

a conference in Stockholm, with a mandate to expand the existing set of CBMs in ways that were militarily significant, politically binding and adequately verifiable. A continuing series of negotiations and conferences has produced an increasing number of agreements⁶ on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe.⁷ These include the establishment of a Conflict Prevention Centre and a Forum for Security Co-operation.

Because of this history, the current approach to multilateral confidence-building measures has been shaped by the agreements on conventional armed forces made in Europe between 1986 and 1992. Except for the more recent additions, these were conceived and negotiated during the closing stages of East-West confrontation in the Cold War, beginning in an adversarial atmosphere, which gradually transformed into co-operation. A striking demonstration of this change is provided by the North Atlantic Co-operation Council (NACC), which joins NATO members with former (enemy) Warsaw Pact members, including successor states to the Soviet Union whose territory was included in the CFE Treaty. While the first business of the NACC was to adapt the provisions of the CFE Treaty to determine the obligations of the new members, they undertook to hold consultations on security and related issues such as defence planning, conceptual approaches to arms control, democratic concepts of civilian-military relations, civil-military co-ordination of air traffic management, and the conversion of defence production to civilian purposes. Consideration is being given to extension of this menu to include immigration, civil emergency planning, arms production and joint exercises. Many of these could be described as confidence-building measures that extend beyond the realms of security.

It may well be that these versions of confidence- and security-building, slowly forged in Europe as it emerged from the bipolar

confrontation between the two powerful alliances of the Cold War, will have limited value in the changed circumstances of the mid-1990s, when facing adversarial situations of very different types, in troubled parts of the world far from Europe. Slow progress in attempts to establish security regimes in the Middle East, in Korea, in Asia and in Latin America suggests that general confidence-building may have to precede the application of specific confidence-building measures or the negotiation of agreements to limit or reduce armaments.

Confidence-Building Measures in Multilateral Arms Control Agreements

The growth of confidence-building measures in the last 10 years has been stimulated by the earlier gradual evolution of verification that took place during the Cold War. Even in the earlier adversarial climate, the need for arms control of strategic nuclear weapons became recognized. The associated requirement for verification was also appreciated, but as long as there was no inclination to offer some degree of co-operation it was necessary to depend on NTM and NIM. However, when the scope of arms control was extended to include intermediate nuclear forces and conventional weapons, verification posed problems that could only be solved by co-operation, including the acceptance of intrusive inspections. Once this degree of co-operation had been initiated, and its acceptability confirmed by amicable experience, it became possible to undertake more extensive forms of co-operative security measures, and CBMs took their place as one of the major approaches.

The multilateral Stockholm Accord of 1986 provided for on-site inspections as CBMs, which represented a significant breakthrough, although the number (three per annum in each country) and freedom of the inspectors to select communications and transport were constrained. But the bilateral treaty of 1987 on Intermediate

⁶ The three major documents are commonly referred to as "Stockholm Document 1986," "Vienna Document 1990" and "Vienna Document 1992," and further steps were announced in Helsinki in 1992.

⁷ Because the CDE concentrated on security problems, while the parent CSCE included several other broader considerations as well as security, the CBMs agreed by

the CDE were labelled "confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs)." This paper is concerned with the security-building measures.

