

ducted in isolation and tend, in fact, to blur into each other quite often (definitions frequently invoke types or categories), it will be easier if we look at them separately.

While it is hardly very imaginative, perhaps the most straightforward and effective method of dealing with the variety of CBM "definitions" and descriptions is simply to reproduce a representative sampling. This will provide some sense of the flavour and the variety of Confidence-Building-Measure conceptions. Virtually none of these are brief nor are the descriptions particularly clear in many cases. They are seldom concise and, very often, they are little more than lists. It should be remembered that these descriptions are drawn from the work of the *premier* CBM analysts. The lack of both precision and consistency is instructive. Considering the difficulty already encountered in deciding what a CBM is on the basis of actual examples, we should not be surprised that a parallel variety of interpretations exist within the analytic community.

A logical place to begin is with the Holst and Melander definition introduced in Chapter Two. Their article is widely regarded as one of the very first substantive pieces to deal with the CBM concept. They said that:

*"confidence building involves the communication of credible evidence of the absence of feared threats. Since modern technological means of surveillance have long since penetrated the shells of secrecy traditionally surrounding the military preparations of the nation state, CBM can be but a minor supplement to the various means of intelligence collection. Nevertheless, they are of political and psychological importance, because they can only be implemented on the express wishes of the states whose military activity is notified or observed. ... A major objective of CBM ... is to provide reassurance ... by reducing uncertainties and by constraining opportunities for exerting pressure through military activity."*²⁴

A much more recent article written by Holst contains a revised appreciation of what a CBM is. He states (somewhat cryptically) that CBMs are:

"measures for inducing an assurance of mind and firm beliefs in the trustworthiness of the announced intentions of other states in respect of their security policies, and the facts with regard to military activities and capabilities which are designed to further the objectives of a nation's security policy. The objectives can be furthered by increased predictability. Hence, CBM could be designed to facilitate recognition of the "normal" pattern of military activities and thereby make it easier for states to discern significant deviations which may indicate a possible threat. ..."

Confidence may be enhanced also by *reassurance* about intentions, through opportunities to ascertain important information relating to military activities. Hence, an important purpose of CBM will be to enable states to demonstrate and confirm the absence of feared threats."²⁵

Another of the classic discussions of Confidence-Building states that they:

"operate on the perceptions of those in confrontation (and particularly on their perceptions of intentions). ... CBM can by-pass assessments of capabilities (and hence many of the problems associated with verification and accuracy of assessments) and go straight to intentions. Two rather different but mutually reinforcing kinds of reassurance are sought through CBM. The first is essentially continuous and related to the willingness of potential adversaries to demonstrate their non-aggressive postures and generally defensive concerns by opening their internal affairs to examination either by the other or by independent observers. ... The second is designed to operate primarily in times of crisis. As a result of measures agreed between the parties, both

²⁴ The first sentence of this excerpt is probably the most frequently cited brief definition of a CBM. Johan Holst and Karen Melander, "European Security and Confidence-building Measures," in *Arms Control and Military Force* p. 147.

²⁵ Johan Jorgen Holst, "Confidence-building Measures: A Conceptual Framework," *Survival* vol. XXV no. 1, pp. 2-3.