

## NOTES

1. The nations involved in the CSCE process are: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, Greece, the Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and Yugoslavia.
2. For an extensive discussion of the concept of Confidence-Building Measures, see: James Macintosh, *Confidence (and Security) Building Measures in the Arms Control Process: A Canadian Perspective*, Arms Control and Disarmament Studies No. 1, Arms Control and Disarmament Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, 1985.
3. Johan Jorgen Holst and Karen Alette Melander, "European Security and Confidence Building Measures," *Survival*, vol. 29, no. 4, July/August 1977, pp. 147-148.
4. *Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Final Act*, in Robert Spencer, (ed.), *Canada and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1982, p. 505.
5. For the full text of the Helsinki Accord see: United States, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, "On the Occasion of the 12th Anniversary of the Signing of the Helsinki Final Act," *Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Final Act, Helsinki, 1975*, Washington, 1 August 1987.
6. "Concluding Document of the Madrid Meeting of Representatives of the Participating States of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe," in Robert Spencer (ed.), *Canada and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe*, Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1984, p. 411.
7. For the full text of the Stockholm Agreement see: Department of External Affairs, *Document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe convened in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Concluding Document of the Madrid Meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe*, Ottawa, 1986.
8. For a more detailed discussion of the negotiation of the Stockholm Agreement see: C.A. Namiesniowski, *The Stockholm Agreement: An Exercise in Confidence Building*, Background Paper 14, Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, Ottawa, September 1987.
9. The acceptance of on-site verification has been highlighted by many analysts as a turning point in the Soviet approach to arms control and proved to be critical to the successful negotiation of the 1987 Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States.
10. See, for example: Richard E. Darilek, "The Future of Conventional Arms Control in Europe, A Tale of Two Cities: Stockholm and Vienna," in *Survival*, vol. 29, no. 1, January-February 1987, pp. 5-21.
11. The following information was obtained from a series of documents published by the United States Department of State entitled, *Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act*, Semi-annual Reports, nos. 1-21, Bureau of Public Affairs, Washington; Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, *The Helsinki Process and East West Relations: Progress in Perspective, A Report on the Positive Aspects of the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, 1975-1984*, Washington, March 1985; and Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, *Basket 1 — Implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Findings Eleven Years After Helsinki, Report Submitted to the Congress of the United States, 99th Congress, 2nd Session*, Washington, November 1986.

Michael Holmes was a research assistant at the Institute from September 1987 to December 1989.

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