

capitals, such as dedicated "hot lines," as well as by the establishment and effective operation of jointly manned centres.

Constraint measures can include limits on the size, equipment, or area of manoeuvres, restrictions on threatening weapon tests, or restrictions on the deployment of "offensive" types of weaponry close to critical areas. Agreement not to interfere with means of gathering information, such as reception of telemetry, placing of unmanned sensors, or other uses of NTM, constitutes a constraint measure that contributes to confidence-building.

Unilateral *declaratory* measures which are not parts of a formal agreement may be "politically" although not legally binding. As is the case for negotiated measures, they are more likely to build confidence if they can be verified. A unilateral undertaking to remove or destroy some type of weapon can be accompanied by arrangements to have the removal or destruction observed. A pledge to cease production or testing of some large type of weapon may be verifiable. But a declaration of "no first use" of weapons still possessed and operable, or of a promise to abstain from some activity that is physically possible, cannot be verified, and may not do much to increase the confidence of a state suspicious of the intentions of the declarer state.

The CSCE and Confidence-Building Measures

The term "confidence-building measures" first came into common use as a result of the activities of the CSCE. Before the 1980s, quite a few discussions were held, but not many agreements reached, regarding matters that can be labelled as "confidence-building measures."⁴

In the long-drawn-out efforts to check the build-up of conventional armaments in Europe, and especially in an effort to reduce the possibility of successful surprise attack, two competing approaches emerged. The Mutual and Balanced

Force Reduction (MBFR) talks, which were carried out in Vienna by delegates representing the countries of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, on a bipolar "Cold War" basis from 1973 to 1989, emphasized *the scaling down of military structures*. However, interest developed in *regulation of activities* as opposed to structures, concentrating on measures such as notifications and observation of military exercises. This approach was given the title of "Associated Measures," a supplement to the MBFR main goal of "Force Reductions." The reduction in structures represented control of capabilities, while the regulation of activities is related to intentions more than to capabilities.

The objectives of the MBFR talks to achieve and verify force reductions were eventually accomplished by the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE), negotiated between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries and signed in 1990. While the most important provisions dealt with *reductions* and *verification*, quite a few of the undertakings dealt with notifications and information exchanges of a nature that could be described as *confidence-building measures*.

Thirty-five states⁵ joined the CSCE in 1973, and agreed in Helsinki in 1975 to seek improvement in their political, economic, social, human, cultural and military relations. An undertaking was reached to notify one another of large manoeuvres of military land forces. This commitment was honoured in the following years, and in many cases observers were invited to attend the manoeuvres. However, there was no legal obligation to comply, and no notifications were given of naval or air exercises, nor of regular army movements such as troop rotations or alerts. These limited steps represented the birth of confidence-building measures.

In 1983, the CSCE established a "Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe" (CCSBMDE, soon mercifully abbreviated to CDE). It began with

Western Europe, seven with the Warsaw Pact, and 11 were neutral and non-aligned.

⁴ Macintosh, *Confidence (and Security) Building Measures in the Arms Control Process*, Chapter II, pp. 16-26.

⁵ The founding membership of the CSCE was drawn from 33 European states plus the United States and Canada. Seventeen were aligned with NATO and

