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The role and perspectives of arms control and confidence- and security-building regimes in building trust in the evolving security environment Vienna, 15 June 2010

TALKING POINTS (Amb. Adam Kobieracki)

- Arms control should continue to play a prominent role in the European security. We need to assess its new requirements. Specifically, what kind of arms control (incl. confidence-building) measures we would need in future (10-15 years time perspective). It is in this context that we should look at changes, which may be necessary in the regimes established so far.
- The outcome of this intellectual exercise should be a step-by-step process. Reintroduction of arms control agenda leading to re-establishment of functional European arms contol mechanism.
- Security-related institutions and organizations have been adapting themselves to the new security environment, even if some still have mixed records in that regard. It is time for arms control to be adjusted to the new realities. The point here is not a mechanical re-adaptation of ACFE. The point is to take a comprehensive approach towards arms control role and function nowadays. In other words: we may not need to change a car, but surely while driving it we have to take into account new road signs.
- The crisis over the CFE Treaty, caused by the Russian "suspension decision", cannot
 last forever. It is disruptive to the overall network of commitments relating to the
 military aspects of security.

- The resumption of serious dialogue on the future of arms control (including, but not limited to CFE) can also have a positive impact on the whole politico-military dimension of the OSCE. It would provide useful impetus for further discussion within the Corfu process. It could offer a pragmatic/practical way in which to react to proposals focusing on what I would call "declaratory" aspects of European security. In simple terms: in order to rebuild confidence and predictability in the security field we do not necessarily immediately need theoretical constructions like new security treaties or declarations. We do need, first of all, realistic and practical steps with confidence-building effects.
- We should try to follow co-operative and non-confrontational approach to the new arms control agenda. It will be important to preserve as much as we can from the CFE regime, but that should not constitute an aim in itself. CFE regime is just one, even if fundamental, instrument to address military aspects of security.
- It is within the framework of the Corfu Process that we should make an assessment of the needs in the sphere of arms control and confidence building measures. Pragmatism, patience and creativity should be our guiding principles, leading our work towards mutually beneficial, balanced and reciprocal arrangements.
- The security threats and challenges which arms control regimes should deal with nowadays in Europe are primarily:
 - lack of military transparency/openness/predictability;
 - a posibility of a hidden build-up of military potentials;
 - misperception of intentions and/or certain military actions (e.g. stationing of forces or military exercises);
 - very low level of confidence among states in both political and militarty aspects of security;
 - a possibility of re-emergence of Cold War-type threats like surprise large-scale conventional offensive;
 - continued existence of some elements of militarty potentials (like tactical nuclear weapons) never subjected to any arms control regime.

- The lack of trust and confidence in inter-States relations seems to be the main problem. It should be resolved with actual use of different instruments and at various fora: OSCE, Corfu Process, CFE, and maybe other fora.
- Any arms control framework for Europe must be based on full recognition and strict observance of the following fundamental principles:
 - sovereign rights of nations to choose and join alliances, multilateral organizations and institutions;
 - sovereignty and territorial integrity of States;
 - freedom to host foreign troops and/or military installations on national territories, in line with host nation consent;
 - reciprocity of commitments.
- Finally: re-thinking arms control should lead to a step-by-step process of negotiation. A first step, serving also as a litmus-test of good intentions of all those involved, could focus on measures strengthening military transparency and predictability. It could also comprise some restraints on movements and concentrations of armed force, while stressing a pivotal importance of fundamental principles mentioned above.
- First steps are usually the most difficult ones. However, every journey has to start somewhere, and every long-term process has to be put in motion. It is our job for today. Hope next year's ASRC could be devoted to the discussion on the next stages in that process of re-establishment of functional European arms control regime.