

Neither of these have been adopted thus far. Some participants have held the view that since the Workshop process as a whole is a CBM in itself, it was not necessary to discuss other, more specific CBMs, and that discussion of military CBMs should be left to the ARF process.

The Shanghai Agreement:

The negotiating history of the Shanghai Agreement of 1996 reveals that progress was achieved in a gradual, step-by-step manner, with the comprehensive and detailed agreement preceded by an agreement on basic principles, such as that of non-use of force. Many provisions of the Shanghai Agreement are similar to those found in the OSCE Vienna Document, but the former's provisions are specifically tailored to ensure peace and stability in the land border regions. The Vienna Document is a more general and comprehensive instrument that applies to military developments anywhere in the territories of the parties. The Shanghai Agreement provides for no compliance and verification provisions.

The Sino-Indian Agreement:

Like the Shanghai Agreement, the Sino-Indian Agreement on Confidence-Building Measures in the Military Field focusses on land boundaries and shares with it a number of CBMs, especially those relating to troop reductions and prior notification of exercises. However, the Sino-Indian Agreement does not provide for exchange of military information or prohibition on "dangerous" military activities. Its provisions regarding contact CBMs are less elaborate. Like the Shanghai Agreement, the Sino-Indian Agreement avoids verification and compliance measures. While the parties to the Shanghai Agreement have settled their border demarcation problems, the China-India boundary is still under dispute. One result of this is that the geographical zones within which the various CBMs, including troop reductions and ceilings, are to come into effect are yet to be defined.

Regionalizing the Bilateral Agreements:

The Shanghai Agreement may have some "learning effect" for the ARF. A series of cross-cutting border agreements throughout the Asia Pacific region may complement the development of multilateral CBMs. Although the Shanghai and Sino-Indian Agreements are primarily focussed on land borders, some of their provisions, such as advance notification of exercises and exchange of military information, may be susceptible to application in maritime areas. Obstacles to regionalizing the Shanghai Agreement through the ARF include the following:

- The ARF is too new and untested. It has yet to agree on common principles and is still at the stage of exchanging views.
- Though technically multilateral, the Shanghai Agreement is actually the successor to a bilateral agreement between China and the former Soviet Union, and it was