

# EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

## EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT DELEGATION

for relations with

THE UNITED STATES

24th meeting

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### Background Note

on

### The Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, Stockholm

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The Conference on Confidence- and Security-building  
Measures and Disarmament in Europe

1. The Conference on Confidence- and Security-building Measures and Disarmament in Europe opened in Stockholm in January 1984. The Conference is an integral part of the CSCE process (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe). The participating States agreed at the CSCE Follow-up Meeting in Madrid (1980-1983) to convene the Stockholm Conference and the Concluding Document of the Madrid meeting sets out the mandate of the Conference.
2. The mandate states that the aim of the Stockholm Conference is "as a substantial and integral part of the multilateral process initiated by the CSCE ... to 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."
3. It is envisaged that the Conference will take place in two principal stages. The first stage, which opened in January 1984, is devoted to "the negotiation and adoption of a set of mutually complementary confidence- and security-building measures designed to reduce the risk of military confrontation in Europe". A future CSCE follow-up meeting (the next one is due to commence in Vienna in November 1986) will "consider ways and appropriate means for the participating states to continue their efforts for security and disarmament in Europe, including the question of supplementing the present mandate for the next stage of the (Stockholm) Conference".
4. The Madrid Concluding Document also stipulates that the measures being negotiated in Stockholm should meet certain criteria. It states: "On the basis of equality of rights, balance and reciprocity, equal respect for the security interests of all CSCE participating States, and of their respective obligations concerning confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe, these confidence- and security-building measures will cover the whole of Europe as well as the adjoining

sea area<sup>1</sup> and air space. They will be of military significance and politically binding and will be provided with adequate forms of verification which correspond to their content".

5. The French Foreign Minister, in addressing the opening of the Conference on behalf of the Ten, outlined three aims for the Conference:

- (i) the continuing involvement of the 35 States in the process begun at Helsinki;
- (ii) the search for new ways of improving security in Europe;
- (iii) as part of the mandate given by the Madrid follow-up meeting, a decision on real confidence-building measures on military questions.

He said that the Ten hoped that these aims could be achieved by the spring of 1986 and that the next follow-up meeting, scheduled to be held in Vienna in the autumn of 1986, could consider moving on to the second stage of the Conference.<sup>2</sup>

6. The fourth session of the Stockholm Conference opened on 6 November and will last until 14 December. It is expected that the Conference will resume in January 1985.

7. Since January, five sets of proposals have been tabled, most notably by NATO, by the Soviet Union and by the Neutral and Non-aligned (the other proposals have come from Rumania and Malta).

NATO, at the outset of the Conference, proposed six concrete measures to bring about openness in military activities such as mandatory exchanges of military information, mandatory notification and observation of certain military activities, and compliance and verification measures. These proposals generally seek to build on the confidence-building measures contained in the CSCE Final Act (Helsinki 1975) and to expand requirements for openness.

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1) In this context the notion of adjoining sea area is understood to refer also to ocean areas adjoining Europe.  
2) Bull. EC 1-1984.

The Soviet Union's proposals, put forward in May 1984, are described by the Eastern Europeans as "political" rather than "military-technical". These proposals include a treaty on the non-use of force, the assumption of an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, a reduction in military expenditure, the removal of chemical weapons from Europe, the establishment of nuclear-free zones and military measures similar to those in the NATO paper.

The Neutral and Non-aligned states have proposed a mixture of measures to bring about openness and measures to constrain military activity (e.g. a ceiling on the scale of manoeuvres).

8. On 1st June 1984, President Reagan stated that "if discussions on reaffirming the principle not to use force, a principle in which we believe so deeply, will bring the Soviet Union to negotiate agreements which will give concrete new meaning to that principle, we will gladly enter into such discussions."
9. It is understood that, since the end of June, increasingly detailed discussions have taken place in the plenary sessions at Stockholm with the aim of advancing towards substantive negotiations and the setting up of a working structure for the Conference. As far as the working structure is concerned, Sweden proposed that there should be two working groups : the first would consider the political proposals, whereas the second would study the practical measures which have been proposed. On the substance of the negotiations, the NATO countries take the view that the Soviet proposals exceed the mandate of the conference.<sup>3</sup>
10. Recently, since the US elections, there has been an improvement in the climate of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. One of the places where this improvement in relations appears to have had an effect already is at the Stockholm Conference which, on 3 December 1984, agreed on a new working structure which delegates from all sides said would enable it to begin serious negotiations. The working structure, agreed on the basis of a proposal by the neutral and non-aligned countries, is reported to be that the Conference should break up into two working groups for detailed talks on measures to prevent war.<sup>4</sup>

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3) La Libre Belgique, 13 September 1984.

4) The Guardian, 4 December 1984.

