Contents

List of Abbreviations —— IX
List of Figures —— XI
List of Tables —— XIII
Acknowledgements —— XV
Chapter 1
Introduction —— 1
The U.S.S.R. and Conventional Arms Control: Antecedents to the CFE
Treaty —— 3
The Genoa Conference, 1922 —— 4
The United Nations Subcommittee on Disarmament, 1955–1957 —— (
The Negotiations on the Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments
and Associated Measures in Central Europe, 1973–1989 —— 11
The Road to Russia's Abandonment of the CFE Treaty —— 15
Soviet and Russian Foreign and Security Policy —— 23
Organization of the Book —— 27
Linking the Narratives: A Conceptual Framework —— 30
Chapter 2
Getting to CFE Under Gorbachev —— 35
The Strategic Setting —— 35
Moscow's Approach to Conventional Arms Control —— 37
Motivation —— 37
Proposals —— 40
Unilateral Reductions of Conventional Forces —— 42
Initial Negotiating Positions —— 45
Problem Areas: LBNA, Flank Zone, Sufficiency Rule —— 48
Managing Systemic Change in Europe – Dissolution of the WTO and
Reunification of Germany —— 55
Results and Subsequent Actions —— 58
The Military Pushes Back —— 59
Conclusion —— 70



Chapter 3 The CFE Treaty and Transition to the New Russian State (1992–1999) —— 72 Russian Foreign and Security Policy - 1992-1999 --- 75 Concept of Russian Foreign Policy, 1993 — 79 Basic Provisions of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation, 1993 ---- 81 Russian Federation National Security Concept, 1997 —— 84 Russia and the CFE Treaty - 1992-1999 ---- 89 Getting to Ratification and Entry into Force — 91 The Flank Zone — 97 Russian Forces in Armenia, Georgia, and Moldova —— 99 Efforts to Resolve the Flank Zone Issue, 1993-1995 --- 102 Destruction of TLE East of the Urals --- 106 NATO Enlargement --- 110 The Baltic States —— 112 The First CFE Review Conference (May 1996) —— 115 The Adaptation of the CFE Treaty —— 122 Case Study: 1999 --- 128 The "Istanbul Commitments" —— 138 The CFE Treaty and Russian Foreign and Security Policy —— 143 Chapter 4 The CFE Treaty During Putin's Ascendancy (2000-2006) ---- 146 Russian Foreign and Security Policy - 2000-2006 --- 148 The National Security Concept of the Russian Federation, January 2000 --- 151 The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation, April 2000 —— 153 The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, June 2000 —— 157 The Priority Tasks of the Development of the Armed Forces, October 2003 **—— 159** Russia and the CFE Treaty - 2000-2006 --- 162 The (Bumpy) Road toward Entry-into-Force of the Adapted CFE Treaty --- 163 The Second CFE Review Conference (28 May – 1 June 2001) —— 174 Problems with NATO Enlargement and the CFE Treaty (2001-2003) ---- 176 Case Study: 2004 —— 178 The Third CFE Review Conference (31 May-2 June 2006) —— 194 The CFE Treaty and Russian Foreign and Security Policy —— 200

The Russians Abandon the CFE Treaty (2007-2015) ---- 203 Russian Foreign and Security Policy – 2007–2015 —— 205 The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, July 2008 —— 207 The National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation to 2020, May 2009 --- 209 The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation, February 2010 —— 211 The Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation, February 2013 --- 214 The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation, December 2014 —— 216 Russia and the CFE Treaty - 2007-2015 --- 218 Case Study: 2007 —— 219 The Extraordinary Conference of the CFE States Parties - June 2007 --- 225 The Suspension of Implementation of the CFE Treaty - July-November 2007 —— 229 From Suspension to Withdrawal (2008–2015) —— 241 The CFE Treaty and Russian Foreign and Security Policy —— 250 Chapter 6 Conclusions --- 257 Comparing the Case Studies — 258 De Jure Withdrawal from the CFE Treaty - 2023 ---- 261 The Central Question —— 264 Bibliography ---- 267 Appendix A Unilateral Reductions of Soviet Forces ---- 295 Appendix B CFE Treaty Zones and Limits --- 301

Chapter 5

VIII — Contents

Appendix C

Transfers of Conventional Armaments East of the Urals and CFE Treaty Levels —— 303

Appendix D

The Flank Agreement (Annex A to the Final Document of the First CFE Review Conference, 31 May 1996) —— 305

Index ---- 307