

tain measures that have since been proposed as CBMs (inspectors at troop exit points, provision for aerial inspection of suspicious facilities, preparation of detailed inventories of weapon systems, military exchanges, the movement of threatening forces from frontiers, and joint agreements to limit "threatening" weapon system deployments which might trigger arms races or create crisis escalation). It is less clear that demilitarization and denuclearization treaties and agreements (for instance, the Antarctic, Seabed and Outer Space Treaties) are or entail Confidence-Building Measures although they too constrain military activities, clarify intentions and have reasonable verification procedures. It is more difficult still to know whether or not to count purely declaratory undertakings (such as "no first use" offers and Hague Conventions) as CBMs. Even being generous, they appear to be on the margins of reasonable acceptance. On common sense grounds, imposed arrangements (such as the Versailles Treaty) ought not to count as CBMs. Confidence-Building Measures and agreements, at minimum, must be entered into freely.

On the basis of the foregoing examination of possible CBM candidates, it is safe to conclude only that many agreements may be or may include Confidence-Building Measures. Several seem to be clear examples by any standard and several seem beyond consideration. It is also quite clear that CBMs are interwoven within the larger category of arms-control agreements to a degree greater than is normally appreciated. If we expect to clarify our thinking about Confidence Building, it will require more than a perusal of the historical record. That record suggests that many international undertakings achieve, to at least some degree, the functional equivalent of Confidence Building. If we wish to develop a more precise understanding of this increasingly important concept, we will have to look elsewhere. One obvious place to turn is the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It was the Final Act of that conference that introduced the idea of Confidence-Building Measures into common use. The next chapter traces this history and looks at the Helsinki CBMs in some detail.

