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Making the Case for Preserving the INF Treaty *A European Perspective*

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Compliance problems

The significance of the INF Treaty:

- It erased the most dangerous weapons systems from the European theater (2,692 short-, medium-, and intermediate-range missiles)
- It created transparency and groundbreaking verification procedures

Compliance concerns:

- US concerns:

- Theories:

- RS-26 (Rubezh) "intermediate-range ICBM"
- R-500 cruise missile (Iskander-K)
- The testing of an intermediate-range SLCM (for example the SS-N-21)

- 2014 Compliance Report: GLCM

- Problems: we do not know which system, what kind of violation, or exactly when

- Russian concerns:

- Certain U.S. ballistic target missiles

- Armed, unmanned aerial vehicles

- The launcher complex for the Aegis Ashore missile defense system

The mutual benefits of the INF Treaty

Benefits of arms control:

- Readiness to accept the status quo and agreeing to restraint → limited ambitions
- Reduce the cost of war and the amount of military spending
- Conditions to closely monitor potential adversaries, and measure their behavior
- Providing the necessary technical channels to address concerns

The INF was crucial for Europe because:

- It put an end to the Cold War arms race → stability in Europe
- Reduced tensions between the superpowers
- Created the conditions for further arms control agreements

Current situation:

- Tensions over Ukraine → arms control is in general distress
- Dangers of escalation + questionable future for arms control agreements
- Mistrust, misperceptions and deception

The continued benefits of the INF:

- Maintain a secure line of communication + stability and predictability (we already lost it in conventional) → few remaining tools to monitor (crucial times of modernization)
- Dangers: slip back into an arms race, destabilizing weapons, upset the military balance, trigger escalation + devastating effect on other arms control agreements

The relevance to the US and its allies

Why withdrawal is not a good solution:

- The US does not need these weapons to protect itself and to reassure its allies:
 - Little added value
 - Plenty of other options
- Devastating effect on other arms control agreements:
 - Current environment is not ideal for unilateral declarations
- A US withdrawal would be convenient for Moscow:
 - Right call:
 - To prevent Russia from deploying the new INF-missiles
 - To bring them back into compliance (Russia has only tested)
 - Cold War lesson: no major military gains to be achieved by the deployment of INF-weapons

The relevance to the US and its allies

Response strategy: silence is not an option

- Allies: direct exposure + increased blackmail potential for Russia → inconvenient questions about alliance cohesion
- Not a new type of threat, could not change the military balance
- Intention to decouple European allies from the US, testing NATO → only symbolic → the distress of arms control is more alarming, and maintaining it is more important
- Political solution:
 - Regular consultations and strong coordination between the US and its allies
 - Increased reassurance measures
 - Exploration of military responses that would minimize Russia's potential gains
- Military response:
 - Proportionality(!)
 - Take into account the roots of Russian paranoia

Recommendations

Modernizing the INF Treaty:

- It is imperative to save the few remaining arms control agreements
- Use the momentum to modernize the Treaty:
 - Clarify the range of cruise missiles
 - Include nuclear tipped SLCMs
 - Discuss combat drones
 - Verification and compliance - reinstate inspections, call for an SVC meeting
- Many options for both sides
- Key to success:
 - Reinstate communication
 - Reinforce commitment to the INF
 - Refrain from violation

Σ:

- Depoliticize the question and handle it where it belongs (SVC)
- Dialogue, discourse and trust, instead of accusations, threats and military deployments

Thank you for the kind attention

