Government participates actively in consideration of strengthening and expanding the regulations of the NPT review process taken in 1995"	<p>If either of the two definitions is found, the role characteristic is true</p> <p>Otherwise the role characteristic is false</p>
<b>Approach towards Nuclear Disarmament</b>	<b>Incremental / Evolutionary</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "relatively open-ended and involve (sic!) a gradual, step-by-exploratory-step, process of searching, learning and implementation"</li> <li>2. Recognises the inherent complexity of the objective which needs to be addressed before it can be achieved</li> <li>3. The course of action is open and the timeframe to carry it out may well be decades long</li> </ol>		<p>If at least the first and one other of the three definitions are found, the role characteristic is true</p> <p>Otherwise the role characteristic is false</p>
	<b>Clearly defined / Planned</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sets target dates for disarmament, identifies all necessary steps to move from here to there, and envisages all countries marching together - arms linked - to the finishing line</li> <li>2. the completion date for the disarmament process might here also be envisaged much earlier than in its counter-concept</li> </ol>	"Advances towards implementing disarmament responsibilities are not a question of 'all or nothing'; rather there are no realistic alternatives to a gradual progress"	<p>If at least the first definitions is found, the role characteristic is true</p> <p>Otherwise the role characteristic is false</p>
<b>Role Category</b>	<b>Role Characteristic</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Typical Example</b>	<b>Coding Rule</b>
<b>Form of Will (Will to Shape International Affairs)</b>	<b>Supporter</b>	<p>"A person who approves of and encourages a public figure, political party, policy, etc.", while the relation to a policy and the specific policies in the disarmament process are of primary importance</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Assistant</li> </ol> <p>- <i>"Assisting someone or complying with their requests";</i>  - <i>Also cooperate, engage, enable;</i>  - <i>Having a shared responsibility in nuclear disarmament, this "however, does not mean equal responsibility. Nuclear-weapons states (NWS) can and should lead the</i></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. "The Federal Government welcomes the intention expressed by the US administration in 2009 to foster the ratification of the CTBT"</li> <li>2. Germany "will continue its cooperation with civil society on all important topics of disarmament ..."</li> </ol>	<p>If either of the two definitions (assist or cooperate) is found, the role characteristic is true</p> <p>Otherwise the role characteristic is false</p>

		<p>process";</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Others actors come up with the issue at stake, one only passively approves of it</li> </ul> <p>2. Co-operator</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Work jointly towards the same end";</li> <li>- Somewhat equal responsibility is ascribed to NNWS and NWS;</li> <li>- Other actors or oneself come up with the issue at stake, both work actively towards completing it</li> </ul>	
	<b>Leader</b>	<p>1. Leader</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Person who leads or commands a group, organization, or country" or, in the present case, the disarmament process;</li> <li>- Also 'leadership', 'leading', and so forth or similar phrases such as 'pioneer', 'forefront';</li> <li>- One goes first and is not significantly limited by other actors</li> </ul> <p>2. Bridge-builder</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Broker, meaning to "arrange or negotiate (an agreement)";</li> <li>- Not only to be active in organising a negotiation process, but produce results that likely go beyond current policies in the form of an agreement between formerly conflicting positions;</li> <li>- Inside IOs or in international</li> </ul>	<p>1. "for some considerable time now, Germany has been playing a leading role in disarmament and arms control"</p> <p>2. "the NPDI has clearly enhanced its profile as bridge-builder and driving force for the implementation of the action plan [included in the NPT 2010 final document]"</p> <p>If either of the two definitions (lead or bridge-builder) is found, the role characteristic is true</p> <p>Otherwise the role characteristic is false</p>
<b>Sphere of Influence (Will to Shape International Affairs)</b>	<b>National sphere</b>	Policies and actions with domestic scope	Note: National objectives (see respective role characteristic) refer to this role characteristic
	<b>International sphere</b>	Policies and actions with regional or global scope	Note: International objective (see both respective role characteristics) refer to this role characteristic

National Objectives	<p><b>End nuclear sharing</b>  <u>('Role of Nuclear Weapons')</u></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. No nuclear weapons on soil</li> <li>2. No partaking in planned use (technically as well as politically)</li> </ol>	<p>Germany will "press for a withdrawal of US nuclear weapons from Germany in the drafting of the new strategic concept of NATO"</p>	<p>If either of the two definitions is found, the role characteristic is true</p> <p>Otherwise the role characteristic is false</p>
	<p><b>Reduce reliance on extended nuclear deterrence</b>  <u>('Role of Nuclear Weapons')</u></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Reduce reliance on extended nuclear deterrence</li> <li>2. Sole purpose of the strategy to deter other NAS</li> </ol>		<p>If either of the two definitions is found, the role characteristic is true</p> <p>Otherwise the role characteristic is false</p>
	<p><b>Clear position on nuclear disarmament</b>  <u>('Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures')</u></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Clearly state their stance on disarmament</li> <li>2. Include normative element of clearly endorsing the goal</li> <li>3. Also define its own positions as a non-nuclear-weapons state</li> </ol>	<p>Germany "clearly committed to the disarmament responsibilities of the NWS stemming from article VI of the NPT and to the goal of a nuclear-weapon-free world"</p>	<p>If at least the first and one other of the three definitions are found, the role characteristic is true</p> <p>Otherwise the role characteristic is false</p>
	<p><b>Increase of national governmental resources and capabilities</b>  <u>('Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures')</u></p>	<p>Increase of national governmental resources and capabilities</p>		
	<p><b>Limit the workings of the nuclear industry</b>  <u>('Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures')</u></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. End uranium exports to nuclear weapon states, to states that have not signed on to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to states with inadequate safeguards</li> <li>2. Divest all public funds from companies that manufacture, maintain and modernise nuclear weapons</li> </ol>		<p>If either of the two definitions is found, the role characteristic is true</p> <p>Otherwise the role characteristic is false</p>
	<p><b>Stronger relations with the civil society</b>  <u>('Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures')</u></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Engage the public and build up their support in order to advance the disarmament process (including increased public disarmament education)</li> </ol>	<p>"The Foreign Office has participated, among other things, in the two-yearly conferences of the "Global Zero"-Initiative in Paris 2010 and London 2011,</p>	

			which are established by civil society”
	<b>Enact domestic legal measures</b> <b>(‘Elements of a NFWF’)</b>	1. Consider enacting criminal legislation regarding participating in the development of nuclear weapons 2. Right and obligation to inform appropriate international authorities if they discover activities that are at odds with international commitments undertaken by their governments	If either of the two definitions is found, the role characteristic is true  Otherwise the role characteristic is false
<b>International Objective</b> <b>(Organisational)</b>	<b>Work with NWS and/or NAS</b>	Work with NWS and/or NAS	“The Federal Government supports the inclusion of nonstrategic nuclear weapons in the New-START follow-on process between the USA and Russia through pointing continuously and firmly ... to such a necessity”
	<b>Work with other NNWS</b>	Work with other NNWS	“Implementation of the NPT action plan in co-ordination with partners in the EU and the NPDI”
	<b>Work with civil society</b>	Work with civil society	Germany aims for the "continuation of the cooperation with civil society in all important fields of disarmament, arms control, and nonproliferation"
	<b>Work with international organisations</b>	1. International organisations as actors - <i>work with them in order to change their organisational policy or behaviour</i> 2) International organisations as forums - <i>work in them to foster nuclear disarmament</i>	“During the German presidency in the first half of 2017 the profile of the EU in regards to disarmament, arms control and nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction could be sharpened and expanded in a wide range of issues”

International Objective (Contentual)	<b>Decrease prominence of nuclear weapons in NATO policies ('Role of Nuclear Weapons')</b>	Decrease prominence of nuclear weapons in NATO policies	Germany "calls for the role of nuclear weapons to be further scaled down in NATO's Strategic Concept".
	<b>Decrease reliance on nuclear deterrence ('Role of Nuclear Weapons')</b>	Decrease reliance on nuclear deterrence	
	<b>Stronger negative security assurances (NSA) ('Role of Nuclear Weapons')</b>	Stronger negative security assurances (NSA)	"prompt the five recognised nuclear powers to a binding renunciation of the deployment of atomic weapons against NNWS"
	<b>Wider application of the no-first-use (NFU) principle ('Role of Nuclear Weapons')</b>	Wider application of the no-first-use (NFU) principle	
	<b>Reduce nuclear weapons arsenals and the establishment of ceilings ('Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces')</b>	Reduce nuclear weapons arsenals and the establishment of ceilings	"Globally press for the reduction of nuclear weapons arsenals"
	<b>Oppose modernisation of nuclear weapons ('Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces')</b>	Oppose modernisation of nuclear weapons	"commit all nuclear-weapon states to refrain from developing or qualitatively improving nuclear weapons. They are called upon to end the development of advanced new types of nuclear weapons."
	<b>Reduce US forward-deployed tactical nuclear weapons in Europe ('Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces')</b>	Reduce US forward-deployed tactical nuclear weapons in Europe	Germany champions "putting the inclusion ... of sub-strategic nuclear weapons in the future disarmament process on the international agenda and lay the foundations for the withdrawal
			If either of the two definitions is found, the role characteristic is true  Otherwise the role characteristic is false

		of the remaining nuclear weapons from Germany”	
<b>De-alert</b> <b>(‘Disarmament Process: Nuclear Forces’)</b>	De-alert	NPDI “urged all Nuclear-Weapon States ... to take steps towards de-alerting their nuclear forces to help lower the risk of inadvertent use”	
<b>Keep nuclear disarmament on the international agenda</b> <b>(‘Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures’)</b>	1. Publicising it 2. Engagement with the issue and providing specific proposals for actions	Germany "champions at the preparatory meetings of the 2010 NPT Review Conference to keep strategic disarmament on the agenda ..."	If either of the two definitions is found, the role characteristic is true  Otherwise the role characteristic is false
<b>Recognise nuclear disarmament efforts by NAS</b> <b>(‘Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures’)</b>	Recognise nuclear disarmament efforts by NAS	“The Federal Government has repeatedly welcomed that the British government has on many occasions underscored its willingness to work towards a NWFV”	
<b>Do studies on nuclear disarmament issues</b> <b>(‘Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures’)</b>	Do studies on nuclear disarmament issues (including research as well as practical studies)		
<b>Organise meetings, conferences, and/or committees</b> <b>(‘Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures’)</b>	Organise meetings, conferences, and/or committees	“On 30 April 2011 and following an invitation by the Federal Government, the NPDI conducted its second meeting on minister-level in Berlin”	
<b>Better governance of international institutions</b> <b>(‘Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures’)</b>	Better governance of international institutions	The Federal Government submitted a working paper... that made comprehensive proposals for establishing additional mechanisms for	

		the treaty community [of the NPT], ... including a system of contact points to strengthen the interactivity between regular preparatory conferences.
<b>Deal with defiant states to the NPT</b> <b><u>('Disarmament Process: Facilitating Measures')</u></b>	Deal with states defiant to the NPT	"Working with all determination at ones disposal towards compliance with nonproliferation responsibilities of the [NPT] treaty in the cases of Iran and North Korea ..."
<b>Work towards universal membership of the NPT</b> <b><u>('Elements of a NWFZ')</u></b>	Work towards universal membership of the NPT	"The universalisation of the NPT is a defined goal of the Federal Government as well as its partners in the EU. The Federal Government will continue to promote vis-a-vis Israel as well as the other states standing outside the NPT the joining of the treaty as NNWS ..."
<b>Recognise hurdles for nuclear disarmament</b> <b><u>('Elements of a NWFZ')</u></b>	Recognise hurdles for nuclear disarmament	The "present crisis of the NPT can be traced to the proliferation cases of Iran, North Korea, Pakistan and Syria." Discussions and decisions about the modernisation of nuclear arsenals of the NWS ... make a necessary consensus among the NPT members difficult and burden the regime"
<b>Examine condition for nuclear disarmament</b> <b><u>('Elements of a NWFZ')</u></b>	Examine condition for nuclear disarmament	
<b>Establish NWFZ</b> <b><u>('Elements of a NWFZ')</u></b>	Establish NWFZ	"NWFZ are principally an important addition and valuable assistance for the global nonproliferation regime and are firmly welcomed and supported by the Federal Government"

<p><b>Engage with conventional weapons in context of nuclear disarmament</b>  <u>('Elements of a NFWF')</u></p>	<p>Engage with conventional weapons in context of nuclear disarmament (including BMD)</p>	<p>The Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty "would increase confidence and counter the argument that is advanced by Russia that it needs to maintain its heavy reliance on nuclear weapons because of a conventional inferiority and a perceived conventional threat from NATO".</p>
<p><b>Work towards entry into force of CTBT</b>  <u>('Elements of a NFWF')</u></p>	<p>Work towards entry into force of CTBT</p>	<p>Germany presses in the "respective multilateral bodies for the commencement of the [CTBT] treaty"</p>
<p><b>Start FMCT negotiations</b>  <u>('Elements of a NFWF')</u></p>	<p>Start FMCT negotiations</p>	<p>Germany promotes an "initiation of the negotiations about a prohibition of the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons purposes"</p>
<p><b>Promote international nuclear fuel cycle management</b>  <u>('Elements of a NFWF')</u></p>	<p>Promote international nuclear fuel cycle management</p>	<p>"The Federal Government has issued its proposal of multilateralisation of the fuel cycle ('Multilateral Enrichment Sanctuary Project', MESP) in the UNDC plenum"</p>
<p><b>Same rules for NWS and NNWS</b>  <u>('Elements of a NFWF')</u></p>	<p>Same rules for NWS and NNWS (including in the NPT)</p>	
<p><b>Increase transparency and accountability</b>  <u>('Elements of a NFWF')</u></p>	<p>Increase transparency and accountability</p>	<p>"Offer Russia a dialogue on transparency measures about the tactical nuclear weapons in Europe"</p>



	<b>Increase verification</b> ( <u>'Elements of a NFWF'</u> )	Increase verification	"it is essential to strengthen the IAEA's control options via the Additional Protocol as an integral part of the verification standards"
	<b>Enhance legal measures</b> ( <u>'Elements of a NFWF'</u> )	Enhance legal measures	
	<b>Enforce rules engrained in the NPT</b> ( <u>'Elements of a NFWF'</u> )	Enforce rules engrained in the NPT (including addressing NPT break-out)	"In view of our experiences with North Korea, Germany thinks it is necessary for the NPT States Parties to agree on rules governing withdrawal from the Treaty and reaction to Treaty violations"
	<b>Specify irreversibility concept</b> ( <u>'Elements of a NFWF'</u> )	Specify irreversibility concept (proposed as one of the thirteen disarmament measures, which were agreed at the NPT Review Conference in 2000)	
<b>Foreign Policy Style</b>	<b>Insist</b>	Insist - <i>"demand something forcefully, not accepting refusal"</i> - <i>"oppose", "actively resist" (including through sanctions)</i>	Germany simply "cannot accept a nuclear armed Iran"
	<b>Press</b>	Press - <i>"forcefully put forward (an opinion, claim, or course of action)"</i> - <i>"push" (compel or urge (someone) to do something, especially to work hard), "urge"</i> - <i>"try earnestly or persistently to persuade (someone) to do something"</i>	"NPDI urging a further decrease of the role of nuclear weapons in military and security doctrines"
	<b>Promote a middle position</b>	Promote a middle position - <i>Taking a clear position</i> - <i>Finding and then promoting of a potentially common position between NNWS and NWS on nuclear disarmament issues.</i>	The Federal Government "sees [the NPDI] as especially suitable to build bridges and equally champion disarmament and nonproliferation"

**Promote**

Promote

- *Involve a clear position only to a lesser extent in regard to role characteristic Promote a middle position*
- *“Support or actively encourage (a cause, venture, etc.); further the progress of”*
- *'advocate' ("Publicly recommend or support"), 'encourage' ("Give support, confidence, or hope to (someone)") and to 'support' ("Give assistance to")*
- *'publicise' or 'to put on the agenda'*

“NWFZ are principally an important addition and valuable support for the global nonproliferation regime and are firmly welcomed and supported by the Federal Government.”

**Help**

Help

- *"make it easier or possible for (someone) to do something by offering them one's services or resources"*
- *directed at NAS and involves helping them making progress on nuclear disarmament fronts.*

“The Federal Government support a verifiable and irreversible START treaty between the United States and Russia ...”

## Appendix 2 – Listing of Source Documents for Role Concepts of NNWS<sup>181</sup>

### 1) General Documents

- Perkovich/Acton 2009
- Acton 2010
- Burroughs 2010
- Berry, Lewis, Pélopidas, Sokov, Wilson 2010
- Choubey 2008
- Dhanapala 2008
- Finger 2012
- Hanson 2010
- ICNND 2009
- Kreger 2012
- Lodgaard 2011
- MPI 2004
- MPI 2005
- MPI 2010
- Perkovich 2008
- Sagan 2009
- Ware 2010

### 2) Country-specific Documents

#### a. Germany

- Ide 2010
- Krause 2010
- Lewis 2009
- Meier 2010
- Meier 2013
- Meier/Neuneck 2010

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<sup>181</sup> For methodological remarks on the selection of source documents, see chapter on Methods. Full references are provided in the Bibliography.

- Müller 2000
- Müller 2011
- Nassauer 2005

b. Canada

- Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons 2011
- Meyer 2011
- MPI et al. 2008
- Regehr 2007
- Regehr 2007b
- Roche 2011

c. Other Countries

- Endo 2009 (Japan)
- Hobbs 2007 (New Zealand)
- ICAN 2013 (Australia)
- Kurosawa 2009 (Japan)

## Appendix 3 – Listing of Source Documents for Role Conception of Germany<sup>182</sup>

- 1) Responses from government to minor and major interpellation of the parliament (Bundestag)
  - a. Minor Interpellation
    - Bundestag 2007
    - Bundestag 2010b
    - Bundestag 2013a
  - a. Major Interpellation
    - Bundestag 2008
    - Bundestag 2012
    - Bundestag 2013b
- 2) Accepted motion of parliament
  - Bundestag 2009
  - Bundestag 2010a
- 3) Speeches by State Secretary at Foreign office or Minister of State at Foreign Office
  - Silberberg 2007
  - Erler 2008
  - Hoyer 2009
  - Erler 2009b
  - Hoyer 2010
- 4) Speeches by Foreign Minister
  - Steinmeier 2008
  - Steinmeier 2009c
  - Westerwelle 2011

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<sup>182</sup> For methodological remarks on the selection of source documents, see chapter on Methods. Full references are provided in the Bibliography.

- Westerwelle 2012
  - Westerwelle 2013
- 5) Speeches by Federal Government Commissioner for Disarmament and Arms Control
- Gottwald 2011
  - Nickel 2013
- 6) Annual Disarmament Report by Federal Foreign Office (specifically the sections relevant for Nuclear Disarmament )
- Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2007
  - Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2008
  - Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2009
  - Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2010
  - Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2011
  - Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2012
  - Jahresabrüstungsbericht 2013
- 7) Paragraph 15 of the Final Document of NPT Review Conference in 2000
- NPT 2000

## Appendix 4 – Listing of Source Documents for Role Performance of Germany<sup>183</sup>

### 1) Official Interventions during NPT Review Cycle by Germany

#### a. Statements

##### General Debate

- German Statement 2012b
- German Statement 2014a
- German Statement 2015a

##### Cluster 1

- German Statement 2015b
- German Statement 2015c

##### Cluster 2

- German Statement 2013
- German Statement 2015d

##### Cluster 3: Specific issue

- German Statement 2012a

##### Report

- German Statement 2014b

#### b. Working Papers

- Mixed Group Working Paper 2014a

### 2) Official Interventions during NPT Review Cycle by the European Union

#### a. Statements

##### General Debate

- EU Statement 2012d
- EU Statement 2013a
- EU Statement 2014a

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<sup>183</sup> For methodological remarks on the selection of source documents, see chapter on Methods. Full references are provided in the Bibliography.

#### Cluster 1

- EU Statement 2012a
- EU Statement 2013b
- EU Statement 2014b

#### Cluster 2

- EU Statement 2012c
- EU Statement 2013c
- EU Statement 2014c

### 3) Official Interventions during NPT Review Cycle by the Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative

#### a. Statements

##### General Debate

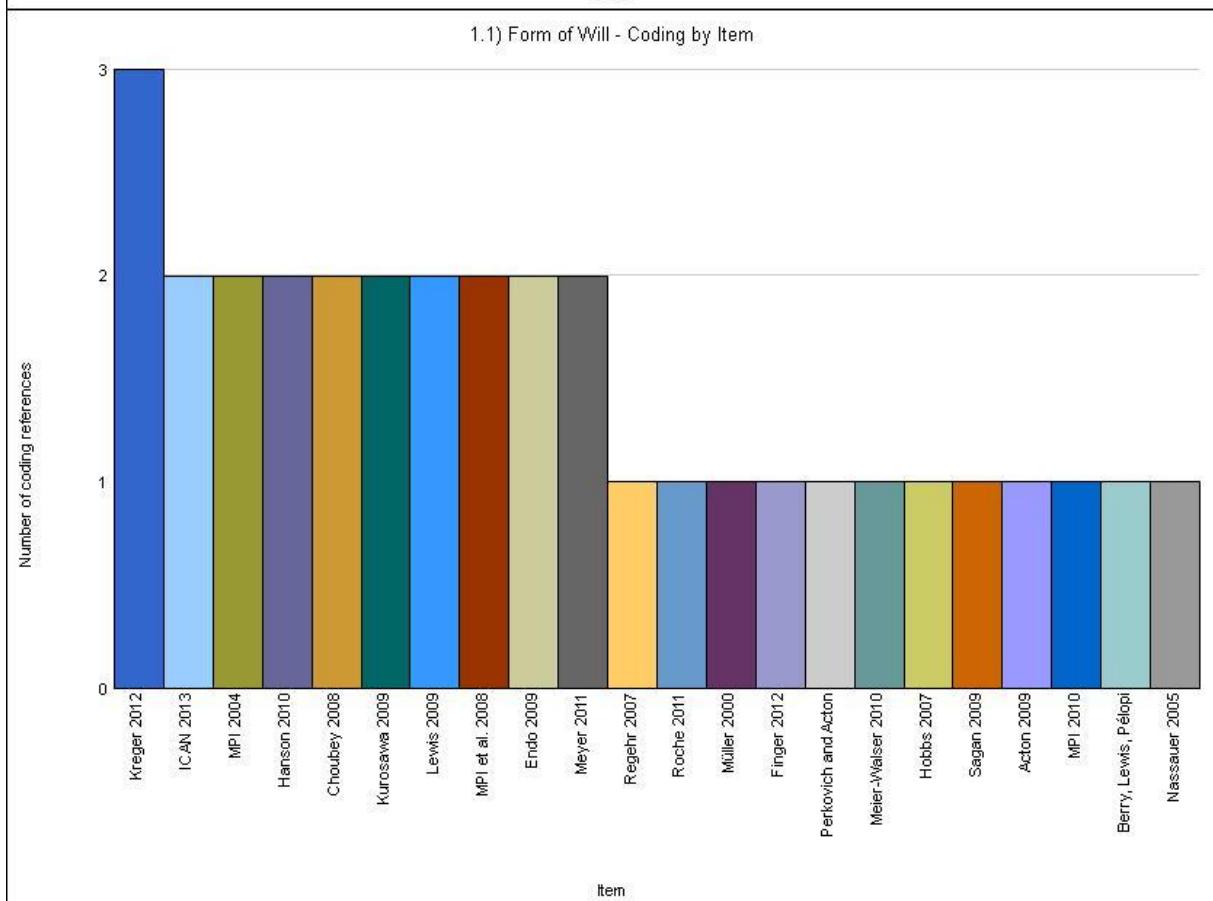
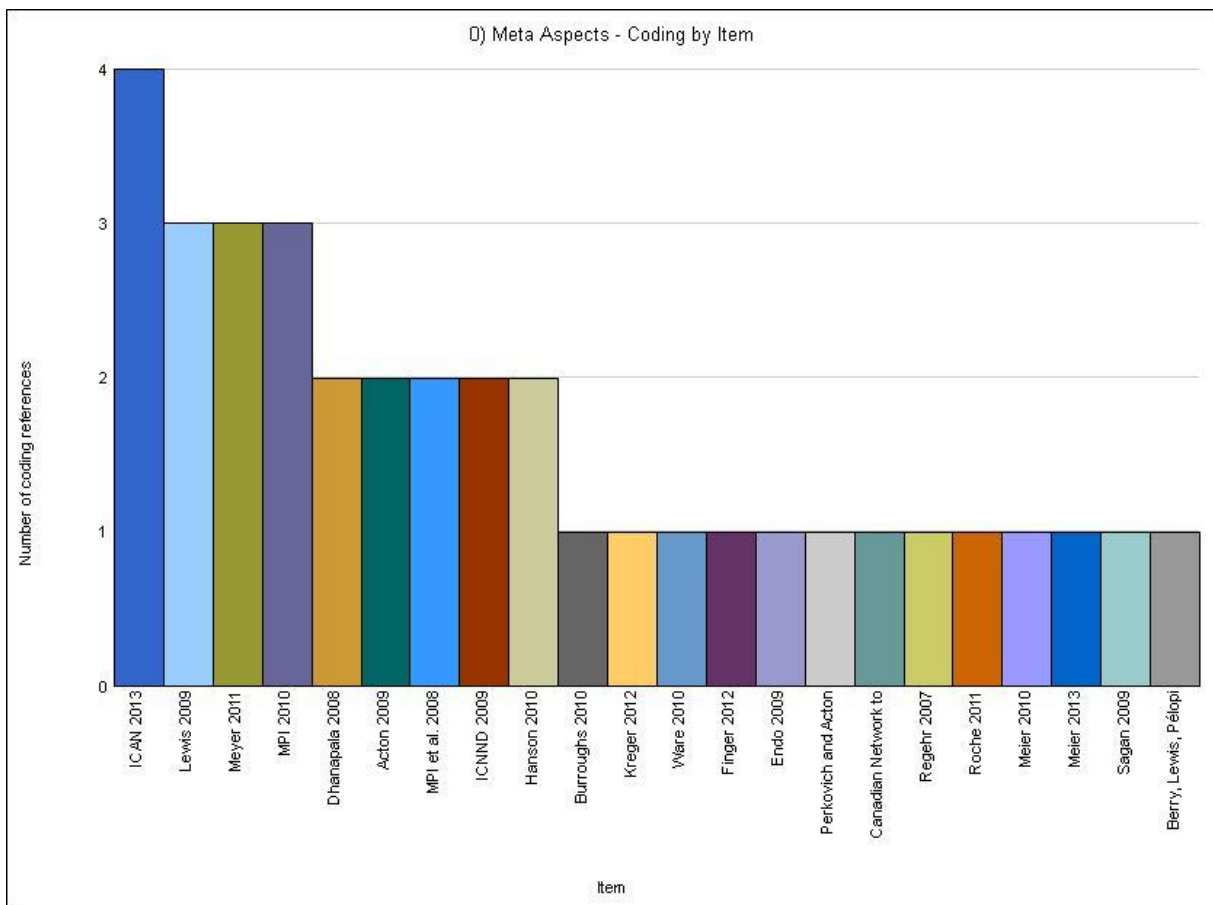
- NPDI Statement 2012b
- NPDI Statement 2013a
- NPDI Statement 2014a

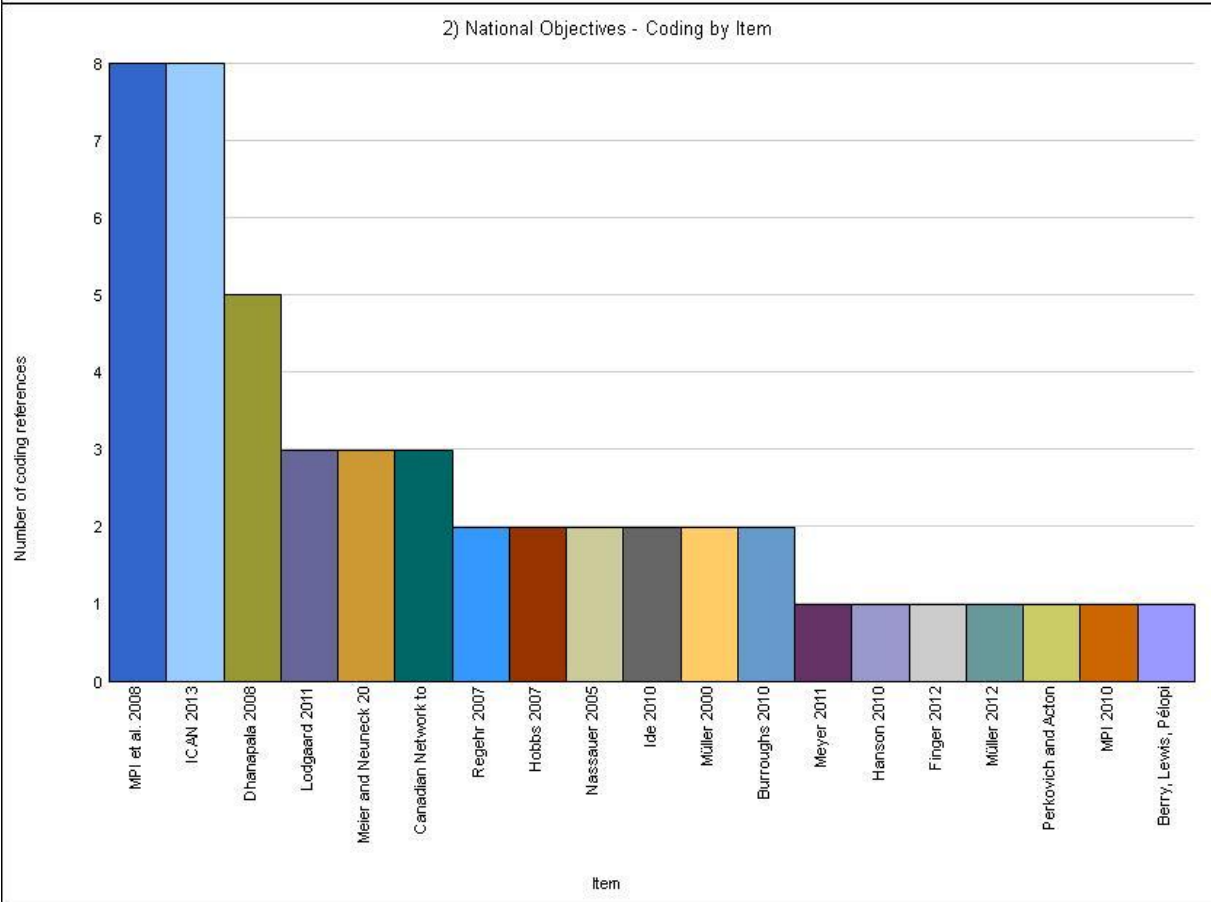
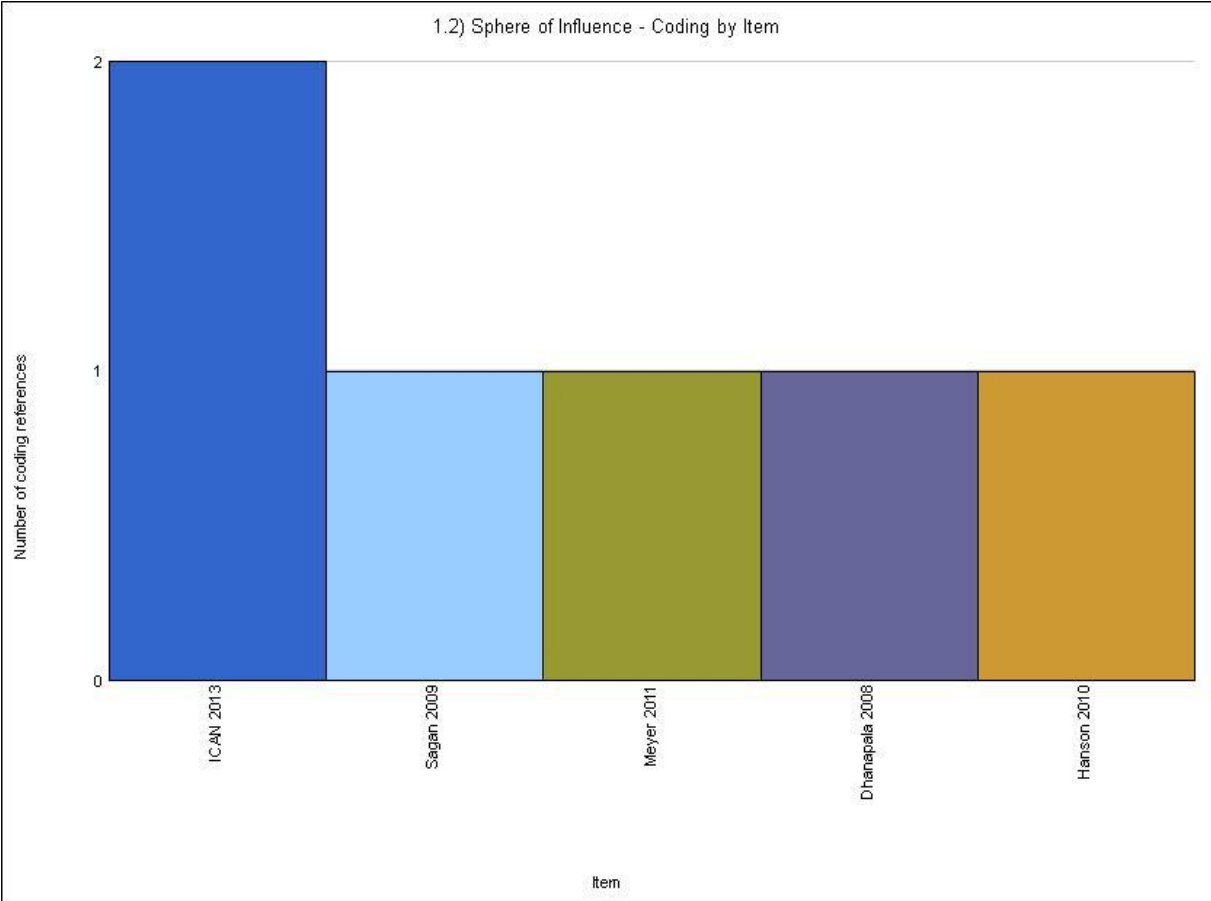
#### b. Working Papers

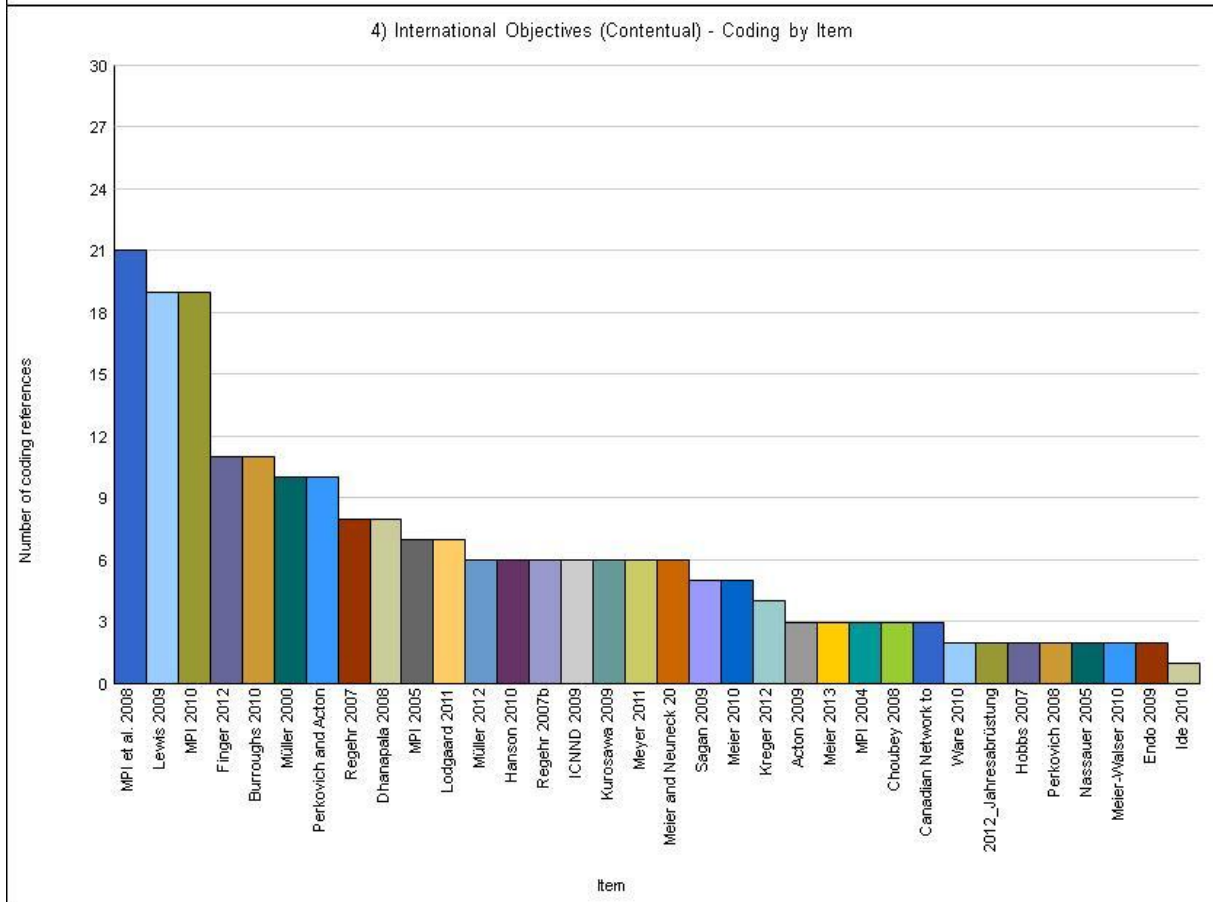
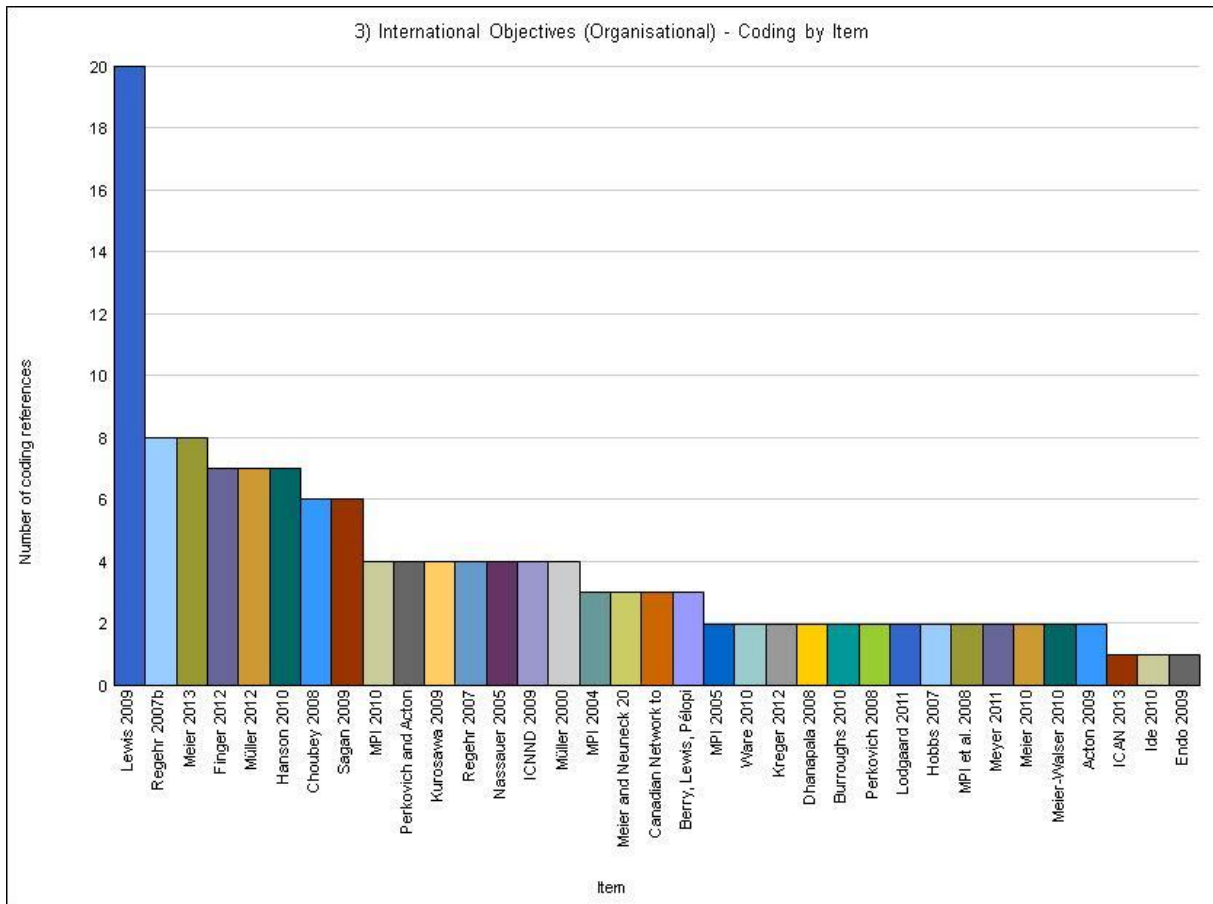
- NPDI Working Paper 2012a
- NPDI Working Paper 2012b
- NPDI Working Paper 2012c
- NPDI Working Paper 2012d
- NPDI Working Paper 2013a
- NPDI Working Paper 2013d
- NPDI Working Paper 2013e
- NPDI Working Paper 2013f
- NPDI Working Paper 2013g
- NPDI Working Paper 2014b
- NPDI Working Paper 2014c
- NPDI Working Paper 2014d
- NPDI Working Paper 2014e
- NPDI Working Paper 2014g

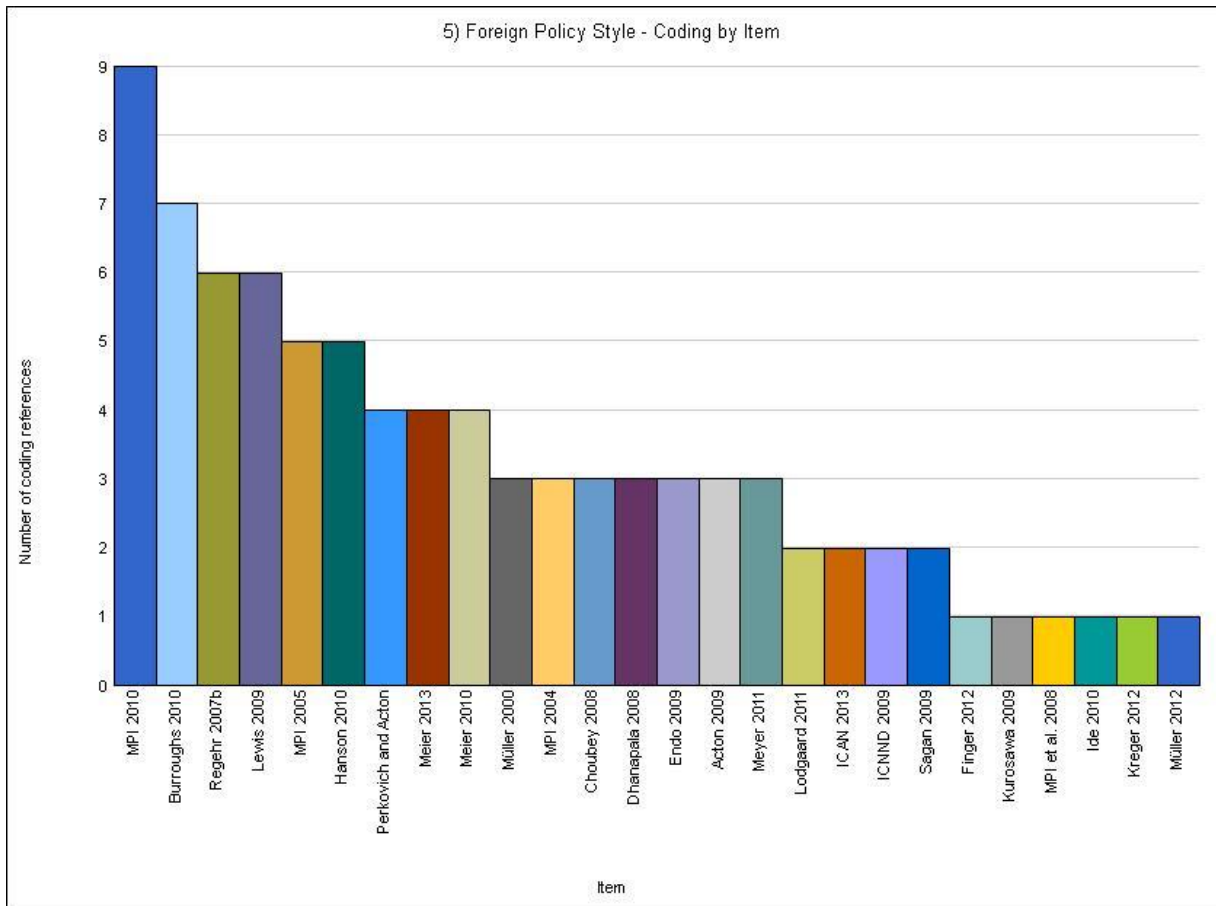


- NPDI Working Paper 2015a
- NPDI Working Paper 2015b

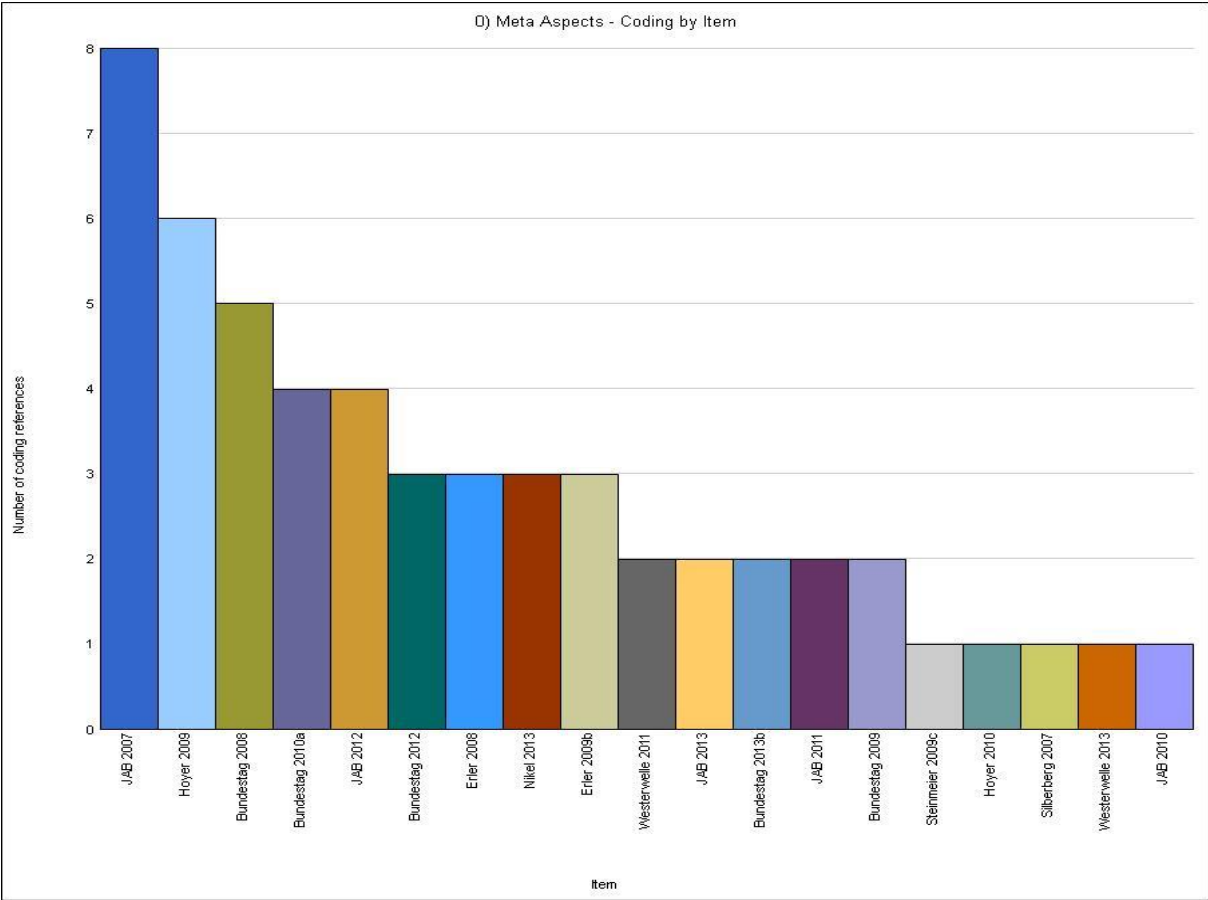




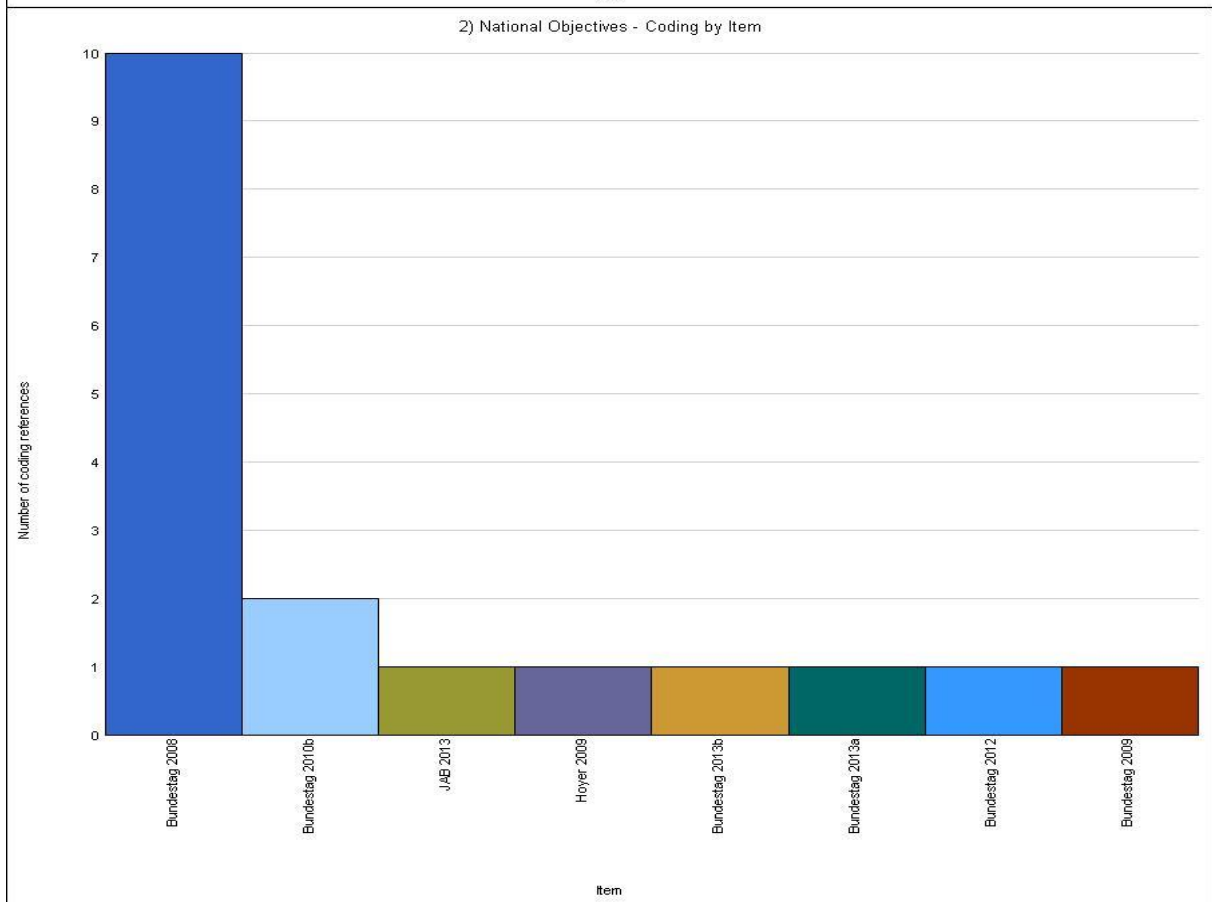
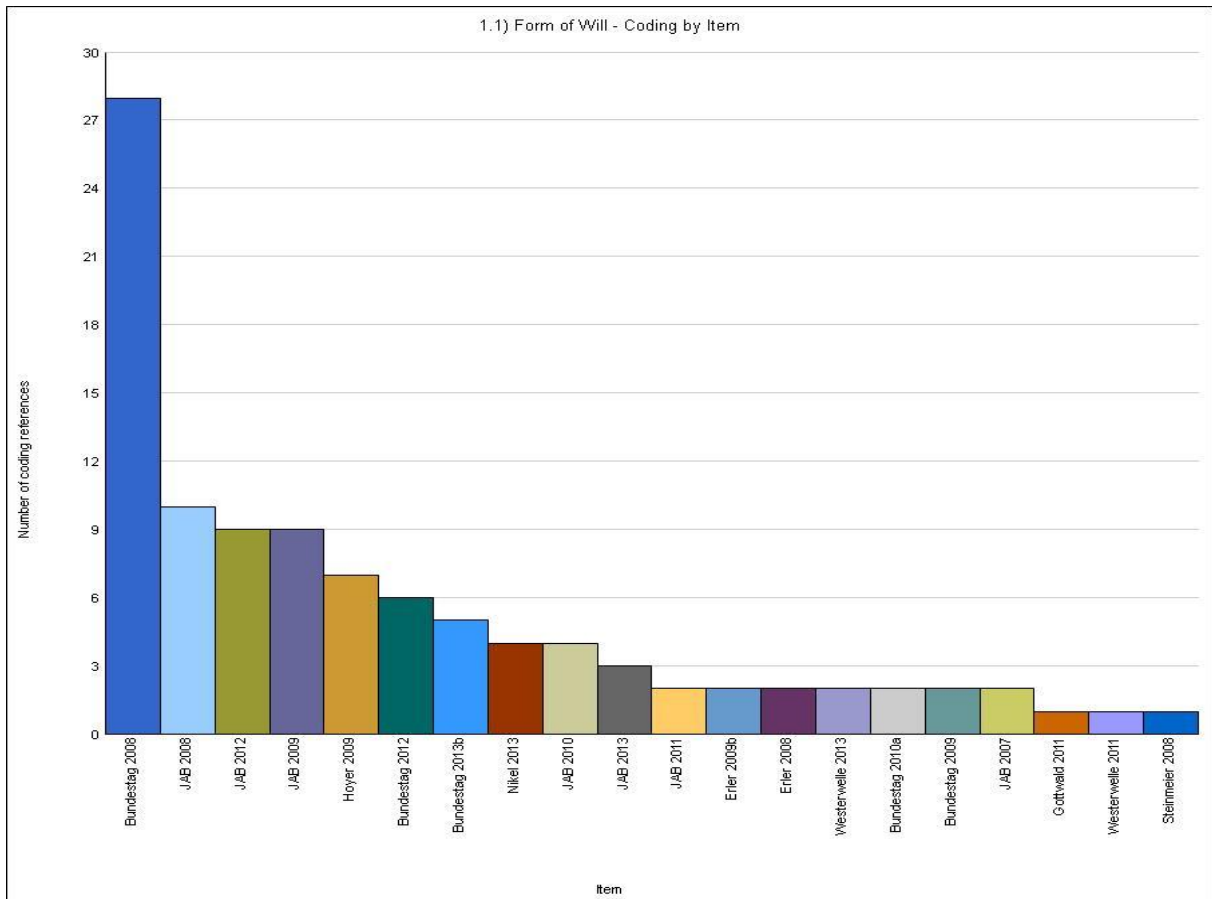


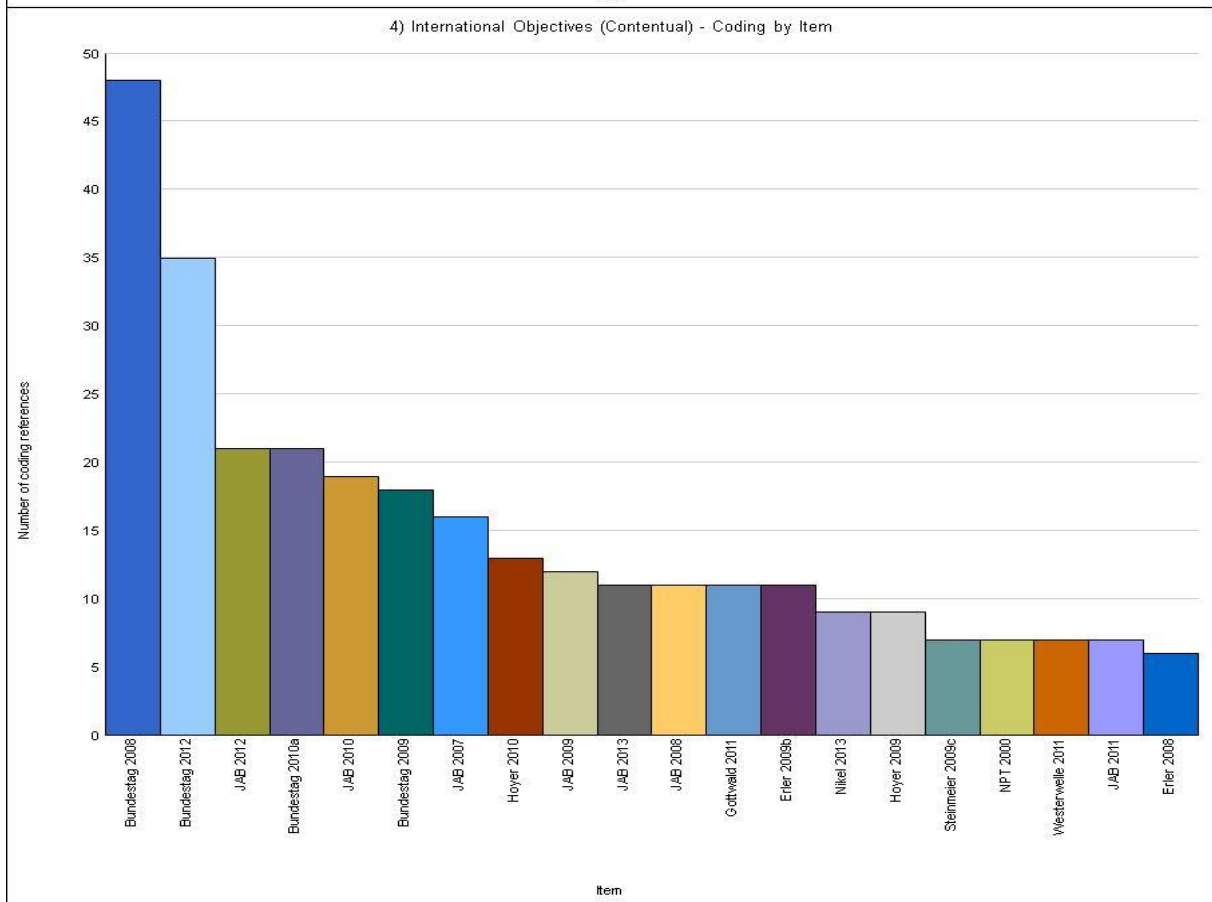
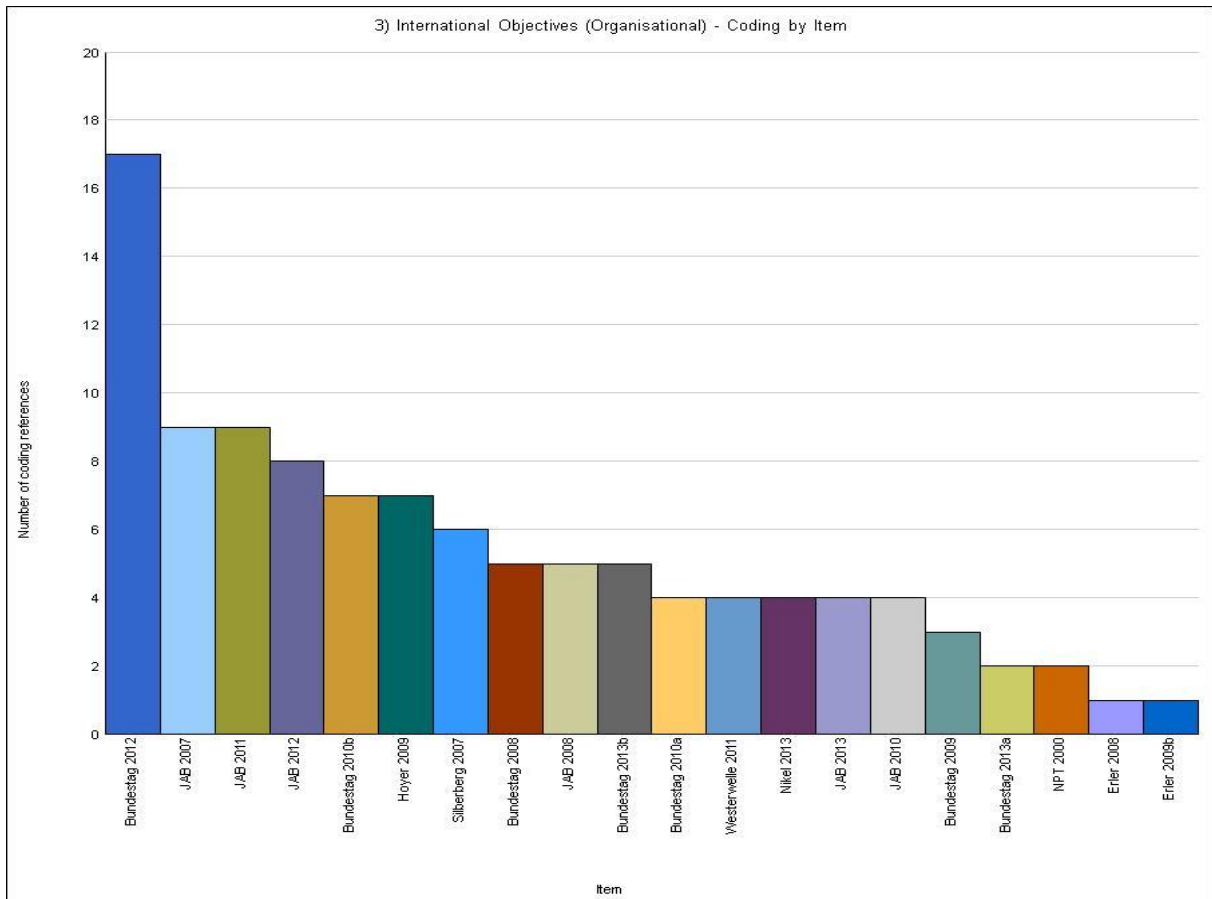


Appendix 6 – Visualisation of References per Role Category Distinguished by Source Document for the Role Conception of Germany<sup>184</sup>

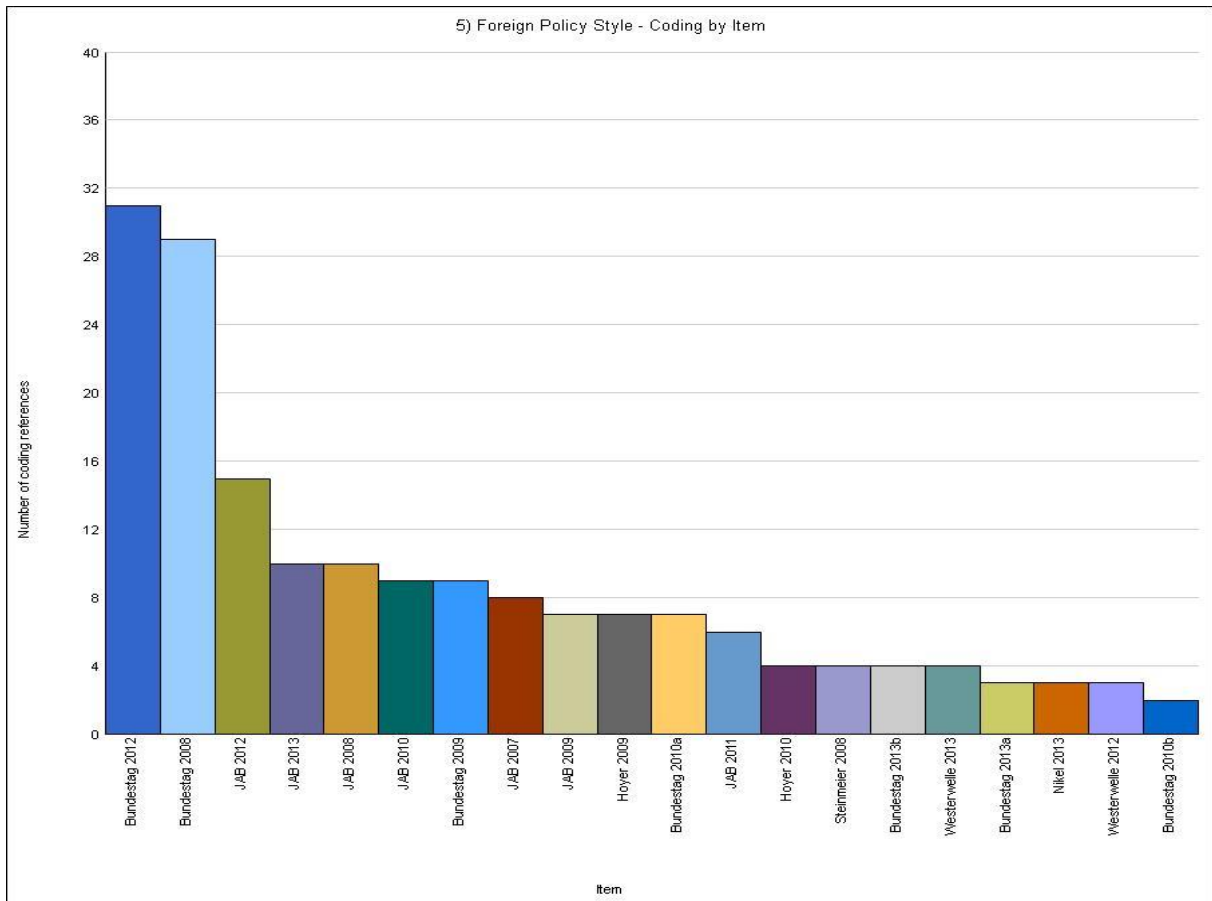


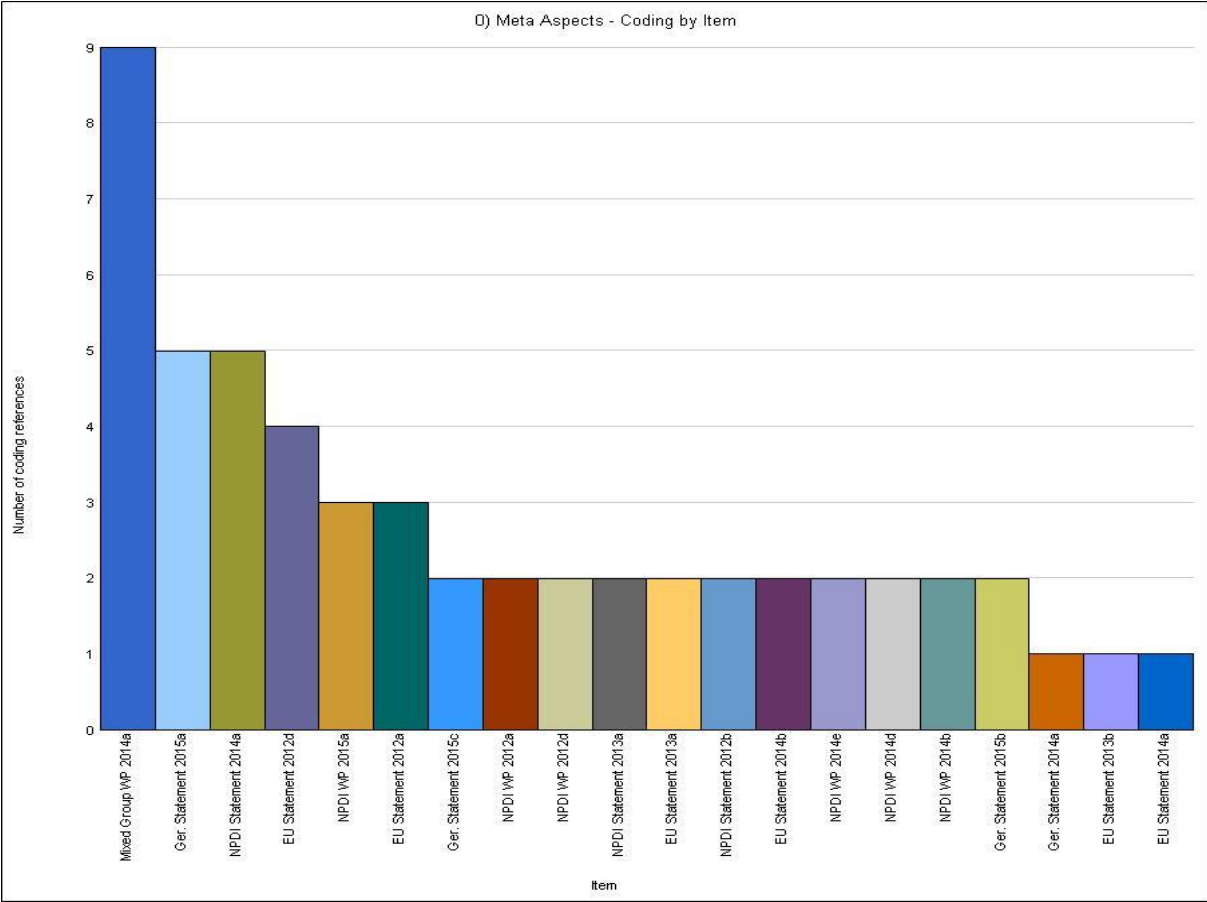
<sup>184</sup> Source texts (items) are abbreviated for better visualization in the following manner: ‘Jahresabrüstungsbericht’ is shortened to ‘JAB’. The role (sub-) category ‘Sphere of Influence’ is not listed as it was not used in the coding process.



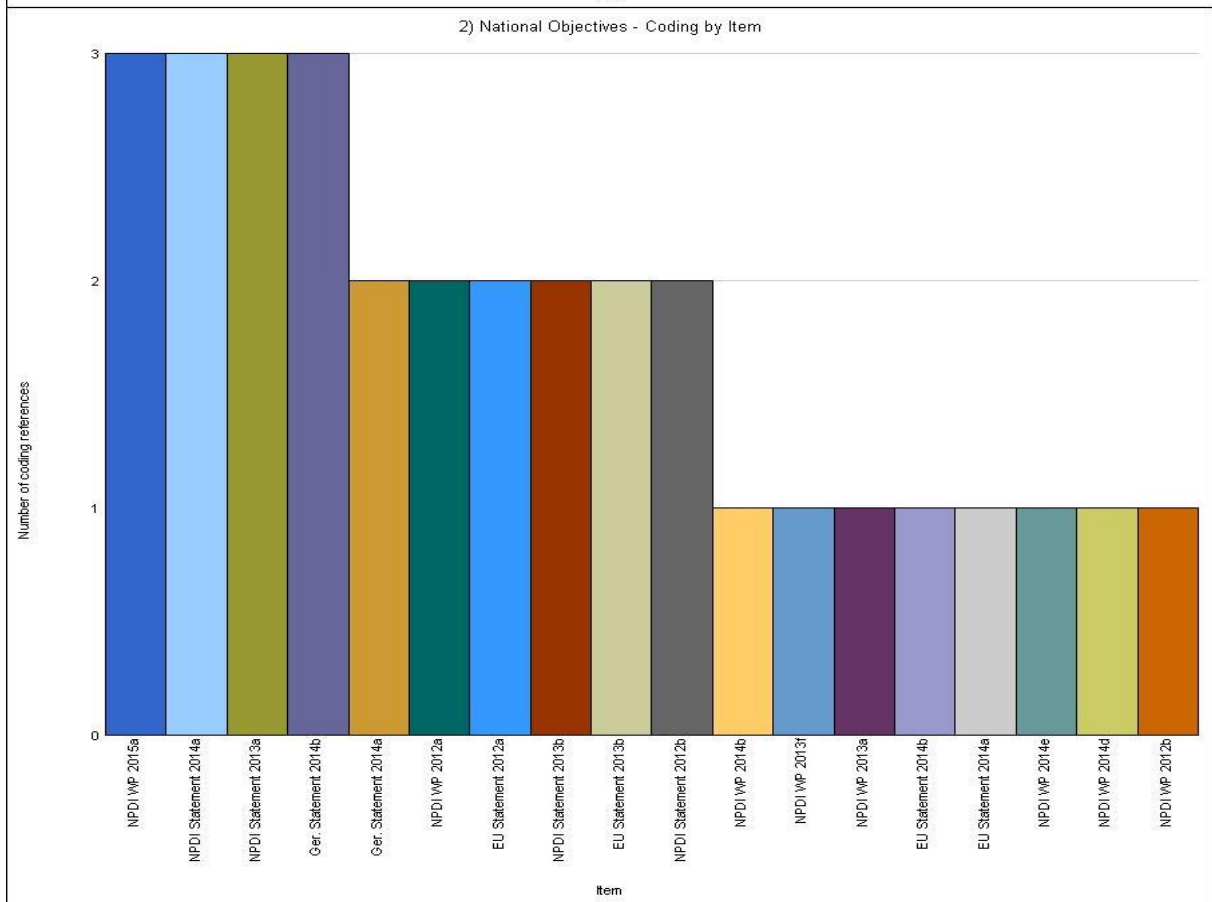
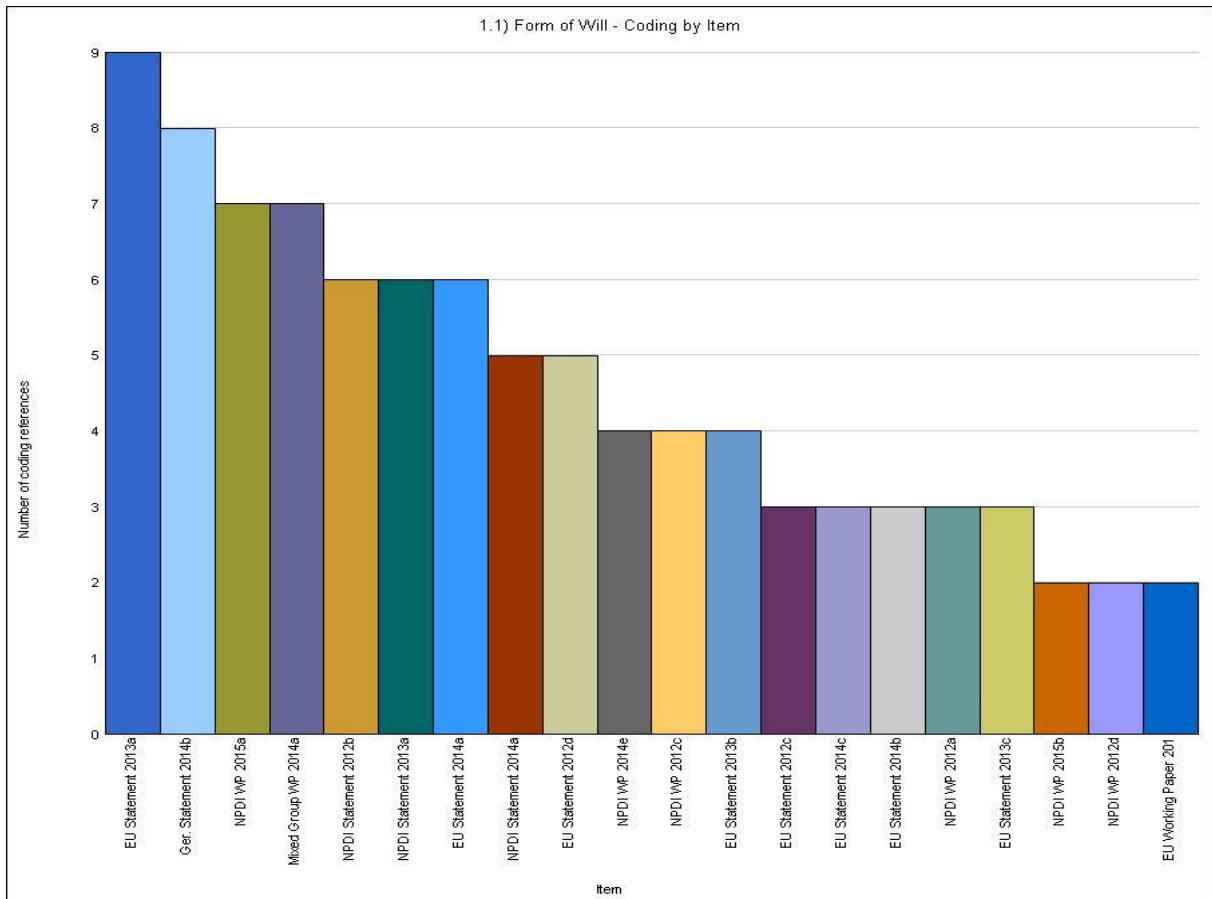


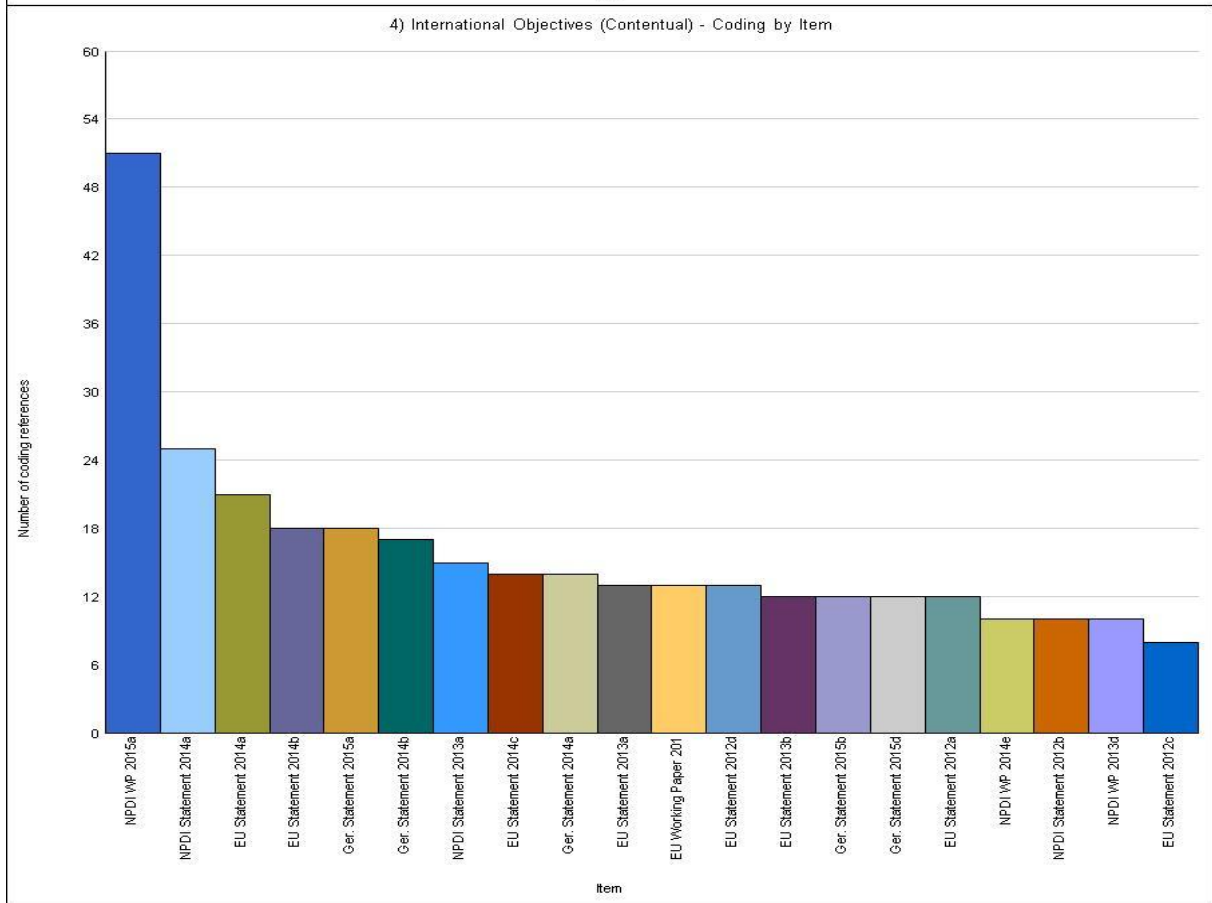
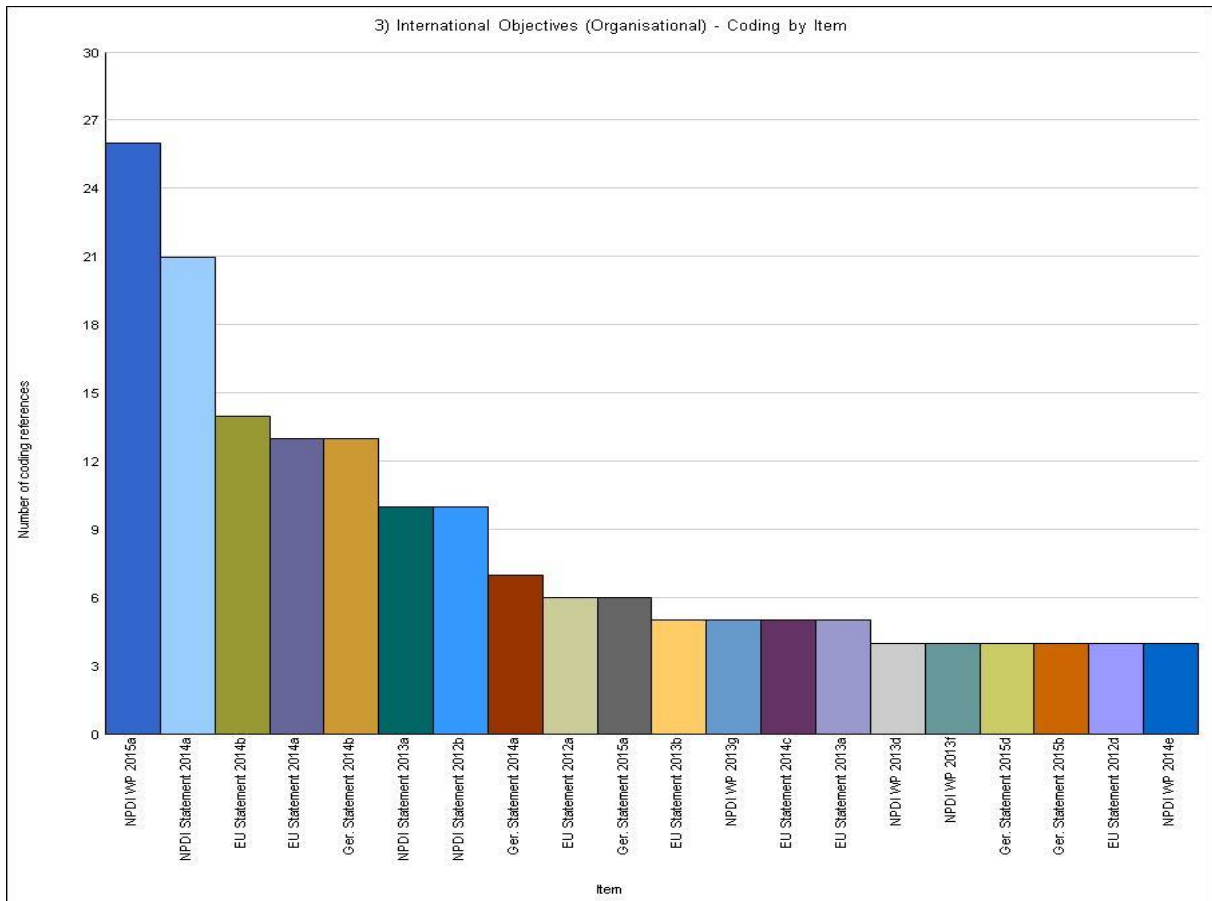


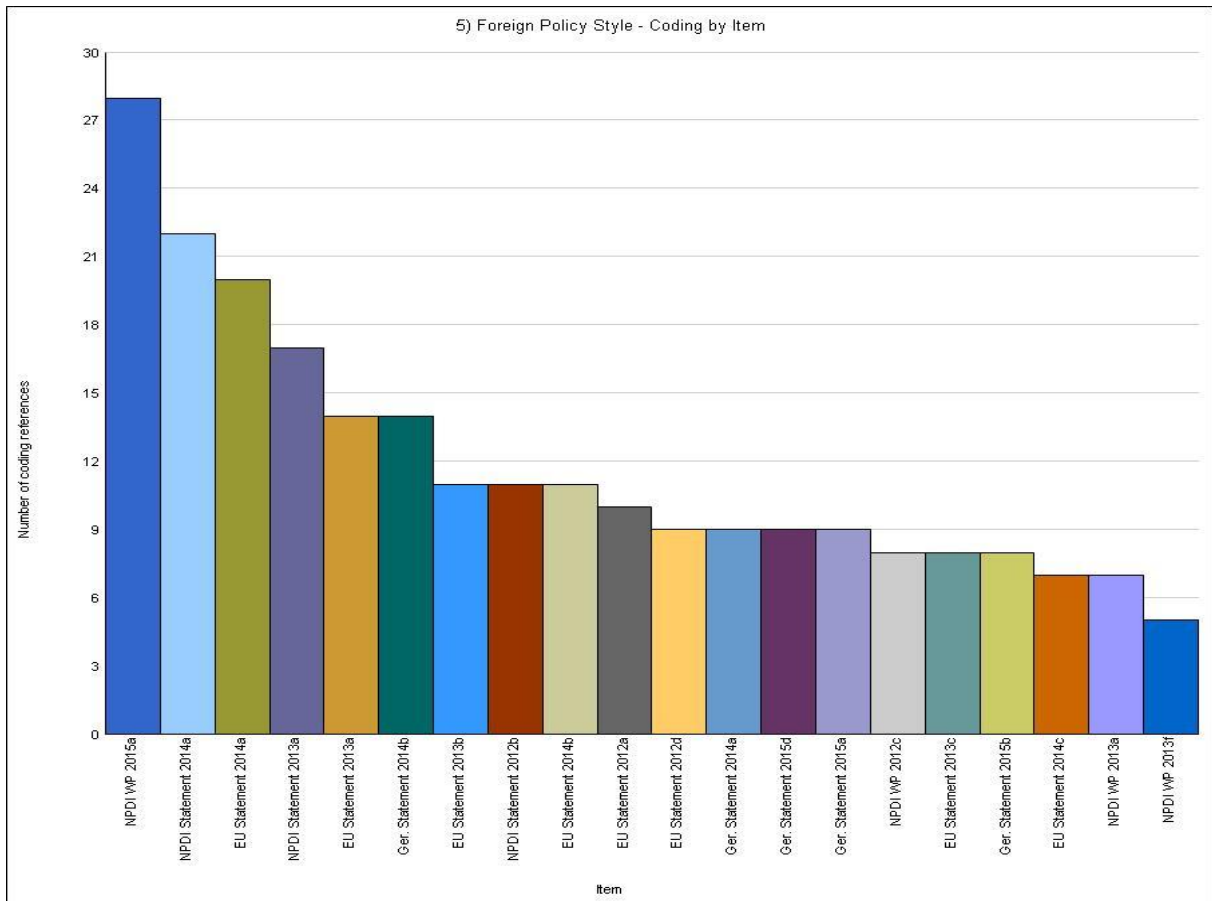




<sup>185</sup> Source texts (items) are abbreviated for better visualization in the following manner: ‘Working Paper’ is shortened to ‘WP’ and ‘German’ is shortened to ‘Ger.’ The role (sub-) category ‘Sphere of Influence’ is not listed as it was not used in the coding process.







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## Zusammenfassung

Obwohl Nichtnuklearwaffenstaaten eine wichtige Funktion im Voranbringen der nuklearen Abrüstung innehaben, mangelt es der akademischen Literatur an einer umfassenden konzeptionellen wie empirischen Forschung.

Vor diesem Hintergrund ist der zentrale Forschungszweck der vorliegenden Arbeit die Analyse der Rollen von Nichtnuklearwaffenstaaten und Deutschlands im Voranbringen der nuklearen Abrüstung. In einem ersten Schritt wird ein diesbezügliches Rollenkonzept für Nichtnuklearwaffenstaaten etabliert. Dies wird mittels der Erfassung von Rollenkonstrukten im Expertendiskurs zwischen 2007 und 2013 und deren Übersetzung in ein idealtypisches Rollenkonzept erreicht. In einem zweiten Schritt wird die empirische Rolle des Nichtnuklearwaffenstaats Deutschland untersucht. Die Arbeit wendet dafür das entwickelte Konzept auf die proklamierte Rolle Deutschlands von 2007 bis 2013 sowie auf sein Rollenverhalten im Überprüfungszyklus des Nichtverbreitungsvertrags von 2012 bis 2015 an.

Das Forschungsdesign hat die Form einer Forschungssynthese sowie einer Fallstudie. Die Datenerhebung stützt sich auf Dokumente, während die Daten selbst durch eine Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse aufgearbeitet werden. Literatur zu Rollentheorie und Ideal Typus stellen den theoretischen, methodologischen und konzeptionellen Rahmen für die hiesigen Überlegungen.

Der Nutzen des skizzierten Unterfangens ist ein besseres konzeptionelles und empirisches Verständnis der Funktion von Nichtnuklearwaffenstaaten generell und Deutschland im speziellen im Vorantreiben der nuklearen Abrüstung sowie die Bereitstellung eines validierten Werkzeugs zur systematischen Erforschung weiterer empirischer Rollen.

## Summary

Although non-nuclear-weapon states have an important function to play in advancing nuclear disarmament, the academic literature lacks a comprehensive investigation on both the conceptual as well as empirical dimensions.

Against such a background, the central purpose of the study is to analyse the roles of NNWS and Germany in advancing nuclear disarmament. In a first step, the project aims to establish related role concepts for NNWS. This aim is to be achieved by capturing how the roles were constructed within the expert discourse between 2007 and 2013 and by translating the characteristics found into ideal type role concepts. In a second step, the empirical role of one specific NNWS, namely Germany, is investigated. In order to do this, the study applies the concepts developed here to the proclaimed role of Germany in the 2007-2013 timeframe as well as to its role performance in the 2012-2015 Review Cycle of the Non-proliferation Treaty.

The research is designed in the form of a research synthesis and a case study, respectively. For the collection of data, the study relies on documents, while the data is processed using qualitative content analysis. Role theory and ideal type literature provide the theoretical, methodological and conceptual grounds for the deliberations presented.

The benefits of proceeding in the manner outlined are a better conceptual and empirical understanding of the role of NNWS in general and of Germany in particular in the advancement of nuclear disarmament and aims to provide a validated tool for the systematic investigation of further empirical roles.

## **Liste der in die Dissertation eingegangenen Veröffentlichungen**

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