

nation of peoples". Another statement in this section dealt with cooperation among states and there was a promise to fulfill obligations according to the norms of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. The second part of "Basket 1", the Confidence-Building-Measures document, is discussed later in this chapter.

2. Cooperation in the Fields of Economics, Science and Technology, and the Environment

This "Basket" addressed "efforts to develop co-operation in the fields of trade, industry, science and technology, the environment and other areas of economic activity." It detailed provisions for commercial exchanges, measures to encourage business contacts, the publication and dissemination of economic and commercial information, and the standardization of economic statistics, production standards and technical regulations. Also included in this basket were general undertakings to participate in industrial cooperation and "projects of common interest". Other provisions included statements of intention for improved cooperation in the area of scientific and technological research, improved cooperation in environmental protection and rational resource utilization as well as cooperation in the areas of transport, tourism and technical training.

3. Questions Relating to Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean

This section, included as a result of Maltese insistence, committed the CSCE states to consult with non-participating states bordering on the Mediterranean Ocean and to extend to those states the same treatment accorded participant states. It was, in brief, an attempt to extend the CSCE area to include the southern Mediterranean states.

4. Co-operation in Humanitarian and Other Fields

The last major category contained an extensive number of declarations calling for and promising improved human contacts (family meetings, family reunification, marriages between citizens of different states), improved information exchange, improved working conditions for journalists, more extensive cultural exchanges and improved educational exchanges.

Follow-up to the Conference

The participating States "declared their resolve" to "pay due regard to and implement the provisions of the Final Act of the Conference." They also promised "to continue the multilateral process initiated by the Conference" by discussing the implementation of the provisions amongst themselves and organizing meetings to discuss implementation and future conferences. Finally, they agreed to attend a follow-up meeting in Belgrade in 1977.

A detailed analysis of the entire CSCE Final Act is well beyond the scope of this study. The Final Act certainly turned out to be a more complex document than the Soviets expected and its negotiation took much longer than originally intended. Whether or not the East or the West "won" is still debated. It is probably not possible to tell at this point whether there really was a winner *per se* because processes unleashed at the time of the CSCE negotiations are still operating and many issues are still unresolved. The Final Act did not produce any genuine *de jure* recognition of immutable boundaries and it leaves open at least the possibility of German re-unification. This did not serve Soviet interests. The explicit inclusion of human rights clauses could be regarded as cynical but their presence provides a useful political and propaganda lever for the West and this, too, could be regarded as a gain for the West. Some analysts have argued that even the implication of recognition of East European boundaries was too easily traded for vague promises that the Soviets and other East European states will not hon-

