

our. Others argue that the encouragement and formalization of increased contacts between East and West in social, cultural, scientific and economic spheres, however limited and imperfect, can only lead to improved understanding and reduced tension. There is an element of truth in both the pessimist's and the optimist's assessments. Like detente, the virtues of the Final Act were probably over-sold and its modest achievements overlooked as a consequence. The CSCE and its Final Act provisions were certainly less than they could have been but, equally, they did serve constructive purposes. One such feature of the CSCE process and the Helsinki Final Act that deserves particular consideration is the "Document on Confidence-building Measures and Certain Aspects of Security and Disarmament."

The Helsinki Confidence-Building Measures

The Helsinki Confidence-Building Measures, briefly stated, called for prior notification of large manoeuvres and encouraged the exchange of military observers. The participant States, according to the Final Act, recognized

the need to contribute to reducing the dangers of armed conflict and of misunderstanding or miscalculation of military activities which could give rise to apprehension, particularly in a situation where the participating States lack clear and timely information about the nature of such activities.

This is a reasonable definition of the function that CBMs are supposed to perform: reduction of tension and uncertainty.

The Helsinki Final Act states that the CSCE participants have adopted the following:

Prior Notification of Major Military Manoeuvres

They will notify their major military manoeuvres to all other participating States through usual diplomatic channels in accordance with the following provisions:

Notification *will* be given of major military manoeuvres exceeding a total of 25,000 troops, independently or combined with any possible air or naval components ... Furthermore, in the case of combined manoeuvres which do not reach the above total land forces together with significant num-

bers of either amphibious or airborne troops, or both, notification *can* also be given.

Notification *will* be given of major military manoeuvres which take place on the territory, in Europe, of any participating State as well as, if applicable, in the adjoining sea area and air space.

In the case of a participating State whose territory extends beyond Europe, prior notification need be given only of manoeuvres which take place *within 250 kilometers from its frontier* facing or shared with any other European participating State. ...

Notification *will* be given 21 days or more in advance of the start of the manoeuvre *or in the case of a manoeuvre arranged at shorter notice, at the earliest possible opportunity prior to its starting date.*

Notification *will* contain information of the designation, if any, the general purpose of and the States involved in the manoeuvre, the type or types and numerical strength of the forces engaged, the area and estimated time-frame of its conduct.

Prior Notification of Other Military Manoeuvres

The participating States recognize that they can contribute further to strengthening confidence and increasing security and stability, and to this end *may* also notify smaller-scale military manoeuvres to other participating States, with special regard for those near the area of such manoeuvres.

To the same end, the participating States also recognize that they *may* notify other military manoeuvres conducted by them.

Exchange of Observers

The participating States will invite other participating States, *voluntarily and on a bilateral basis, in a spirit of reciprocity and goodwill* towards all participating States, to send observers to attend military manoeuvres.

The inviting State will determine in each case the number of observers, the procedures and conditions of their participation, and will give other information which it may consider useful. It will provide appropriate facilities and hospitality. ...

