

Conventional Arms Control and Confidence-building Measures: Lessons Learnt in Europe

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The European arms control *acquis*

- Three phases of development:
 - Cold War – influence the East-West conflict;
 - post-Cold War – finish pending business,
 - address subregional conflict(ripe for resolution);
 - early 21st century – recognize European contribution to global efforts.

European Arms Control to Address Crises

- Various functions of arms control are to be taken into account:
 - Professional communication between adversaries;
 - Reduction of arsenals;
 - Transparency.
- Each has made indirect, difficult-to-measure contribution to controlling dominant (all-European or regional) conflicts.

CFE: Successes and Failures

- The CFE Treaty of 1990 contributed to defence transformation, particularly in the Warsaw Treaty area, with the absence of the regulation (and thus permission) of stationing foreign forces.
- The adapted CFE Treaty of 1999 contributed to it through the requirement for expressed consent of the host country to troop stationing (and its declaration). (Art. 2(3); 14(1).)

Adapted CFE Related Hopes

- Istanbul commitments to make concrete contribution to concrete disarmament measures and guarantee the respect for the sovereignty of two state parties (Georgia and Moldova). Successful on the technical level, failure on the politico-strategic level. (Not the fault of the arms control regime.)
- The regime crumbles for marginal reasons?

CSBMs (and Open Skies) Under False Assumptions

- After the suspension of the CFE Treaty (and the non-entry into force of the Adapted CFE) how long can other transparency systems survive?
- Is European security indivisible? Any need for all-European measures?

Post-Dayton Arms Control

- The 1996 arms limitation accord and the CBM package could not have come about without CFE-1990 and Vienna Document-1994.
- Highly successful implementation.
- Contribution to the unification of the armed forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- Lucky once, lucky all the time? (Where is the next conflict ripe for resolution?)

Norm- and standard-setting measures

- Move away from „old arms control”. New European arms control:
 - derived from global measures (e.g. small arms and light weapons, MANPADS and proliferation related doc-s),
 - project oriented (destruction of ammunition, disposal of liquid rocket fuel),
 - scattered in a broad area, lacks cohesion and visibility.

Norm- and Standard-Setting Measures (2)

- Project-based arms control measures can be part and parcel of larger defence reform processes, contribute to transfer of knowledge and resources.
- Some of these measures recognize the responsibility of Europe (enjoying a fortunate security situation) to global arms control.
- Europe is so central in the history of arms control, including regional arms control, that it can contribute to global processes.

Europe's Security and Arms Control

- Europe's security is predominantly human security, whereas its arms control is...
... not, yet.
- Except to the extent it is part of global arms control processes.
- What next?