

Preface

When the first edition of the Henry L. Stimson Center's *Handbook of Confidence-Building Measures for Regional Security* was published in September 1993, CBMs were viewed with skepticism in regions that wished to be distant from perceived Cold War constructs. Over time, and with much useful discussion across borders, regions, and cultures, resistance to the theory and practice of CBMs has eased. Greater acceptance of CBMs grew, in part, from acknowledgment that terminology ought not to get in the way of successful practice. And while the term "confidence-building measures" may have been rooted in the Cold War, the practice of tension reduction has been underway in many regions long before CBMs were formally adopted by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact. The Center's *Handbook* uses the generic term "CBM," unless the text refers to regional initiatives where different terminology is preferred.

By the time the second edition of the *CBM Handbook* was published in January 1995, ritualistic arguments over the 'export' of CBMs from the North to the South, or from the West to the East were largely over. Proponents of CBMs in the West understood that measures negotiated during the Cold War could not be mindlessly transposed to other regions, while CBM skeptics in other regions began to soften their negativity. While some remained stuck in past grievances, others began to explore how CBMs usefully employed elsewhere might be adapted to meet local needs. The Stimson Center's publications on CBMs found interested readers in government offices, military headquarters, academia, research institutions, and nongovernmental organizations. The CBM materials on our website evolved and grew. At the same time, significant obstacles to the negotiation and proper implementation of CBMs were quite evident in almost every region. While rhetorical support for CBMs was forthcoming, negotiation and implementation of CBMs lagged behind.

The third edition of the *CBM Handbook* appears at a time when much work remains to be done on the theory and practice of successful confidence-building. CBMs negotiated during the Cold War have proven to be exceptionally useful and adaptable to an entirely new European security environment—a major success story. There has been considerable progress in confidence-building in most of Latin America, especially in the economic sphere. The institutionalization of discussions regarding CBMs, both official and nongovernmental, is well underway in Latin America and in the Asia–Pacific region. Southern Africa and Central Asia also appear to be moving forward on CBMs.

Regrettably, other regions have much catching up to do. In South Asia, little progress has been made on CBMs, despite a softening of official rhetoric in India and Pakistan. In the Middle East, confidence-building is held hostage to the impasse between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. CBMs have yet to take root in much of Africa.

This mixed picture can change abruptly for better or worse. The Stimson Center's CBM Project and the *CBM Handbook* are designed to help those who wish to accentuate the positive and guard against the negative. CBMs are, after all, ideal tools to help those who wish to seize opportunities for improved relations or to prevent backsliding.

As more practitioners and students began to take CBMs seriously, the inadequacies of our *CBM Handbook* became painfully apparent. Our first two editions were too Eurocentric, our bibliographies too limited. The third edition is larger, more comprehensive, and hopefully, more useful to those who wish to use CBMs within regions to ease security concerns, foster regional economic growth, and promote reconciliation. This edition of the *CBM Handbook* has been disaggregated along regional and functional lines and placed on the Stimson Center's website, where it will be updated periodically. Our website—www.stimson.org—is designed to be interactive. Feedback from readers on how the Stimson Center can become a better resource for the promotion of CBMs is always welcome. If, for example, our bibliographies are missing key citations, please let us know.

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So many individuals have guided our work that we cannot possibly mention all of their names here, and to mention some names and not others would be a disservice. Friends, colleagues and mentors: You know who you are! Thank you for your guidance and support.

Help on the production end, however, needs to be acknowledged. Our thanks go to Jane Dorsey for formatting and Sarah L.M.C. Lang for editing help.

This edition of the *CBM Handbook* is dedicated to all those toiling in barren soil, trying to coax CBMs out of unwilling ground. Your patience, equanimity, and dedication keeps us pushing forward.

Michael Krepon
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