

the creation of a more effective European security system. By October of 1969, the Warsaw Treaty Organization had released a draft agenda for a European Security Conference. The NATO ministers responded to this flurry of activity in December 1969, indicating that some signs of good faith would need to precede any progress toward a European conference. There would need to be an agreement on Berlin, for instance. As well, the communique reiterated the importance of including mutual force reductions in such a conference.

In the several years following, the state of Soviet relations with West Germany (the Federal Republic of Germany) improved a great deal and this helped to accelerate the movement toward the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The clear emergence of Brandt's *Ostpolitik* foreign policy and the signing of West German Treaties of Friendship with the Soviet Union and Poland (August 1970) improved the atmosphere, as did the conclusion of the Four Power Berlin Agreement (September 1971). The conclusion of the Basic Treaty formalizing the recognition of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) by West Germany (November 1972) represented another positive movement from the Soviet perspective. In fact, it could be argued that these bilateral agreements achieved many of the Soviet Union's basic European foreign policy aims. During the same period, Soviet-American relations improved substantially also (highlighted by the negotiation of SALT I) and the Soviet Union looked increasingly to a European Security Conference to formalize the improvement in East-West relations as well as to legitimize Soviet hegemony in East Europe. With the "institutionalization" of detente, the Soviets hoped to increase the flow of Western technology to the Soviet Union, perhaps reduce the burden of Soviet defence spending somewhat, yet minimize the negative impact of Western ideas and influence in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union hoped for a relatively speedy conference that would achieve its political goals at little or no real cost.

The participation of the United States and other NATO states in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was directly conditioned upon Soviet agreement to participate in parallel negotiations on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions in Central Europe (see Chapter Four). Preliminary consultations and

negotiations for the CSCE began November 22, 1972. They took more than eight months to conclude and saw the Soviet Union make a number of concessions in order to expedite the proceedings. The Soviets had wanted a brief conference dealing with a narrow range of economic and political matters. They were obliged to accept a conference agenda that called for the consideration of a number of unwelcome issues, not the least of which was an expanded discussion of human rights and basic freedoms. The Conference itself opened July 3, 1973 in Helsinki, continued in Geneva from September 18, 1973 to July 21, 1975 and concluded August 1, 1975.⁹

The CSCE concluding document – the Final Act – contains four basic sections:

1. Questions Relating to Security in Europe.

This section contains a "Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States" and a "Document on Confidence-Building Measures and Certain Aspects of Security and Disarmament". The former outlined a number of understandings having to do with sovereign equality, sovereign rights, a promise to refrain from the threat or use of force, statements on the "inviolability of frontiers", the "territorial integrity of states", "peaceful settlement of disputes", and "non-intervention in internal affairs". Also included was a statement promising "respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief" and a statement reaffirming "equal rights and self-determi-



⁹ The participants were Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, the Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the USSR, the United Kingdom, the United States and Yugoslavia. Albania was the only European state not to participate.

