negotiations began in Vienna in November 1990 with the goal of completing an agreement before a planned review of conventional force negotiations in 1992. Progress has been made in these negotiations but has been slower than expected because of the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the problems this has created for the Treaty. On 10 July 1992, at the CSCE Summit in Helsinki, the twenty-nine CFE states signed an agreement establishing ceilings on military personnel based on land within the zone. Each state determined their own ceiling, which in some cases is higher than the troop levels currently deployed.

## Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (CSBMs)

The development of CSBMs began in Helsinki in 1973 when the then thirty-five members of the CSCE began negotiations on what became the Helsinki Final Act of August 1975. The Final Act dealt with three "baskets" of issues: security questions in Europe; cooperation in economics, science and technology, and the environment; and cooperation in humanitarian and other fields. In the security basket, states agreed to provide twenty-one days notice of all major military manoeuvres involving 25,000 or more troops. States also agreed that observers from other states could be invited to observe military manoeuvres.

At the second review conference of the Helsinki Final Act, held in Madrid from November 1980 to September 1983, states agreed on a mandate to negotiate further CSBMs. The resulting negotiations were held in Stockholm between January 1984 and September 1986, under the cumbersome title of Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CCSBMDE). In its shortened version, the talks were also known as Conference on Disarmament in Europe, or CDE.

These negotiations resulted in the Stockholm Document, in September 1986. It was concluded just as the changes in the Soviet Union were beginning to appear. At the time Soviet agreement to a number of the provisions, and the extent of the provisions themselves, were considered an important step forward. The Stockholm Document reflects agreement in six principal areas: declaratory measures; notification measures; observation; exchange of annual calendars; constraining provisions; and compliance and verification. (See previous editions of *The Guide* for more details about these negotiations and the Stockholm Document).

A further set of negotiations on CSBMs continued after the completion of the Stockholm Document. These negotiations resulted in the Vienna Document which was signed by the then thirty-four members of the