

early as possible in the case of a manoeuvre arranged at shorter notice. The required information was quite general: for example, the designation, purpose, size, states involved, type of forces, location and time-frame of the manoeuvre.

The Final Act also makes provision, on a voluntary and bilateral basis, "in a spirit of reciprocity and goodwill," for the invitation of observers to view manoeuvres. The number of observers and the conditions and procedures for their participation are left to the discretion of the inviting state.

The Accords also invited participants to make prior notifications of military movements, on a voluntary basis. Further, signatories were encouraged to improve mutual understanding by promoting exchanges between participants and reciprocal visits of military personnel.

The Helsinki CBMs have had only limited *military* consequence. The lack of a verification regime, the relatively high threshold for notification, the general nature of the information required, and the voluntary form of many of the guidelines — including those for invitation of observers — amounted to a minimal constraint on the participants' military forces. The meaning of the term 'troops' and the method for measuring the number of troops involved in manoeuvres were deliberately left ambiguous. Even the 21-day notice-period was, for some cases, watered down to notification "as soon as possible." Furthermore, there was no agreement on distinct definitions for the terms 'manoeuvres' and 'movements'.

However, the *political* significance of the agreed measures — and the fact that they were agreed to at all — was considerable. Indeed, the Helsinki CBMs were intended to be of primarily political importance. The measures contributed significantly to the effort to establish a structural basis for security in Europe. Moreover, the Accords recognized that the experience gained in implementing these measures, combined with further efforts, "could lead to developing and enlarging measures aimed at strengthening confidence."

### THE STOCKHOLM AGREEMENT

The CSCE participants agreed in Helsinki to hold follow-up meetings to review the implementation of the Final Act and to consider the possibility of a new conference. The first of these was held in Belgrade from 4 October 1977 to 9 March 1978; and the second was held in Madrid from 11 November 1980 to 9 September 1983. Proposals on new and enhanced CBMs were put forward at both follow-up meetings. In Belgrade, participants were barely able to agree on the Concluding Document which would allow them to continue their work in Madrid. Despite acrimonious differences at the Madrid meeting — much attention was focussed on the Soviet

invasion of Afghanistan — it was agreed that a major conference on the subject of CBMs would be held in Stockholm.

The Concluding Document of the Madrid meeting stated that the participants would "undertake, in stages, new, effective and concrete actions designed to make progress in strengthening confidence and security and in achieving disarmament, so as to give effect and expression to the duty of States to refrain from the threat or use of force in their mutual relations." The measures pursued were to cover the "whole of Europe as well as the adjoining sea area and airspace." They were to be "of military significance and politically binding" and "provide adequate forms of verification which correspond to their content."<sup>6</sup> The word 'security' was added to confidence-building measures (to become confidence- and security-building measures) to show that the new measures would go further than those agreed to in Helsinki.

### *The Stockholm Confidence-Building Measures*

The delegates to the conference in Stockholm negotiated from 17 January 1984 to 19 September 1986. The Stockholm Agreement, which went into effect on 1 January 1987, contains six principal sections outlining agreed measures:<sup>7</sup>

- 1) *Declaratory Measures*: In accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, the signatories restate their commitment to refrain from the threat or use of force.
- 2) *Notification Measures*: States agree to announce military activities involving at least 13,000 troops, or 300 battle tanks, 42 days or more in advance. This measure applies to land forces (including amphibious, airmobile, and airborne troops) independently, or in any combination with air or naval components. Exercises involving at least 3000 amphibious or airborne troops are notifiable. Also contained in the Agreement are information measures, such as revealing the general purpose of the activity and the states involved. These measures were intended to enhance transparency and provide greater definition for notifiable exercises.
- 3) *Observation*: States conducting certain activities are required to invite all other signatories to those involving the types of forces identified above, when the level meets or exceeds 17,000 troops or, in the case of amphibious landing or airborne assault, 5000 troops. Each signatory can send as many as two military or civilian observers. The Host State is responsible for providing most services for the observers, though this responsibility can be shared with other participating states if notified in the invitations. The duration of the observation is set by the Host State with observers allowed to view the exercises until the numbers fall below the defined threshold. Observers are not allowed to view restricted areas. Signatories are not