

Ulrich Kühn

The Rise and Fall of Cooperative Arms Control in Europe



Nomos

Demokratie, Sicherheit, Frieden

Democracy, Security, Peace

edited by Prof. Dr. Ursula Schröder

DSP Volume 224

A publication of the Institute for Peace Research
and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg

Ulrich Kühn

The Rise and Fall of Cooperative Arms Control in Europe



Nomos

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>

ISBN 978-3-8487-6207-1 (Print)
978-3-7489-0323-9 (ePDF)

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-3-8487-6207-1 (Print)
978-3-7489-0323-9 (ePDF)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Kühn, Ulrich

The Rise and Fall of Cooperative Arms Control in Europe

Ulrich Kühn

414 pp.

Includes bibliographic references.

ISBN 978-3-8487-6207-1 (Print)
978-3-7489-0323-9 (ePDF)



Onlineversion
Nomos eLibrary

1st Edition 2020

© Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, Germany 2020. Printed and bound in Germany.

This work is subject to copyright. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publishers. Under § 54 of the German Copyright Law where copies are made for other than private use a fee is payable to “Verwertungsgesellschaft Wort”, Munich.

No responsibility for loss caused to any individual or organization acting on or refraining from action as a result of the material in this publication can be accepted by Nomos or the author.

For there is no durable treaty which is not founded on reciprocal advantage, and indeed a treaty which does not satisfy this condition is no treaty at all, and is apt to contain the seeds of its own dissolution.

François de Callieres, *On the Manner of Negotiating With Princes* (1716), translated by A. F. Whyte (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919), pp. 109-10

Political action must be based on a coordination of morality and power.

Edward Hallett Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis: 1919-1939. An Introduction to the Study of International Relations* (London: MacMillan, 1939), p. 97

The only remedy for a strong structural effect is a structural change.

Kenneth Neal Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1979), p. 111

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	11
Abbreviations	12
List of Charts and Tables	14
Prologue	20
1 Introduction	23
1.1 Focus of the Book	24
1.2 Why Focus on Cooperative Arms Control in Europe?	24
1.3 Shortcomings of Previous Research	26
1.3.1 Fuzzy Terminology	26
1.3.2 Theoretical References without Evidence	27
1.3.3 Incomplete Theoretical Research	28
1.4 Definitions of Key Terms	29
1.4.1 Cooperative Security	30
1.4.2 Arms Control	31
1.4.3 Europe	32
1.4.4 Cooperative Arms Control in Europe	33
1.4.5 Institutions and Regimes	33
1.5 The Theoretical Basis	34
1.5.1 Realism	35
1.5.2 Regime Theory	35
1.5.3 Security Communities, the English School, and Constructivist Analyses	36
1.6 Methodology	36
1.6.1 A Realist Model of International Cooperation	37
1.6.2 First Abductive Test	37
1.6.3 Second Abductive Test	38
1.6.4 Comparison with Other Theories	38
2 International Cooperation from a Realist Viewpoint	39
2.1 Introductory Remarks	39
2.2 Realism and the Problem of International Cooperation	41
2.2.1 States' Relative-Gains Concern	44
2.2.2 The Consequences of States' Relative-Gains Concern	46
2.2.3 States' Rationality to Cheat	48
2.2.4 The Consequences of States' Rationality to Cheat	49

2.3	A Realist Model of International Cooperation	54
2.3.1	Clarifying Realist Means and Ends	54
2.3.2	Capabilities	56
2.3.3	Interests	58
2.3.4	Expectations	59
2.3.5	Strategies	60
2.3.6	Evaluation of Gains	63
2.4	Conclusions	66
3	Cooperative Arms Control in Europe, 1973-2014	67
3.1	Introductory Remarks	67
3.2	Genesis and Change, 1973-1989	69
3.2.1	Analysis of Cooperation	70
3.3	Convergence and Realization, 1990-1994	81
3.3.1	Analysis of Cooperation	84
3.4	Adaptation and Re-Adjustment, 1995-1999	95
3.4.1	Analysis of Cooperation	98
3.5	Stagnation and Regress, 2000-2008	108
3.5.1	Analysis of Cooperation	112
3.6	Reset and Repair, 2009-2011	119
3.6.1	Analysis of Cooperation	121
3.7	Crisis and Confrontation, 2012-2014	129
3.7.1	Analysis of Policies	131
3.8	Conclusions	138
3.8.1	Capabilities	138
3.8.2	Interests	143
3.8.3	Expectations	145
3.8.4	Strategies	146
3.8.5	Evaluation of Gains	146
3.8.6	Institutionalization	148
3.8.7	Decay	152
4	Regime Theory and the Empirical Evidence	154
4.1	Introductory Remarks	154
4.2	The Concept of Regime	155
4.2.1	Definitions of Regimes	157
4.2.2	Security Regimes	159
4.2.3	Regime Complexes	160
4.3	Regime Creation and Maintenance	162
4.3.1	Neoliberal Approaches	162
4.3.2	Constructivist Approaches	165
4.4	Regime Decay: In Search of Indicators	166

4.4.1	Signs of Decay	167
4.4.2	Reasons for Decay	167
4.4.3	Complexity Decay	169
4.5	Of Dragons and Fireflies: Regime Critique ... and Apologia	170
4.5.1	Five Dragons	170
4.5.2	Where the Dragons Came From	172
4.6	Regime Theory and the Empirical Evidence	173
4.6.1	Definitions of Regimes and the Empirical Evidence	173
4.6.2	Regime Creation and Maintenance and the Empirical Evidence	176
4.6.3	Regime Decay and the Empirical Evidence	178
4.7	Conclusions	182
5	A First Abductive Test	184
5.1	Introductory Remarks	184
5.2	Agreements, Period 1975-1989	186
5.3	Agreements, Period 1990-1994	192
5.4	Agreements, Period 1995-1999	214
5.5	Agreements, Period 2000-2014	229
5.6	Preliminary Assessment of the Four Periods, 1975-2014	243
6	Assessment of the First Abductive Test's Results	247
6.1	Assessment I: Successful Multi-Regime Creation	247
6.2	Assessment II: Densification to Complexity	251
6.3	Assessment III: A Complex in Decay	256
6.4	Conclusions	264
7	A Second Abductive Test	266
7.1	Introductory Remarks	266
7.2	Statements, Period 1990-1994	268
7.3	Statements, Period 1995-1999	276
7.4	Statements, Period 2000-2008	281
7.5	Statements, Period 2009-2011	292
7.6	Statements, Period 2012-2014	296
7.7	Assessment of the Second Abductive Test's Results	300
7.8	Conclusions	306

8	Security Communities, the English School, and Constructivist Analyses	311
8.1	Introductory Remarks	311
8.2	Security Communities	313
8.2.1	Essentials of Security Communities	314
8.2.2	Analysis and Application	317
8.3	The English School	320
8.3.1	Essentials of the English School	321
8.3.2	Analysis and Application	325
8.4	Constructivist Analyses of Norm Dynamics	330
8.4.1	Norm Dynamics: Essentials of Constructivist Analyses	331
8.4.2	Analysis and Application	334
8.5	Conclusions	338
9	Summary and Conclusions	344
9.1	Summary	344
9.1.1	The Regime Complex	345
9.1.2	Explaining Decay	348
9.2	Conclusions	356
9.2.1	Theoretical Conclusions	356
9.2.2	Political Conclusions	359
	Epilogue	363
Annex I:	Data Input (Capabilities)	366
Annex II:	List of Agreements Reviewed	378
Annex III:	List of Statements Reviewed	380
Annex IV:	References	383

Acknowledgements

This book is the result of ten years of intense and often interrupted periods of hard labor, scientific nomadic existence, and the final homecoming to where it all began in 2009. There are many persons whom I owe my gratitude for their steadfast support during this important decade and in the process of forging this volume, which directly builds on my PhD thesis. I apologize for my incapacity to those that I forgot to mention here.

Above all, I want to thank my parents to whom I am deeply indebted for their endless love, their unalterable patience, and their continuous support. No less, I want to thank my wife Mona for her unshakable love, her belief in me, and for making me a better man – every day a little bit. This book is most of all a dedication to my parents' and Mona's personal qualities that have shaped my way of thinking and living.

Further on, I want to thank Wolfgang Zellner who persuaded me to follow the academic path; Michael Brzoska for his thoughtful guidance and knowledgeable advice on my PhD thesis, Götz Neuneck for giving me the opportunity to work on arms control; Michael Staack for his trust in my abilities; Catherine Kelleher who would always support my various endeavors no matter what; James Acton for reminding me that besides scientific rigor, scholars should speak truth to power; Tristan Volpe for one of the most fruitful partnerships I entered thus far; Laura Rockwood and Elena Sokova for bringing me back to Europe; and to Susanne Bund for her love of detail when checking the galleys.

Further on, I am deeply indebted to the Evangelisches Studienwerk e.V. Villigst and IFSH for paying my PhD bills; the Stanton Foundation for gratuitously allowing me to better understand the “Washington bubble;” and the John D. und Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation for helping me bridge a crucial period in my life by focusing on my home country.

This book is dedicated to my beloved aunt Christel and my uncle Werner whom I miss.

Hamburg, 2019

Abbreviations

ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty
ACFE	Agreement on Adaptation of CFE
A/CFE	meaning the CFE Treaty and the Agreement on Adaptation of CFE
AIAM	Annual Implementation Assessment Meeting
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ATTU	Atlantic to the Urals
CAC	Conventional Arms Control in Europe
CBM	Confidence-Building Measures
CDE	Conference on CSBMs and Disarmament in Europe
CFE	Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe
CFE-1A	Concluding Act of the Negotiation on Personnel Strength of CFE
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
C/OSCE	Meaning CSCE and OSCE
COW	Correlates of War Index
CPC	Conflict Prevention Centre
CSBM	Confidence- and Security-Building Measures
CSCE	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe
CST	Treaty on Collective Security
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
CTBT	Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
EC	European Community
EPAA	European Phased Adaptive Approach
ES	English School
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy
EST	European Security Treaty (Medvedev initiative of 2009)
EU	European Union
FSC	Forum for Security Co-operation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GOP	Grand Old Party (Republican Party)
G8	Group of Eight (see also G6, G7, and G20)
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IFSH	Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy Hamburg
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
IISS	International Institute for Strategic Studies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INF	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces

IO	International Organization
IR	International Relations
JCC	Joint Consultative Commission
MAD	Mutual Assured Destruction
MANPADS	Man-Portable Air-Defense Systems
MBFR	Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions Talks
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
New START	New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRC	NATO-Russia Council
NSNW	Non-Strategic Nuclear Weapons
NTM	National-Technical Means
ODIHR	Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
OSCC	Open Skies Consultative Commission
PC	Political Committee (of NATO)
PD	Prisoners' Dilemma
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PJC	NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council
PMSC	Political-Military Steering Committee
POL-MIL	Political-Military
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
R&D	Research and Development
REACT	Rapid Expert Assistance and Co-operation Teams
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SC	Security Community
SG	Secretary General
SMM	OSCE Special Monitoring Mission to Ukraine
SORT	Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty
TFT	Tit-For-Tat
TLE	Treaty-Limited Equipment
TUR	Turkey
UK	United Kingdom
U.S.	United States of America
USSR	Union of Socialist Soviet Republics
VD	Vienna Document
WEU	Western European Union
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTO	Warsaw Treaty Organization

List of Charts and Tables

Charts

1	Single-Shot Prisoners' Dilemma	49
2	Realist Model for Understanding International Cooperation	65
3	Comparison of U.S.-Soviet Economic Capabilities in GNP/GDP, 1973-1989	71
4	Comparison of National U.S.-Soviet and NATO-WTO Combined Defense Budgets, 1973-1989	72
5	Comparison of National U.S.-Soviet and NATO-WTO Combined Total Armed Forces, 1973-1989	73
6	Comparison of National U.S.-Soviet and NATO-WTO Combined Size of Population, 1973-1989	74
7	Comparison of National U.S.-Soviet and NATO-WTO Combined Size of Territory, 1973-1989	75
8	Comparison of U.S.-Soviet/Russian Economic Capabilities in GDP, 1990-1994	85
9	Comparison of National U.S.-Soviet/Russian and NATO- WTO/CST Combined Defense Budgets, 1990-1994	86
10	Comparison of National U.S.-Soviet/Russian and NATO- WTO/CST Combined Total Armed Forces, 1990-1994	87
11	Comparison of National U.S.-Soviet/Russian and NATO- WTO/CST Combined Size of Population, 1990-1994	88
12	Comparison of National U.S.-Soviet/Russian and NATO- WTO/CST Combined Size of Territory, 1990-1994	88
13	Comparison of U.S.-Russian Economic Capabilities in GDP, 1995-1999	98
14	Comparison of National U.S.-Russian and NATO-CST Combined Defense Budgets, 1995-1999	99
15	Comparison of National U.S.-Russian and NATO-CST Combined Total Armed Forces, 1995-1999	100
16	Comparison of National U.S.-Russian and NATO-CST Combined Size of Population, 1995-1999	100
17	Comparison of National U.S.-Russian and NATO-CST Combined Size of Territory, 1995-1999	101
18	Comparison of U.S.-Russian Economic Capabilities in GDP, 2000-2008	112
19	Comparison of National U.S.-Russian and NATO-CST Combined Defense Budgets, 2000-2008	113
20	Comparison of National U.S.-Russian and NATO-CST Combined Total Armed Forces, 2000-2008	114

21	Comparison of National U.S.-Russian and NATO-CST Combined Size of Population, 2000-2008	115
22	Comparison of National U.S.-Russian and NATO-CST Combined Size of Territory, 2000-2008	115
23	Comparison of U.S.-Russian Economic Capabilities in GDP, 2009-2011	122
24	Comparison of National U.S.-Russian and NATO-CST Combined Defense Budgets, 2009-2011	123
25	Comparison of National U.S.-Russian and NATO-CST Combined Total Armed Forces, 2009-2011	123
26	Comparison of U.S.-Russian Economic Capabilities in GDP, 2012-2013	131
27	Comparison of National U.S.-Russian and NATO-CST Combined Defense Budgets, 2012-2013	132
28	Comparison of National U.S.-Russian and NATO-CST Combined Total Armed Forces, 2012-2014	133
29	Trend Analysis of U.S.-Soviet/Russian Economic Capabilities in GDP Development, 1973-2013	138
30	Trend Analysis of National U.S.-Soviet/Russian and NATO-WTO/CST Combined Defense Budget Development, 1973-2013	139
31	Trend Analysis of National U.S.-Soviet/Russian and NATO-WTO/CST Combined Total Armed Forces Development, 1973-2014	140
32	Trend Analysis of National U.S.-Soviet/Russian and NATO-WTO/CST Combined Size of Population Development, 1973-2014	141
33	Trend Analysis of National U.S.-Soviet/Russian and NATO-WTO/CST Combined Size of Territory Development, 1973-2014	142
34	Polynomic Trend of Institutionalization (New Agreements Concluded per Year), 1975-2014	244
35	Indicators of Regime Decay: Trend Dynamics 1975-2014	244
36	The Regime Complex of Cooperative Arms Control in Europe	255
37	Cooperative Arms Control in Europe: Non-Compliance Dynamics	259
38	U.S.-Soviet/Russian Contested Politics under C/OSCE Framework: Trend Dynamics 1990-2013	305
39	Reference to Key Principles and Norms at Different Levels with Different Outcomes	309
40	Institutionalized Cooperation in a Continuum	314
41	Opposing Poles Stretching Complexity Texture	328

Tables

1	Aims and Means of the Concept of Cooperative Security	31
2	Cooperation Strategies	62
3	U.S.-Soviet Cooperation on MBFR, Helsinki CSCE, and CDE	80
4	U.S.-Soviet/Russian Cooperation on CFE, CSCE, NATO, and CSBMs	94
5	U.S.-Russian Cooperation on CFE Adaptation, Further OSCE Adaptation, NATO-Russia Founding Act, and Balkans Arms Control Framework	107
6	U.S.-Russian Cooperation on the Establishment of the NRC	118
7	U.S.-Russian Cooperation on the CFE Talks “at 36” and the Corfu Process	128
8	Cooperation Cluster of Conventional Arms Control	149
9	Cooperation Cluster of CSBMs under the Auspices of the C/OSCE	150
10	Cooperation Cluster of Political-Military Cooperation under the Auspices of NATO	150
11	Cooperation Cluster of Sub-Regional Arms Control for the Balkans	151
12	Preliminary Findings Pertaining to Decay	153
13	Definitions of Regime (and Regime Complexes)	174
14	Explanations for Regime Creation and Maintenance	176
15	Thirteen Indicators of Regime Decay	181
16	Negative Effects of Complexity	182
17	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe Final Act, Helsinki 1975: Questions relating to Security in Europe, Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States	186
18	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe Final Act, Helsinki 1975: Questions relating to Security in Europe, Document on confidence-building measures and certain aspects of security and disarmament	188
19	Document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe Convened in Accordance With the Relevant Provisions of the Concluding Document of the Madrid Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1984-1986	189
20	Evaluation of Period 1973-1989	191
21	Charter of Paris for a New Europe, 1990	192

22	Vienna Document 1990 of the Negotiations on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures Convened in Accordance with the Relevant Provisions of the Concluding Document of the Vienna Meeting of the CSCE	193
23	Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, 1990	194
24	North Atlantic Cooperation Council Statement on Dialogue, Partnership and Cooperation, 1991	196
25	Vienna Document 1992 of the Negotiations on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures Convened in Accordance with the Relevant Provisions of the Concluding Document of the Vienna Meeting of the CSCE	197
26	Treaty on Open Skies, 1992	198
27	Concluding Act of the Negotiation on Personnel Strength of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, 1992	199
28	Section V “CSCE Forum for Security Cooperation”, Helsinki Document 1992	201
29	Programme for immediate action, Helsinki Document 1992	202
30	Programme for Immediate Action Series, No. 1: Programme of Military Contacts and Co-operation, 1993	203
31	Programme for Immediate Action Series, No. 2: Stabilizing Measures for Localized Crisis Situations, 1993	204
32	Programme for Immediate Action Series, No. 3: Principles Governing Conventional Arms Transfers, 1993	205
33	Programme for Immediate Action Series, No. 4: Defence Planning, 1993	206
34	Programme for Immediate Action Series, No. 5: Global Exchange of Military Information, 1994	207
35	Programme for Immediate Action Series, No. 6: Vienna Document 1994 of the Negotiations on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures, 1994	208
36	Programme for Immediate Action Series, No. 7: Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security, 1994	209
37	Programme for Immediate Action Series, No. 8: Principles Governing Non-Proliferation, 1994	211
38	Partnership for Peace: Framework Document and Invitation Document, 1994	212
39	Evaluation of Period 1990-1994	213
40	A Framework for Arms Control, Lisbon Document, 1996	214
41	Agreement on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1996	216
42	Agreement on Sub-Regional Arms Control, Article IV, 1996	217
43	Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation, 1997	219
44	Basic Document of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, 1997	221

45	Agreement on Adaptation of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, 1999	222
46	Vienna Document 1999 on the Negotiations on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures, Istanbul Document, 1999	224
47	Operational Document - the Platform for Co-operative Security, Istanbul Document, 1999	225
48	Charter for European Security, 1999	227
49	Evaluation of Period 1995-1999	228
50	OSCE Document on Small Arms and Light Weapons, 2000	229
51	Concluding Document of the Negotiations Under Article V of Annex 1-B of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2001	231
52	NATO-Russia Relations: A New Quality, Declaration by Heads of State and Government of NATO Member States and the Russian Federation, 2002	232
53	OSCE Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the Twenty-First Century, 2003	234
54	OSCE Document on Stockpiles of Conventional Ammunition, 2003	235
55	Vienna Document 2011 on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures, 2011	236
56	Evaluation of Period 2000-2014	238
57	Shared Key Principles and Norms of the 31 Agreements Assessed	249
58	Cooperative Arms Control in Europe: Forms of Regime Interaction	253
59	Cooperative Arms Control in Europe: Assessing Indicators of Regime Decay	257
60	Soviet Union, Assessment of Statement, Paris, 1990	268
61	United States, Assessment of Statement, Paris, 1990	269
62	Soviet Union, Assessment of Statement, Berlin, 1991	269
63	United States, Assessment of Statement, Berlin, 1991	270
64	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Prague, 1992	270
65	United States, Assessment of Statement, Prague, 1992	271
66	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Helsinki, 1992	272
67	United States, Assessment of Statement, Helsinki, 1992	272
68	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Stockholm, 1992	273
69	United States, Assessment of Statement, Stockholm, 1992	273
70	United States, Assessment of Statement, Rome, 1993	274
71	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Budapest, 1994	274
72	United States, Assessment of Statement, Budapest, 1994	275
73	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Budapest, 1995	276
74	United States, Assessment of Statement, Budapest, 1995	276
75	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Lisbon, 1996	277

76	United States, Assessment of Statement, Lisbon, 1996	278
77	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Oslo, 1998	278
78	United States, Assessment of Statement, Oslo, 1998	279
79	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Istanbul, 1999	280
80	United States, Assessment of Statement, Istanbul, 1999	280
81	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Vienna, 2000	281
82	United States, Assessment of Statement, Vienna, 2000	281
83	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Bucharest, 2001	282
84	United States, Assessment of Statement, Bucharest, 2001	282
85	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Porto, 2002	283
86	United States, Assessment of Statement, Porto, 2002	284
87	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Maastricht, 2003	284
88	United States, Assessment of Statement, Maastricht, 2003	285
89	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Sofia, 2004	286
90	United States, Assessment of Statement, Sofia, 2004	286
91	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Ljubljana, 2005	287
92	United States, Assessment of Statement, Ljubljana, 2005	288
93	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Brussels, 2006	288
94	United States, Assessment of Statement, Brussels, 2006	289
95	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Madrid, 2007	290
96	United States, Assessment of Statement, Madrid, 2007	290
97	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Helsinki, 2008	291
98	United States, Assessment of Statement, Helsinki, 2008	292
99	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Athens, 2009	292
100	United States, Assessment of Statement, Athens, 2009	293
101	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Astana, 2010	294
102	United States, Assessment of Statement, Astana, 2010	294
103	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Vilnius, 2011	295
104	United States, Assessment of Statement, Vilnius, 2011	296
105	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Dublin, 2012	296
106	United States, Assessment of Statement, Dublin, 2012	297
107	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Kyiv, 2013	298
108	United States, Assessment of Statement, Kyiv, 2013	298
109	Russian Federation, Assessment of Statement, Basel, 2014	299
110	United States, Assessment of Statement, Basel, 2014	300
111	Assessment of Statements: Key Principles and Norms Mentioned	301
112	Assessment of Statements: Top 15 General Policy Topics	303