

ciated with Poland and, as a consequence, no real progress was feasible. As they had done a number of times before when the sessions encountered deadlocks, the neutral and non-aligned states made a serious effort to keep the conference going by constructing a compromise that would somehow bridge the differences between East and West. This time they revised their December 1981 draft concluding document, incorporating some of the Western human rights concerns and a more detailed proposal for the CDE. Although the Soviet Union indicated that it would accept the revised draft, the Western states continued to withhold their approval, demanding the inclusion of four human rights-related modifications. It was left to the Spanish delegation to engineer the final revisions to the draft document which it introduced on June 17, 1983. The Spanish compromise entailed the dropping of a negative reference to radio jamming in exchange for a special conference to discuss "human contacts" (particularly the reunification of families living in Eastern and Western countries). Both the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to the terms of the Spanish compromise and indicated that they would accept the draft version of the document.

The Madrid Concluding Document, a 35-page addendum to the Helsinki Final Act signed on September 6, 1983, contained numerous clarifications and new provisions. These dealt with journalists' rights, religious rights and the role of churches, human contacts and family reunification, access to diplomatic and consular missions, the right of workers to organize, measures against terrorism, and the right of independent groups to monitor compliance with the Final Act. The Concluding Document struck what most participants agreed was a modest balance between contending positions. Many of the human rights amendments sponsored by the West were deleted or watered down substantially. Sufficient substance remained, however, to satisfy the United States and the other Western states as well as the neutral and non-aligned states. Several of the amendments would operate as the "thin edge of the wedge" in future sessions, providing a starting point for future extensions, clarifications and elaborations. In addition, the promise of another Review Conference and a number of special follow-up meetings guaranteed that implementation performance would remain in

the public and diplomatic eye for some time. In all, eight special sessions were provided for in the Madrid document:

1. The Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament, which began on January 17, 1984, in Stockholm;
2. A six-week Experts' Meeting on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, held in Athens beginning on March 21, 1984;
3. A seminar on Mediterranean Cooperation in Venice, October 16-26, 1984;
4. An Experts' Meeting on Human Rights, scheduled for Ottawa, lasting six weeks and to begin May 7, 1985;
5. A special session in Helsinki in 1985 to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act;
6. A Cultural Forum, to be held in Budapest during 1985;
7. An Experts' Meeting on Human Contacts, to be held in Bern, lasting six weeks, and starting April 16, 1986;
8. The third CSCE Review Conference, to be held in Vienna and commencing November 4, 1986.

The provision for a separate and specific Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CCSBMDE) was the culmination of many years effort. Although there were originally somewhat divergent intentions and expectations on the part of the Soviet Union on the one hand and Western participants (particularly France and Germany) on the other, the conference now offers at least the prospect of a whole new series of CBMs – Confidence and Security Building Measures – that could enhance significantly the existing Helsinki CBMs.

The Madrid Final Document states that:

"The aim of the conference is to undertake, in stages, new, effective and concrete actions designed to make progress in strengthening confidence and security and in achieving disarmament.

Thus the conference will begin a process of which the first stage will be devoted to the negotiation and adoption of a set of

