

1980

Human Rights and the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

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Recommended Citation

Jacqueline P. Granier, Human Rights and the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 13 *Vanderbilt Law Review* 529 (2021)

Available at: <https://scholarship.law.vanderbilt.edu/vjtl/vol13/iss2/17>

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**HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE HELSINKI
CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION
IN EUROPE: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS**

*Jacqueline Paquin Granier**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE	529
	A. <i>Official Documents</i>	529
	B. <i>United States Congressional Hearings on the Conference</i>	539
II.	THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE	541
	A. <i>Presidential Reports Submitted to the Commission</i>	541
	B. <i>Commission Hearings</i>	543
	C. <i>Commission Staff Reports</i>	545
III.	THE BELGRADE REVIEW MEETING	551
	A. <i>Official Documents</i>	551
	B. <i>United States Assessment</i>	560
IV.	SELECTED UNITED STATES DOCUMENTS RELATING TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE	562
	A. <i>House Hearings and Prints</i>	562
	B. <i>Senate Hearings and Prints</i>	567
	C. <i>Annual Human Rights Reports Submitted to Congress</i>	570
I.	THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE	
	A. <i>Official Documents</i>	

FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HELSINKI CONSULTATIONS (BLUE

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Book). Helsinki, 1973. 27 p.

Preparatory talks for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe began in November 1972, in Helsinki, Finland. This final product of seven months of discussions, known as the BLUE BOOK, served as the procedural manual for the Conference when it officially opened in July 1973. It contains recommendations on various aspects of the Conference including organization, agenda, participation, rules of procedure and financial arrangements.

The organizational section provides that the Conference be divided into three working sessions designated Stages I, II, and III. Stage I was a ministerial level meeting designed to open the Conference and allow for the adoption of the BLUE BOOK. Stage II was the working session during which the committees and subcommittees of the Conference met in Geneva and drafted declarations, resolutions and other working documents. The verbatim records of Stage II discussions have not been published. Stage III was the August 1, 1975 summit conference at which the 35 participating States signed the Final Act.

The BLUE BOOK agenda appears to have been strictly adhered to in the subsequent proceedings. The Final Act of the Conference followed the agenda format with two notable exceptions, the Basket I section on "Questions Relating to Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean" and a subsection of Basket II dealing with "Trade and Industrial Cooperation."

The rules of procedure are of interest to those concerned with the technical aspects of the Conference. Questions concerning official languages, chairmanships, working bodies, and representation are considered and the production of official verbatim records for Stages I and III (though not Stage II) is agreed upon. The section devoted to financial arrangements divides expenses for the Conference among the participating States on a sliding scale with France, Italy, the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany bearing the largest burden.

STAGE I: HELSINKI JULY 3-7, 1973.

The records for the first stage of the CSCE are divided into three categories including open sessions, private sessions, and documents.

(a) OPEN SESSIONS: CSCE/I/PV.1-8

This volume contains the verbatim records of prepared speeches presented by the representatives of the participating States. The texts express appreciation for the hospitality of Finland and serve to open the Conference for the business to be conducted in Stage II. There is limited research value in this volume.

(b) PRIVATE SESSIONS: CSCE/I/CM/PV. 1-7

Despite their attractive designation as private sessions, these materials appear to have little intrinsic value. They consist largely of arguments on the rules of procedure. For example, much time is spent debating the introduction of a communique from the Ambassador of Israel to the Helsinki Conference. Perhaps the document's best feature is the feeling the reader gets for the participants' personalities.

(c) DOCUMENTS: CSCE/I/1-30

The documents volume contains proposals for the Stage II agenda. The principal items include humanitarian issues, security questions, industrial cooperation, information exchange, and the encouragement of business and tourism. By examining the proposals in detail, one can understand the goals and aspirations of certain Conference participants. Both France and the United Kingdom, for example, expressed interest in facilitating the exchange of books and publications, as well as cooperative television programs. Turkey, on the other hand, restricted its comments to matters dealing with security questions. The documents were submitted by 18 different countries, including the USSR, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy. Proposals from the United States are notably absent at this early stage of the proceedings.

STAGE II: GENEVA SEPTEMBER 18, 1973 - JULY 21, 1975

The files for the second stage of the CSCE are divided as follows:

Coordinating Committee

COORDINATING COMMITTEE: WORKING GROUP ON THE THIRD STAGE
Documents: CSCE/CC/WG/III/101 (9 April 1975) to
/105 (17 July 1975)

Journals: No.1 (9 April 1975) to N.21 (17 July 1975)

COORDINATING COMMITTEE: WORKING GROUP ON THE MEDITERRANEAN

Documents: CSCE/CC/WG/MED/1 (20 January 1975)
CSCE/CC/WG/MED/101 (30 September 1974) to
/112 (14 July 1975)

Journals: No.1 (1 July 1974) to No.47 (14 July 1975)

COORDINATING COMMITTEE: WORKING GROUP ON FINANCIAL QUESTIONS

Documents: See EX.SEC. file CSCE/II/EX.SEC./ . . .

Journals: No.1 (6 February 1974) to No.9 (11 July 1975)

COORDINATING COMMITTEE: WORKING GROUP ON ITEM IV

Documents: CSCE/CC/WG/IV/1 (28 March 1974) to
/3 (15 July 1975)
CSCE/CC/WG/IV/101 (16 October 1974) to
/108 (15 July 1975)

Decisions: CSCE/CC/WG/IV/DEC./1 (28 February 1974) to
/6 (14 July 1975)

Journals: No.1 (28 February 1974) to No.65 (14 July 1975)

COORDINATING COMMITTEE: JOURNAL CHRONOLOGY

Journals: No.1 (29 August 1973) to No.83 (21 July 1975)

COORDINATING COMMITTEE: DECISIONS SHEETS CHRONOLOGY

Decisions: CSCE/CC/DEC./1 (30 August 1973) to
/67 (21 July 1975)

COORDINATING COMMITTEE: INFORMATION CHRONOLOGY

Documents: CSCE/CC/INF./1 (29 August 1973) to
/2 (29 August 1973)
CSCE/II/INF./1 (11 September 1973) to
/432 (19 July 1975)

COORDINATING COMMITTEE: CHRONOLOGY

Documents: CSCE/CC/1 (29 August 1973) to
/63 (21 July 1975)
CSCE/CC/101 (16 July 1975) to
/104 (18 July 1975)

Executive Secretary

COORDINATING COMMITTEE/EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: CHRONOLOGY

Documents: CSCE/CC/EX.SEC./1 (10 September 1973) to
/2 (18 October 1973)

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: CHRONOLOGY

Documents: CSCE/II/EX.SEC./1 (16 October 1973) to
/19 (21 April 1975)

*Basket I***COMMITTEE I: QUESTIONS RELATING TO SECURITY IN EUROPE**

Documents: CSCE/II/C.1/1 (28 September 1973) to
/18 (9 May 1973)

CSCE/II/C.1/138 (23 June 1975)

Decisions: CSCE/II/C.1/DEC./1 (12 October 1973) to
/3 (29 January 1974)

Journals: No.1 (18 September 1973) to No.46 (20 July 1975)

A. SUBCOMMITTEE 1: PRINCIPLES

Documents: CSCE/II/A/2 (19 September 1973) to
/35 (8 April 1975)

CSCE/II/A/105 (14 February 1974) to
/140 (19 July 1975)

Decisions: CSCE/II/A/DEC./1 (20 September 1973) to
/4 (25 January 1974)

Journals: No.1 (19 September 1973) to No.337 (19 July 1975)

B. SPECIAL WORKING BODY: PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

Documents: CSCE/II/B/1 (18 September 1973) to
/5 (11 April 1975)

CSCE/II/B/101 (15 March 1974) to
/123 (18 July 1975)

Decisions: CSCE/II/B/DEC./1 (19 September 1973) to
/24 (20 September 1974)

Journals: No.1 (19 September 1973) to No.168 (18 July 1975)

C. SUBCOMMITTEE 2: CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES

Documents: CSCE/II/C/1 (19 September 1973) to
/17 (12 March 1974)

CSCE/II/C/101 (13 March 1974) to
/119 (15 March 1974)

Decisions: CSCE/II/C/DEC./1 (21 September 1973) to
/22 (23 September 1974)

Journals: No.1 (19 September 1973) to No.247 (20 July 1975)

*Basket II***COMMITTEE II: COOPERATION IN THE FIELDS OF ECONOMICS, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND OF THE ENVIRONMENT**

Documents: CSCE/II/C.2/1 (25 September 1973) to
/13 (26 February 1974)

CSCE/II/C.2/102 (19 March 1974) to
/107 (17 July 1975)

Decisions: CSCE/II/C.2/DEC./1 (18 September 1973) to
/12 (19 July 1975)

Journals: No.1 (18 September 1973) to No.85 (19 July 1975)

D. SUBCOMMITTEE 3: COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES

Documents: CSCE/II/D/1 (19 September 1973) to
/15 (6 March 1974)

CSCE/II/D/101 (1 February 1974) to
/168 (17 July 1975)

Decisions: CSCE/II/D/DEC./1 (1 October 1973) to
/5 (19 September 1974)

Journals: No.1 (19 September 1973) to No.170 (16 July 1975)

E. SUBCOMMITTEE 4: INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION AND PROJECTS OF COMMON INTEREST

Documents: CSCE/II/E/1 (19 September 1973) to
/18 (25 September 1974)

CSCE/II/E/101 (14 February 1974) to
/135 (6 March 1975)

Decisions: CSCE/II/E/DEC./1 (2 October 1973) to
/7 (15 July 1974)

Journals: No.1 (19 September 1973) to No.103 (26 March 1975)

F. SUBCOMMITTEE 5: SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Documents: CSCE/II/F/1 (20 September 1973) to
/9 (23 January 1974)

CSCE/II/F/102 (25 February 1974) to
/130 (16 June 1975)

Decisions: CSCE/II/F/DEC./1 (1 October 1973) to
/2 (16 January 1974)

Journals: No.1 (20 September 1973) to No.104 (27 June 1975)

G. SUBCOMMITTEE 6: ENVIRONMENT

Documents: CSCE/II/G/1 (22 October 1973) to
/16 (4 April 1974)

CSCE/II/G/102 (25 February 1974) to
/129 (27 June 1975)

Decisions: CSCE/II/G/DEC./1 (22 October 1973) to
/4 (24 May 1974)

Journals: No.1 (22 October 1973) to No.50 (27 June 1975)

H. SUBCOMMITTEE 7: COOPERATION IN OTHER AREAS

Documents: CSCE/II/H/1 (22 October 1973) to
/15 (14 March 1974)

CSCE/II/H/104 (19 February 1974) to
/139 (25 June 1975)

Decisions: CSCE/II/H/DEC./1 (22 October 1973) to
/2 (17 January 1974)

Journals: No.1 (22 October 1973) to No.99 (5 July 1979)

Basket III

COMMITTEE III: COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER FIELDS

Documents: CSCE/II/C.3/1 (11 October 1973) to
/4 (21 February 1974)

CSCE/II/C.3/102 (15 March 1974) to
/108 (15 July 1975)

Decisions: CSCE/II/C.3/DEC./1 (18 September 1973) to
/12 (11 September 1974)

Journals: No.1 (18 September 1973) to No.52 (15 July 1975)

I. SUBCOMMITTEE 8: HUMAN CONTACTS

Documents: CSCE/II/I/1 (19 September 1973) to
/23 (30 January 1974)

CSCE/II/I/104 (19 February 1974) to
/139 (1 July 1975)

Decisions: CSCE/II/I/DEC/1 (26 September 1973) to
/7 (18 November 1974)

Journals: No.1 (19 September 1973) to No.186 (2 July 1975)

J. SUBCOMMITTEE 9: INFORMATION

Documents: CSCE/II/J/1 (18 September 1973) to
/20 (23 January 1974)

CSCE/II/J/102 (11 February 1974) to
/149 (1 July 1975)

Decisions: CSCE/II/J/DEC./1 (27 September 1973) to
/9 (20 May 1974)

Journals: No.1 (19 September 1973) to No.185 (2 July 1975)

K. SUBCOMMITTEE 10: COOPERATION AND EXCHANGE IN THE FIELD OF CULTURE

Documents: CSCE/II/K/1 (19 September 1973) to
/18 (21 May 1974)

CSCE/II/K/101 (28 January 1974) to
/169 (4 July 1975)

Decisions: CSCE/II/K/DEC./1 (27 September 1973) to
/8 (21 May 1974)

Journals: No.1 (20 September 1973) to No.183 (4 July 1975)

L. SUBCOMMITTEE 11: COOPERATION AND EXCHANGES IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

Documents: CSCE/II/L/1 (19 September 1973) to
/19 (29 January 1974)

CSCE/II/L/103 (15 February 1974) to
/142 (4 July 1975)

Decisions: CSCE/II/L/DEC./1 (26 September 1973) to
/8 (10 June 1974)

Journals: No.1 (20 September 1973) to No.155 (4 July 1975)

The Department of State files for Stage II of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe contain materials of the Executive Secretary, the Coordinating Committee, and three main Committees whose work ultimately comprised the so-called "Baskets" I, II, and III. Within the "Main Committees" category, files are arranged by Subcommittees. The Coordinating Committee category seems to include special Subcommittees designated "Working Groups."

The first ten Stage II files contain the materials of the Executive Secretary and the Coordinating Committee. They are primarily concerned with administrative matters. The Coordinating Committee was established to coordinate the activities of the various Committees and Subcommittees, to recommend the organization of Stage III of the Helsinki Conference, and to propose a plan for CSCE follow-up meetings. The Executive-Secretary was responsible for registering and circulating the decisions of the Committees and Subcommittees and for carrying on the administrative directives of the Coordinating Committee.

The remaining 15 files contain the Journals, Decisions, and Documents & Statements of the three main Committees. The Committees correspond to what we now identify as Baskets I, II, and III. Committee I was concerned with questions of security in Europe. Committee II considered a broad spectrum of issues deal-

ing with science, the environment and economics. Committee III discussed humanitarian issues upon which Basket III of the Final Act was based.

Each Committee's files contain valuable drafts of the sections of the Final Act within its jurisdiction. They not only provide critical insight into the Stage II negotiations of the Conference, but are also a rare illustration of the mosaic nature of most international agreements. They are particularly valuable because the discussion of the Geneva working sessions were not transcribed.

The outline of the Department of State files provided above describes the framework, but does not evaluate the contents of the various categories and subcategories. Within the categories materials appear to be of three main types: Journals, Decisions, and Documents & Statements.

Journals are one-page daily listings of the date and chairperson of each Committee, Subcommittee or Working Group, the topics discussed, the documents and statements submitted by delegations, and the decisions and measures adopted. In most cases, they have been filed separately and not intermixed with the Decisions and Documents & Statements. The Journals only highlight the work of each meeting; they do not suggest the nature of the discussions which took place.

The Decisions are agreements on functional matters such as the topics and schedules for future meetings. They are generally brief and of limited research value. The Decisions, interfiled chronologically with the Documents & Statements, are fairly easy to identify by the abbreviation "Dec." in their classification stems, for example (CSCE/II/K/DEC./1). For the purposes of clarity, they have been listed separately above.

The Documents & Statements files contain proposals and revisions concerning the content, format, and wording of the Final Act. They also include statements and working papers on specific issues studied by the individual Committees or Subcommittees. Frequent reference is made to the agenda contained in the FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HELSINKI CONSULTATIONS, or BLUE BOOK (see above.) The material in these files is valuable for the researcher because it includes the rough drafts which reveal the development of the Conference's concluding document.

Problems arise when attempting to use the Stage II files. The following descriptions are included in an effort to save the researcher both time and energy.

1. The most outstanding feature of the Stage II documenta-

tion is that most of the files do not contain sequential classification numbers. Significant gaps may appear for several reasons, the most evident being that numbers were probably not assigned in all cases. While compiling the above outline, an attempt was made to identify the most serious gaps. These occurred with regularity in the Documents & Statements classification numbers. It appears that initial proposals were assigned numbers beginning with "1", while documents which discussed or amended the proposals were assigned numbers from "101" forward. There is no clear cut date on which the numbering jumped to the hundreds; however, by examining the Journals which list the Documents & Statements submitted each day, one can see that most numbering changes occurred in February or March 1974. It is perhaps at this time that the delegates agreed to begin consolidating the proposals already registered. This explanation is supported by a decrease in the low-numbered proposals and a significant increase in the high-numbered Statements & Documents.

2. Occasionally one or two items are omitted in an otherwise complete sequence of classification numbers. In other cases, a document from one Subcommittee will appear in a different Subcommittee file. The Journals are useful in determining whether a seemingly missing document ever existed, or whether it was subject to examination by more than one Subcommittee. No attempt was made by this author to list all minor, yet nonetheless troubling gaps. They do not appear with regularity, nor do they reveal the Conference's organizational scheme. The unexplained gaps may be due to loss, misfiling, or simple expediency. The point to be noted by the researcher is that gaps do exist.

3. These files appear to be complete, with the few exceptions just described. It is incorrect to assume, however, that examination of the documents will answer all questions concerning the evolution of the Final Act. Much of Stage II included discussions which were not recorded. These files are, therefore, the most important written sources identified by this author for the researcher interested in the Geneva working sessions of the CSCE.

STAGE III: HELSINKI JULY 30 - AUGUST 1, 1975. CSCE/III/PV.1-7

Verbatim records were kept of the final stage of the Conference held in Helsinki from July 30 to August 1, 1975. During this period United Nations Secretary General Waldheim and the heads of the 35 participating States delivered speeches summarizing the work accomplished, the hopes engendered, and the goals agreed

upon. Each statesman highlighted the concerns most relevant to his own country. For example, President Gerald Ford emphasized the United States interest in human rights and detente while Chairman Brezhnev discussed political issues brought about by the Second World War. Brezhnev reasserted the doctrine of non-intervention into the internal affairs of nations and avoided references to human rights. Many of the speakers indicated that the value of the CSCE lies not in the particular working of the Final Act, but rather in development of the principles it embodies.

B. *United States Congressional Hearings on the Conference*

CONFERENCE ON EUROPEAN SECURITY. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Hearings. 92nd Congress, 2nd Session. April 25; May 10; August 10, 17; September 7, 27, 1972. 195 p. (Y4.F76/1:Eu7/16)

Hearings to examine the reasons for a conference on European security were held by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs in April, May, August and September of 1972. The United States role at such a meeting and the attitudes of both East and West were considered. The material is extremely important as it reveals a lack of motivation for United States participation in the Conference. Unlike the benefits for the Soviet Union, which are discussed at great length, the advantages for the United States seem vague and inadequate. The document presents a list of authoritative witnesses from the United States Departments of Defense and State, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the International Economic Policy Association. The fifty-page appendix is extremely valuable. It contains NATO, Warsaw Pact and other official documents from 1948 forward which allude to the Soviet-proposed security conference. The document, indexed by topic, country and speaker, is a useful reference tool.

CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. House. Committee on International Relations. Subcommittee on International Political and Military Affairs. Hearing. 94th Congress, 1st Session. May 6, 1975. 52 p. (Y4.In8/16:Eu7)

A congressional hearing took place before the House Subcommittee on International Political and Military Affairs on May 6, 1975. The Hon. Arthur Hartman, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, and Harold Russell, Assistant Legal Adviser for European Affairs, were the witnesses. At the time of the hearing,

the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was in Stage II of its negotiations in Geneva.

The testimony primarily concerned recognition of the Soviet Union's annexation of the Baltic States, human rights, and the distinction between the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction talks in Vienna. The discussion again highlights the almost reluctant attitude with which the United States entered the Conference with some suggestion that it had taken on more importance than originally anticipated. The hearing, although rather limited in depth, is essential for understanding the developing role of the United States in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

A 27-page appendix contains letters from groups alarmed that the United States might recognize Soviet incorporation of the Baltic States, newspaper articles, and the transcript of a radio broadcast. The appendix material is politically motivated and of questionable value to the researcher.

CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. PART II. House. Committee on International Relations. Subcommittee on International Political and Military Affairs. Hearings. 94th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions. November 18, 1975 and May 4, 1976. 191 p. (Y4.In8/16:Eu7/pt.2)

These hearings took place before the House Subcommittee on International Political and Military Affairs on November 18, 1975 and May 4, 1976. H.R. 864, which reaffirmed the United States position on nonrecognition of the Baltic annexation, was approved by the Subcommittee during the November hearing. The text of the resolution, which passed the entire House of Representatives on December 2, 1975, is reproduced.

The May hearings discussed H.R. 9466 and identical bill H.R. 10193 which called for the establishment of an independent commission to monitor compliance with the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Members of Congress and the general public spoke in favor of the House bills; the Administration representatives' views were less supportive. The Department of State advised against the bill, and both the Departments of Commerce and Defense deferred to its judgment. The hearings contain many statements, letters and resolutions concerning human rights violations in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The text of H.R.9466 appears in material submitted for the record.

The appendix reproduces the Final Act and the text of S. 2679, a bill which eventually passed both the House and Senate in an amended form and became Public Law 94-304 on June 3, 1976. The United States Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe was established pursuant to its provisions.

II. UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

The United States Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe was established by Congress in June 1976, less than one year after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. It is an independent agency composed of six senators, six representatives, and three executive branch officials from the Departments of State, Defense, and Commerce. Some of its publications are printed by the Government Printing Office and issued for distribution through the depository and sales channels. Other documents are compiled and printed by the Commission and are available only through its office. The Commission issues and regularly updates a publications list that includes both Government Printing Office and Commission-produced documents relating to the Helsinki Final Act.

A. *Presidential Reports Submitted to the Commission*

FIRST SEMIANNUAL REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. House. Committee on International Relations. Committee Print. 94th Congress, 2nd Session. December 1976. 62 p. (Y4.In8/16:Eu7/5/976)

SECOND SEMIANNUAL REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. House. Committee on International Relations. Print. 95th Congress, 1st Session. June 1977. 45 p. (Y4.In8/16:Eu7/5/977).

See also: SECOND SEMIANNUAL REPORT TO THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, DECEMBER 1, 1976-JUNE 1, 1977. Department of State. Bureau of Public Affairs. Office of Media Services. Special Report No. 34. June 1977. 31 p. (S1.129:34)

THIRD SEMIANNUAL REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Print. 95th Congress, 1st Session. De-

ember 1977. 34 p. (Y4.F76/2:Se2/10).

See also THIRD SEMIANNUAL REPORT TO THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. JUNE 1-DECEMBER 1, 1977. Department of State. Bureau of Public Affairs. Office of Media Services. Special Report No. 39. December 1977. 22 p. (S1.129:39)

FOURTH SEMIANNUAL REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. DECEMBER 1, 1977-JUNE 1, 1978. Department of State. Bureau of Public Affairs. Office of Public Communication. Special Report No. 45. June 1978. 30 p. (S1.129:45)

FIFTH SEMIANNUAL REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT JUNE 1-DECEMBER 1, 1978. Department of State. Bureau of Public Affairs. Office of Public Communication. Special Report No. 51. December 1978. 22 p. (S1.129:51)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORD: SIXTH SEMIANNUAL REPORT, DECEMBER 1, 1978-MAY 31, 1979. Department of State. Bureau of Public Affairs. Office of Public Communications. Special Report No. 54. July 1979. 22 p. (S1.129:54)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORD: SEVENTH SEMIANNUAL REPORT, JUNE 1-NOVEMBER 30, 1979. Department of State. Bureau of Public Affairs. Office of Public Communications. Special Report No. 62. January 1980. 20 p. (S1.129:62)

Section 5 of P.L. 94-304, the act which created the Commission, stipulates that the President of the United States must submit a semiannual report to the agency. The purpose of the reports, which are prepared by the Department of State, is to present an overview of implementation of the Final Act.

Following the arrangement of the Final Act itself, each document is divided into three broad categories: Basket I-Questions Relating to Security in Europe; Basket II-Cooperation in the Fields of Economics, of Science and Technology; and Basket III - Cooperation in Humanitarian and Other Fields. Subtitles also correspond to sections of the Final Act. The result is a highly efficient, concise, and very complete resource. The material is factual, objective, and valuable to the researcher. The reports high-

light examples of economic and cultural cooperation between CSCE participating states. They also focus upon areas in which signatories have failed to meet the expectations and goals of the Final Act.

The reports have been issued semiannually since December 1976. They are confusing bibliographically because they have appeared as both Congressional Committee Prints and as Department of State Special Reports. Each six month report reviews activity from either December 1st to May 31st, or from June 1st to November 30th.

B. *Commission Hearings*

BASKET II-HELSINKI FINAL ACT: EAST-WEST ECONOMIC COOPERATION. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Hearings. 95th Congress, 1st Session. January 13 and 14, 1977. 143 p. (Y4.Se2:B29)

The first Commission hearings took place on January 13 and 14, 1977. The Commission examined implementation of Basket II and considered possible issues for the forthcoming follow-up meeting in Belgrade. Testimony was received from representatives of the Congressional Research Service, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Romanian-United States Economic Council, the United States-USSR Trade Council, and the Departments of State, Commerce, and the Treasury.

The witnesses criticized the provisions of the Trade Act of 1974 which impeded trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Concern was also expressed over the Export-Import Bank Act of 1975 which limited government-sponsored credit to the USSR and certain other East European nations and thereby handicapped United States firms wishing to sell to the Soviet bloc. At the request of Commission Chairman Fascell, the witnesses discussed human rights as a factor in economic relations among CSCE participating States.

BASKET III: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORD. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Hearings. 95th Congress. + (Y4.Se2:B29/2/V.1-11)

Volume I: Human Rights, February 23 and 24, 1977.
Human Contacts: Family Reunification and Binational Marriages, Mar. 15 and 17, 1977. 233 p.

Volume II: Religious Liberty and Minority Rights in the So-

- viet Union, April 27 and 28, 1977.
Helsinki Compliance in Eastern Europe, May 9, 1977. 439 p.
- Volume III: Information Flow, and Cultural and Education Exchanges, May 19, 24, and 25, 1977. 193 p.
- Volume IV: Soviet Helsinki Watch Reports on Repression, June 3, 1977.
U.S. Policy and the Belgrade Conference, June 6, 1977. 104 p.
- Volume V: The Rights to Citizenship in the Soviet Union, May 4, 1978. 32 p.
- Volume VI: Soviet Law and the Helsinki Monitors, June 6, 1978. 156 p.
- Volume VII: Repercussions of the Trials of the Helsinki Monitors in the USSR, July 11, 1978. 112 p.
- Volume VIII: U.S. Compliance: Human Rights, April 3 and 4, 1979. 498 p.
- Volume IX: U.S. Visa Policies, April 5, 1979. 179 p.
- Volume X: Aleksandr Ginzburg on the Human Rights Situation in the USSR, May 11, 1979. 21 p.
- Volume XI: Pastor Georgi Vins on the Persecution of Reformed Baptists in the USSR, June 7, 1979.
On Human Rights Violations in Ukraine, June 19, 1979. 150 p.

In February 1977, the Commission held the first in a series of hearings concerning implementation of Basket III of the Helsinki Accord. These hearings provide critical information for the researcher examining the Act's humanitarian goals.

Volumes I through VII, X and XI deal with human rights violations in the USSR and Eastern Europe. They include not only the testimonies of many prominent Soviet dissidents but also valuable supplementary material submitted for the record. Much of the supplementary material details specific human rights violations. The testimonies cover topics such as unjust imprisonment, the use psychiatric punishment, denial of exit visas, forced separation of families, and difficulties encountered by binational marriages.

Volumes VII and IX deal with United States compliance. In April 1978, panels from both the Washington, D.C. and New York-based United States Helsinki Watch groups testified before the Commission. The Indian Law Resource Center, the NAACP, the United Farm Workers of America, the National Organization

for Women, and several other domestic civil rights organizations were represented. On a separate day of the hearings, the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service presented an overview of United States visa policies to the Commissioners. Both documents contain full texts of material submitted for the record as well as transcripts of actual testimonies.

THE HELSINKI FORUM AND EAST-WEST SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGE. House. Committee on Science and Technology. Subcommittee on Science, Research and Technology; and House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on International Security and Scientific Affairs; and Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Joint Hearing. 96th Congress, 2nd Session. January 31, 1980. 323 p. (Y4.Sci2:96/89)

Joint Congressional-Commission hearings were held in January 1980 to consider the Scientific Forum of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The discussion centered on the reaction of the American scientific community to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the imprisonment of prominent Soviet scientists, and the forced internal exile of Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Elena Bonner. Many of the witnesses and members of Congress debated whether or not United States scientists should participate in the Scientific Forum. Witnesses from the Department of State and from several American universities and scientific organizations made personal recommendations.

Material submitted for the record included numerous letters of protest addressed to the USSR Academy of Science, an account of Irina Orlov's meeting with her imprisoned husband, scientist Dr. Yuri Orlov, and the proposed agenda for the Scientific Forum.

The two-week Forum convened as scheduled on February 18, 1980 in Hamburg, West Germany. Scientists from the United States did attend. A Final Report and several statements from the Forum appear as an appendix to the document.

C. *Commission Staff Reports*

REPORT OF THE STUDY MISSION TO EUROPE TO THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. House. Committee on International Relations. Print. 95th Congress, 1st Session. February 11, 1977. 72 p. (Y4.In8/16:Eu7/4)

This report, based on a November 1976 study mission to Western Europe by Commission staff members, details meetings with

public officials and private individuals and organizations. A summary of findings and a list of fifteen recommendations concerning Helsinki-related issues are contained in the report. Among the recommendations were the establishment of executive branch mechanisms to monitor United States compliance with the Final Act, and increased funding for exchange programs with Eastern Europe.

The document has limited research value, with the exception of a 48-page appendix on the "Background Analysis of the Final Act." The appendix discusses each Basket under four subheadings: basic goals, key language, interpretation, and implementation.

REPORTS OF HELSINKI MONITORS IN THE SOVIET UNION: DOCUMENTS OF THE PUBLIC GROUPS TO PROMOTE OBSERVANCE OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS IN THE USSR. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington, D.C.

Volume I: February 24, 1977. 123 p.

Volume II: June 3, 1977. 80 p.

Volume III: November 7, 1978. 183 p.

On May 12, 1976, eleven individuals joined together in Moscow to form the first Public Group to Promote the Observance of the Helsinki Final Act in the USSR. In early November 1976, a second Public Group was established in the Ukraine and a few weeks later, a third group was organized in Lithuania. All three were composed of people with varied religious and professional backgrounds. Since 1976, other monitoring groups have emerged in the Soviet Union, including the Armenian Helsinki Watch, the Working Group on Culture, the Christian Committee for the Rights of Believers, and the Working Commission on the Uses of Psychiatry for Political Purposes. All of these associations are dedicated to the observance of the humanitarian provisions of the Final Act and all have been persecuted in some way for their activities.

The Commission has produced an important series of publications entitled *Reports of Helsinki Accord Monitors in the Soviet Union*. Currently in its third volume, it is a compilation of the more important documents of the Helsinki monitoring groups described above. The documents are translated into English and edited under the supervision of the Commission.

The material is selective, but highly representative of the work

carried out by the Helsinki monitors. It emphasizes the fact that despite severe limitations, the monitors remain active; memberships in groups are increasing and their publications are proliferating. The documents record the history, development, and incredible endurance of the groups. More importantly, they bring the grievances of Soviet citizens to the attention of the world community. They are valuable for their factual information and for the insights they provide into post-Helsinki conditions in the USSR.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS TWO YEARS AFTER HELSINKI. House. Committee on International Relations. Print. 95th Congress, 1st Session. September 23, 1977. 194 p. (Y4.In8/16:Eu7/7)

See also: Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington, D.C. Supplement. August 1, 1977. 154 p. REVISED SUPPLEMENT. October 25, 1977. 168 p.

Published exactly two years after the signing of the Final Act, this Commission study selectively analyzes implementation by the seven Warsaw Pact nations. The report is limited to Baskets II and III. In contrast to the Presidential Semiannual Reports described above (*see* Section II Part A *supra*), not all provisions of the Final Act are examined. The Commission's mandate requires that it devote particular attention to the provisions of Basket III.

The Commission utilizes much of the information accumulated in its 1977 hearings (*see* Section II Part B *supra*), its surveys of Soviet Jewish emigres (*see* below), and other correspondence and interviews in this report. Its style is more evaluative than factual. The first supplement provides the names of 1,428 Soviet and other East European citizens allegedly denied exit visas. The second supplement adds approximately 75 names. Commission case records created in response to requests for help from relatives, Congressmen, friends, private organizations, and the individuals themselves were used in compiling these lists. The material is arranged by country of origin and type of visa requested.

THE BELGRADE CSCE MEETING: REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND CONSIDERATION OF NEW PROPOSALS PRELIMINARY REPORT, UNITED STATES DELEGATION STATEMENTS OCT. 6 TO DEC. 22, 1977. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington D.C.

1978. 136 p. (See Section III Part A *infra*)

THE RIGHT TO KNOW, THE RIGHT TO ACT: DOCUMENTS OF HELSINKI DISSENT FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington, D.C. May 1978. 127 p.

This publication reproduces selected documents from dissident groups in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary, and the USSR. The Commission, which compiled and edited the materials, acknowledged the cooperation of many organizations and individuals in producing the report. Information about these organizations and individuals, provided in a section entitled "Guide to Sources," should give helpful leads to researchers.

Four introductory essays discuss Helsinki-related dissent in the USSR, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia. The documents themselves, however, are the poignant testaments of the Movement. The authors highlighted frequent denials of religious, linguistic, political and personal liberties in Eastern Europe and the USSR. For other documents from the Soviet Union monitors, see REPORTS OF THE HELSINKI-ACCORD MONITORS IN THE SOVIET UNION described above.

ON LEAVING THE SOVIET UNION: TWO SURVEYS COMPARED, A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PATTERNS AND PROCEDURES IN SOVIET EMIGRATION. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington, D.C. May 1, 1978. 15 p.

This brief document on emigration from the Soviet Union compares the findings of a 1977 Commission survey with a 1978 follow-up. It concludes that while a growing number of Jews were allowed to leave the Soviet Union since the Final Act was signed, the expense, complexity and arbitrariness of the application procedure seriously continues to impede emigration. The document contains a description of the Commission staff's methodology, a copy of the survey, and statistical results.

THE BELGRADE FOLLOWUP MEETING TO THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE: A REPORT AND APPRAISAL. House. Committee on International Relations. Print. 95th Congress, 2nd Session. May 17, 1978. 105 p. (Y4.In8/16:Eu7/9) (See Section III Part B *infra*)

SOVIET LAW AND THE HELSINKI MONITORS. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Wash., D.C. June 6, 1978. 50 p.

Aware of the growing number of Soviet citizens arrested and imprisoned for their activities in the field of human rights, the Commission examined Soviet law in twenty cases involving persecution of human rights activists. This document cites specific guarantees in the Soviet Constitution, the Fundamentals of Criminal Law and Procedure, and the criminal codes of the various Republics. Several international instruments ratified by the USSR, such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights are also mentioned. The material begins with the initiation of criminal investigations and concludes with punishment of convicted offenders.

This document was published as a companion volume to the original edition of **PROFILES: THE HELSINKI MONITORS** (see below). With the exception of the appendix, which contains Moscow Watch Group Document Number 49 dealing with the trial of Yuri Orlov, the entire text is appended to Volume V of the Commission hearings on Basket III (see Section II Part B *supra*).

ACTIVITIES REPORT 95TH CONGRESS. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington, D.C. October 11, 1978. 34 p.

In describing its activities during the 95th Congress, the Commission provides an excellent overview of its function and relation to the Congress of the United States. This pamphlet describes public hearings, research projects, reports, and other Helsinki-related publications and emphasizes that the Commission serves an important role in coordinating governmental and nongovernmental interests in international human rights. Although not particularly well suited to research, this publication is a useful reference tool.

ON THE RIGHT TO EMIGRATE FOR RELIGIOUS REASONS: THE CASE OF 10,000 SOVIET EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington, D.C. May, 1979. 29 p. and 167 p. annex.

This comprehensive collection of English materials contains valuable information on Soviet legislation concerning religion in general, current difficulties of Christian believers, emigration of Soviet Christians, and the history of the Soviet Pentecostal Church. Appendices include three Moscow Helsinki Group re-

ports and a list of 10,000 Soviet citizens seeking to emigrate from the Soviet Union for religious reasons. Moscow Group Document Number 11 "On the Right to Emigrate for Religious Reasons," examines the trials of Yuri Orlov and Alexandr Ginzburg.

FULFILLING OUR PROMISES: THE UNITED STATES AND THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington, D.C. November 1979. 382 p.

The United States is the first CSCE participant to produce a detailed self-evaluation of its commitment to the human rights principles expressed in the Helsinki Final Act. The report treats in great detail many human rights problems in the United States. It takes into account criticisms directed at the United States by other signatory States during the Belgrade review meeting and the discontent voiced by domestic groups concerned with human rights.

Although the Commission concludes that the United States record fares well on the international level, it recognizes the need to continue advancement of human rights in this country. The report touches on each of the major sections of the Helsinki Final Act including security in Europe, economic and scientific cooperation, and cooperation in humanitarian and other fields. A lengthy chapter is devoted to human rights issues encompassed by Principle VII, including women's rights, religious liberty, American Indians, political prisoners, and employment in the United States. Although the Commission sought to present an unbiased and self-critical view of the United States implementation record, whether it will be accepted as such is yet to be seen.

PROFILES: THE HELSINKI MONITORS. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington, D.C. Revised December 10, 1979. No pagination.

With the assistance of human rights groups such as Amnesty International, the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, Khronika Press, the Ukrainian National Information Service, and others, the staff of the Commission compiled a biographical directory of the major human rights activists in the Soviet Union. The individuals featured are members of various Soviet Helsinki monitoring groups in Moscow, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, and Armenia. The directory also includes information about leading members of the Initiative Group for the

Defense of the Rights of Invalids in the USSR, the Group for the Legal Struggle and Investigation of Facts About the Persecution of Believers in the USSR of the Seventh-Day Adventists, the Catholic Committee to Defend the Rights of Believers in the USSR, the Christian Committee to Defend the Rights of Believers, and the Working Commission on the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes.

Although they vary in depth, most of the biographical entries are concise and complete including photographs and addresses. This publication is an excellent reference for information about individual Soviet "Helsinki Monitors" and prominent members of related human rights groups.

FACT SHEET UPDATE ON THE SOVIET HELSINKI MOVEMENT. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Washington, D.C. Revised December 10, 1979. 14 p.

Useful as a quick reference tool, this document updates the status of the major Soviet human rights groups. It provides the date and place established, group leader, founding members, new members, and documents, and also cites examples of repression, arrest and imprisonment. Included within are the Moscow, Ukrainian, Georgian, Lithuanian, and Armenian Groups to Promote Observance of the Helsinki Accords, as well as other dissent groups listed in **PROFILES: THE HELSINKI MONITORS** (see preceding entry).

III. THE BELGRADE REVIEW MEETING

A. *Official Documents*

DECISIONS OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING TO ORGANIZE THE BELGRADE MEETING 1977 (YELLOW BOOK). Belgrade, 1977. 4 p. and annex.

The United States delegation to the preparatory meeting for the Belgrade Follow-up was headed by Ambassador Albert W. Sherer. The organizational meeting, which lasted from June 15 to August 5, 1977, established the dates, agenda, and procedures for review of signatories compliance with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This proved to be a major accomplishment because of differing Eastern and Western conceptions of the nature of the follow-up provisions of the Final Act. The Soviet bloc countries favored a short meeting with limited discus-

sion emphasizing future rather than past commitments. The United States and other Western nations favored a complete review of Final Act implementation.

The final decisions of the six-week preparatory meetings were published in what has come to be known as the *YELLOW BOOK*. It describes the agenda for the Belgrade meeting in great detail and provides for discussion of implementation of the Final Act, development of the detente process, creation of guidelines for other follow-up meetings, and drafting of a concluding document.

BELGRADE MEETING 1977. VERBATIM RECORDS OF OPENING STATEMENTS, OCTOBER, 4-10, 1977. Belgrade, 1977. CSCE/BM/VR.1-9

The opening speeches to the Belgrade Meeting, unlike those delivered at Helsinki, are more than expressions of appreciation of the host government's hospitality (*see* Section I Part A *supra*). Here the delegates articulated the goals as they existed at the time the review convened. All 35 signatory nations were represented during this week-long session. Specific references to the Final Act are made in efforts not only to review the past, but also to inspire future cooperation.

United States Delegation Chairman Arthur Goldberg addressed a broad spectrum of CSCE issues. He specifically denied allegations that the United States intended to seek a confrontation with the USSR. The Soviet representative, Mr. Vorontsov, reviewed the USSR's record of compliance with the Final Act, touching upon human rights, trade, education, disarmament, and other issues.

THE BELGRADE CSCE MEETING: REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND CONSIDERATION OF NEW PROPOSALS PRELIMINARY REPORT, UNITED STATES DELEGATION STATEMENTS OCTOBER 6 TO DECEMBER 22, 1977. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Washington, D.C. 1978. 136 p.

Apart from the introductory and concluding speeches, the Belgrade sessions were closed to the public and not transcribed. Fortunately for the researcher interested in the United States role at the first CSCE review meeting, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe produced selective compilation of the United States delegation's statements. This important document is arranged topically according to the Baskets of the Final Act and then chronologically. Separate sections include press releases,

plenary statements, and selected pre-Belgrade materials.

The valuable feature of the compilation is that it allows one to evaluate the mood of the United States delegation and identify the members' personal views on many of the proposals.

LIST OF NEW PROPOSALS AND REVISIONS

The following list of proposals, organized by the Department of State on January 4, 1978, according to Basket and bloc sponsorship, illustrates the broad concerns of all the delegates. (This list of proposals was originally appended to the article by Harold Russell appearing within this issue-ed.)

Basket I-Declaration On Principles

Allied Proposals:

- PROPOSAL ON RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS CSCE/BM/14
Sponsors: EC-9, US, Canada, Iceland, Norway, and Portugal (4 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON IMPLEMENTING PRINCIPLE VII CSCE/BM/60
Sponsor: US, EC-9, Canada, Greece, Iceland, Norway, Portugal, and Turkey (2 Dec. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON TERRORISM CSCE/BM/67
Sponsors: EC-9, US, Canada, Iceland, Norway, Greece, Portugal, Turkey, and three neutrals (14 Dec. 1977)

Eastern Proposals:

- PROPOSAL ON PROTECTION FOR FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES CSCE/BM/9
Sponsor: USSR (28 Oct. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON ENDING RESTRICTION ON NUMBER OF PEOPLE ASSIGNED TO MISSIONS CSCE/BM/___
(Not yet tabled)
Sponsor: USSR
- PROPOSAL ON BILATERAL POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS CSCE/BM/40
Sponsors: Czechoslovakia and GDR (11 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON PREVENTING ACTIVITIES OF CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS CSCE/BM/54
Sponsor: GDR (11 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL ACT CSCE/BM/55
Sponsor: GDR (11 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON RIGHT TO WORK CSCE/BM/62
Sponsor: Hungary (2 Dec. 1977)

- PROPOSAL ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS CSCE/BM/63
Sponsor: Bulgaria and GDR (2 Dec. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON ACCEDING TO INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS
ON HUMAN RIGHTS CSCE/BM/64
Sponsors: Bulgaria and GDR (2 Dec. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON INCLUDING BASKET I PRINCIPLES IN NATIONAL LAWS
CSCE/BM/S/2
Sponsors: Soviet Union and Poland (17 Nov. 1977)

Neutral/Nonaligned Proposals:

- PROPOSAL ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES CSCE/BM/21
Sponsor: Switzerland (4 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM CSCE/BM/S/3
Sponsor: Vatican (12 Dec. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON NATIONAL MINORITIES CSCE/BM/47
Sponsor: Yugoslavia (8 Nov. 1977)

*Basket I-Confidence Building Measures**Allied Proposal:*

- PROPOSAL ON CBMS CSCE/BM/11
 Sponsors: Canada, Great Britain, Netherlands,
 and Norway (2 Nov. 1977)

Eastern Proposals:

- "ACTION PROGRAM" FOR MILITARY DETENTE CSCE/BM/5
 Sponsor: USSR (24 Oct. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON CERTAIN MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY CSCE/BM/S/1
 Sponsor: Romania (24 Oct. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON MILITARY SECURITY CSCE/BM/45
 Sponsor: Bulgaria (11 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON SSOD AND WDC CSCE/BM/46
 Sponsor: Bulgaria (11 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL TO FREEZE MILITARY BUDGETS CSCE/BM/56
 Sponsor: Romania (11 Nov. 1977)

Neutral/Nonaligned Proposals:

- PROPOSAL ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES CSCE/BM/6
 Sponsors: Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Liechtenstein,
 Sweden, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia (25 Oct. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON DISARMAMENT CSCE/BM/18
 Sponsors: Austria, Cyprus, Finland, Liechtenstein,
 Malta, San Marino, Sweden, Switzerland, and
 Yugoslavia (4 Nov. 1977)

*Basket II-Cooperation In Fields Of Economics, Of Science
 And Technology And Of The Environment**Allied Proposals:*

- PROPOSAL ON CONTACTS AMONG SCIENTISTS CSCE/BM/23
 Sponsors: EC-9 and US (4 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL INFORMATION CSCE/BM/24
 Sponsors: EC-9 (7 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON PROJECT TIME-TABLES CSCE/BM/25
 Sponsors: EC-9 and US (7 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON FACILITIES FOR PERSONNEL INVOLVED IN COOPERATION
 PROJECTS CSCE/BM/26

- Sponsors: EC-9 (7 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED FIRMS CSCE/BM/27
 Sponsors: EC-9, Iceland, Norway, and US (4 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON COMMUNICATION FACILITIES FOR BUSINESSMEN
 CSCE/BM/29
 Sponsors: EC-9 (4 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON TRANSBOUNDARY AIR POLLUTION CSCE/BM/31
 Sponsor: Norway (7 Nov. 1977)

Eastern Proposals:

- PROPOSAL ON CREATION OF EUROPEAN CENTRE FOR INDUSTRIAL
 COOPERATION CSCE/BM/E/4
 Sponsor: Romania (31 Oct. 1977)
 UMBRELLA BASKET II PROPOSAL CSCE/BM/E/5
 Sponsor: Poland (2 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION CSCE/BM/E/7
 Sponsor: Romania (3 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON LIBERALIZING TRADE CSCE/BM/E/9
 Sponsor: Czechoslovakia (7 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON TRADE OF MEDICAL SUPPLIES CSCE/BM/E/12
 Sponsors: GDR and Hungary (7 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON COOPERATION IN ENVIRONMENT,
 ENERGY AND TRANSPORT CSCE/BM/7
 Sponsor: USSR (26 Oct. 1977 and 13 Dec. 1977)
 and CSCE/BM/7/Rev.1
 PROPOSAL ON DISSEMINATION OF ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL
 INFORMATION CSCE/CM/42
 Sponsor: Bulgaria (11 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON EXPERTS MEETING ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
 CSCE/BM/57
 Sponsor: Romania (11 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE CSCE/BM/58
 Sponsor: Romania (11 Nov. 1977)

Other Proposals:

- PROPOSAL ON BUSINESS CONTACTS AND ECONOMIC AND CSCE/BM/2
 COMMERCIAL INFORMATION (See also CSCE/BM/E/3)
 Sponsor: Austria (12 Oct. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON COOPERATION IN ENERGY SECTOR CSCE/BM/E/1
 Sponsor: Austria (25 Oct. 1977 and 13 Dec. 1977) and CSCE/
 BM/E/1/Rev.1

- (See also CSCE/BM/3)
 PROPOSAL ON INLAND WATERWAY PLAN CSCE/BM/4
 Sponsor: Austria (12 Oct. 1977) (See also CSCE/BM/E/2)
 PROPOSAL ON INCLUDING CSCE PROVISIONS IN TEXTS OF
 ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND ENVIRONMENT AGREEMENTS
 CSCE/BM/E/6
 Sponsors: Austria, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland (3 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON STRENGTHENING ROLE OF ECE CSCE/BM/15
 Sponsors: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway,
 and Sweden (4 Nov. 1977)
 SUGGESTION ON CSCE ROLE OF ECE CSCE/BM/19
 Sponsor: Yugoslavia (4 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON INFORMATION RELEVANT TO INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION
 CSCE/BM/E/10/Rev.1
 Sponsor: Yugoslavia (12 Dec. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON PROCEDURES FOR ORGANIZING SCIENTIFIC PROJECTS
 CSCE/BM/E/11/Rev.1
 Sponsor: Yugoslavia (12 Dec. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON MIGRANT LABOR CSCE/BM/E/8
 CSCE/BM/E/8/Rev.1
 Sponsors: Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey,
 and Yugoslavia (4 Nov. 1977 and 10 Nov. 1977)

*Questions Relating To Security And Cooperation In The
 Mediterranean*

- PROPOSAL ON QUESTIONS RELATING TO SECURITY AND COOPERATION
 IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (9 Dec. 1977) CSCE/BM/66
 Sponsor: Malta
 WORKING PAPER ON PERMANENT COMMITTEE ON MEDITERRANEAN
 CSCE/BM/1
 Sponsor: Malta (10 Oct. 1977)
 PROPOSAL BY MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES CONCERNING QUESTIONS
 RELATING TO SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN THE
 MEDITERRANEAN CSCE/BM/M/1
 Sponsors: France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and
 Yugoslavia (13 Dec. 1977)

Basket III-Cooperation In Humanitarian And Other Fields

Allied Proposals:

- PROPOSAL ON CURRENCY EXCHANGE REQUIREMENTS CSCE/BM/17
 Sponsors: EC-9 (4 Nov. 1977)

- PROPOSAL ON FEES FOR TRAVEL DOCUMENTS CSCE/BM/20
Sponsors: EC-9 and Norway (4 Nov. 1977)
- EC-9 PROPOSAL ON PROCESSING VISA APPLICATIONS CSCE/BM/28
Sponsors: EC-9, Canada, Norway, and US (4 Nov. 1977)
- EC-9 PROPOSAL ON EXIT VISAS AND PASSPORTS CSCE/BM/32
Sponsors: EC-9 and Portugal (4 Nov. 1977)
- EC-9 PROPOSAL ON MEETING DEMAND FOR PRINTED INFORMATION
CSCE/BM/22
Sponsors: EC-9 and Canada (7 Nov. 1977)
- EC-9 PROPOSAL ON EXPULSION OF JOURNALISTS CSCE/BM/35
Sponsors: EC-9 (8 Nov. 1977)
- EC-9 PROPOSAL ON REFERENCE MATERIAL FOR JOURNALISTS
CSCE/BM/34
Sponsors: EC-9 (8 Nov. 1977)
- EC-9 PROPOSAL ON ARCHIVAL MATERIALS CSCE/BM/30
Sponsors: EC-9, Portugal and US (7 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION CSCE/BM/37
Sponsors: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Netherlands,
Norway, UK, and US (9 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON ACCESS TO DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS AND FOREIGN
CULTURAL ESTABLISHMENTS CSCE/BM/49
Sponsors: EC-9 (11 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON NON-DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT
OF VISA APPLICANTS CSCE/BM/16
Sponsor: EC-9 (4 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON SCIENTIFIC FORUM CSCE/BM/H/7
Sponsor: FRG (11 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON FOREIGN PRESS ASSOCIATIONS CSCE/BM/59
Sponsors: EC-9 and Portugal (14 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON TEACHING OF GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY
CSCE/BM/H/9
Sponsor: France (14 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON LANGUAGE COMPETITIONS CSCE/BM/H/10
Sponsor: France (14 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON ASSEMBLY OF YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS
CSCE/BM/H/11
Sponsor: France (14 Nov. 1977)
- PROPOSAL ON EUROPEAN JOURNALISTS' CLUB CSCE/BM/H/12
Sponsor: France (14 Nov. 1977)

Eastern Proposals:

- PROPOSAL ON YOUTH ACTIVITIES CSCE/BM/H/1

- Sponsors: Romania (20 Oct. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON CULTURAL COOPERATION CSCE/BM/H/5
 Sponsor: Romania (3 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON CULTURAL COOPERATION CSCE/BM/33
 Sponsor: Poland (8 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON RESTORATIONS SEMINAR CSCE/BM/H/6
 Sponsor: USSR (8 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON DISSEMINATION OF FINAL ACT CSCE/BM/51
 Sponsor: GDR (11 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON COOPERATION IN SPORTS CSCE/BM/44
 Sponsor: Bulgaria (11 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON YOUTH EXCHANGES CSCE/BM/53
 Sponsor: Bulgaria (11 Nov. 1977)
 CZECH PROPOSAL ON ACTIVITIES OF MASS MEDIA AND JOURNALISTS
 CSCE/BM/39
 Sponsor: Czechoslovakia (11 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON FOLK ART FESTIVALS CSCE/BM/H/8
 Sponsor: USSR (11 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON CULTURAL COOPERATION CSCE/BM/43
 Sponsor: Bulgaria (11 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON EDUCATION FOR PEACE CSCE/BM/48
 Sponsor: Poland (11 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON DEGREE EQUIVALENCIES CSCE/BM/52
 Sponsor: Bulgaria (11 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON PROMOTING LESS WIDELY-SPREAD LANGUAGES
 CSCE/BM/50
 Sponsor: Hungary (11 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON PUBLIC MEETINGS FOR
 PEACE, SECURITY AND FRIENDSHIP CSCE/BM/H/13
 Sponsor: USSR (11 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON PROHIBITING PROPAGANDA FOR WAR CSCE/BM/41
 Sponsor: Czechoslovakia (11 Nov. 1977)
- Neutral/Nonaligned Proposals:*
- PROPOSAL ON NATIONAL MINORITIES CSCE/BM/47
 Sponsor: Yugoslavia (8 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL FOR INFORMATION EXPERTS MEETING CSCE/BM/8
 Sponsor: Switzerland (31 Oct. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON COOPERATION AMONG PRESS AGENCIES
 CSCE/BM/H/2
 Sponsor: Yugoslavia (1 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON WIDER DISSEMINATION OF BOOKS CSCE/BM/H/3

- Sponsor: Austria (2 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON CULTURAL AGREEMENTS CSCE/BM/H/4
 Sponsor: Austria (2 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL FOR YEAR OF CULTURAL COOPERATION CSCE/BM/10
 Sponsor: Yugoslavia (2 Nov. 1977)
 PROPOSAL ON RELIGIOUS CONTACTS, MEETINGS AND EXCHANGES
 CSCE/BM/14
 Sponsor: Vatican (7 Nov. 1977)

Of the approximately 90 proposals and revisions mentioned above, only nine were sponsored even in part by the United States. Three concerned Basket I Principles (CSCE/BM/14,60,67), and of these one (CSCE/BM/60) specifically addressed Principle VII on the "Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief." Three others (CSCE/BM/23,25,27) related to the scientific and business cooperation aspects of Basket II. The remaining three (CSCE/BM/28,30,37) addressed the topics of visas, archives, and family reunification, all issues which fall under the jurisdiction of Basket III.

The United States proposals were not the most elaborate of those examined by the author. All their Belgrade proposals were relatively brief, one page or less. Many other nations offered far more significant proposals on energy, business contacts, confidence building measures and cultural exchanges.

Additional materials that may be of interest to the researcher are the proposals and revisions for the Belgrade Concluding Document. These items, difficult to describe bibliographically because of irregular assignment of CSCE class numbers, titles and other document identification, are kept on file at the Department of State.

BELGRADE MEETING 1977 PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FIRST MEETING, 8 MARCH 1978. Belgrade. 1978 CSCE/BM/PV.1

This provisional record includes the closing speeches of ten of the 35 participating States. Disappointment with the meeting and its results was expressed. The speakers were generally critical of the Belgrade Concluding Document which failed to incorporate many of the proposals which were brought forth at the meeting.

It appears likely that not all of the States delegates took the opportunity to give a closing speech. Included within are the statements of representatives from the United States, Czechoslo-

vakia, Norway, Spain, Greece, the German Democratic Republic, Ireland, Belgium, Sweden, and Austria. Though other delegates may have delivered statements, the fact that the meeting adjourned on the following day, March 9, 1978, seems to indicate otherwise.

B. *United States Assessment*

THE BELGRADE FOLLOWUP MEETING TO THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE: A REPORT AND APPRAISAL. House. Committee on International Relations. Print. 95th Congress, 2nd Session. May 17, 1978. 105 p. (Y4.In8/16:Eu7/9)

The first review meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was attended by nearly 400 representatives of the 35 signatory States. The meeting took place in Belgrade, Yugoslavia from October 4, 1977 to March 9, 1978. The United States Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, actively involved in the Belgrade Conference, kept Congress and many other nongovernmental organizations informed of the progress of the talks. The United States delegation was composed of representatives from the Departments of State, Commerce and Defense, the Congress, members of the CSCE Commission staff, as well as several public figures from business, labor and other nongovernmental fields. Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg was the official chairman of the delegation; Congressman Dante B. Fascell and Senator Claiborne Pell served as vice-chairmen.

Unfortunately for the researcher, the majority of the talks were closed to the public. One must rely, therefore, on delegation statements (*see* Section III Part A *supra*) and on published accounts such as this Commission report. The Commission summarizes and reviews the activities of the Conference from the standpoint of the participants. The material is interpretative, however, and only reflects its authors' views.

There is a detailed, basket-by-basket account of the issues that dominated the Belgrade meeting. In relation to Basket III, Cooperation in Humanitarian and Other Fields, the Commission cites Soviet and East European reluctance to accept a comprehensive review of human rights issues. The report points out that despite reliance on Principle VI "Non-Intervention in Internal Affairs," the Eastern bloc implicitly recognized the international nature of human rights issues by citing examples of domestic problems in the United States.

THE BELGRADE FOLLOWUP MEETING TO THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE OCTOBER 4, 1977 - MARCH 9, 1978. Department of State. Bureau of Public Affairs. Office of Public Communication. Special Report No. 43. June 1978. 36 p. (S1.129:43)

Issued by the Department of State as a part of its "Special Report" series, this document complements rather than duplicates the report of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe cited above. Its format is similar to, though less detailed than, the President's semiannual reports to the commission (*see* Section II Part A *supra*). It is thorough in its coverage, factual in content, and concise in presentation. Many of the Conference proposals are discussed and procedural or bureaucratic obstacles to progress in the negotiations are identified. The text of the Concluding Document of the Belgrade meeting appears as an appendix.

IV. SELECTED UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS RELATING TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE

A. *House Hearings and Prints*

INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements. Hearings. 93rd Congress, 1st Session. August 1; September 13, 19, 20, 27; October 3, 4, 10, 11, 16, 18, 24, 25; November 1; December 7, 1973. 987 p. (Y4.F76/1:H88/4)

This series of hearings began on August 1, 1973, just weeks after the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe convened. It reflects the interest in human rights that existed in the United States and elsewhere in 1973.

Information from these hearings was used for a International Organization Subcommittee report urging the United Nations to adopt a firmer policy in humanitarian affairs and recommending that the United States attribute greater importance to human rights in shaping its foreign policy (*see* succeeding entry). The 45 witnesses who appeared during the five months of hearings were representatives from nongovernmental organizations such as Amnesty International, scholars from major American universities, past and present United States government officials, and delegates from the United Nations.

A 400-page appendix includes legislation pertinent to the hearings, documents from Amnesty International, United Nations resolutions, and several very commendable Library of Congress staff reports. The entire document is indexed, a feature which renders it valuable as both a reference and a research tool.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY: A CALL FOR UNITED STATES LEADERSHIP. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements. Print. 93rd Congress, 2nd Session. Mar. 27, 1974. 54 p. (Y4.F76/1:H88/3)

This print, a summary of the above described hearings, recommends that human rights issues be given priority in United States foreign policy formulation, particularly vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. The report also suggests that Congress thoroughly review pending human rights treaties and calls for increased United States support for the United Nations, the International Labor Organization, the Council of Europe, and other international organizations.

PSYCHIATRIC ABUSE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE SOVIET UNION - TESTIMONY BY LEONID PLYUSHCH. House. Committee on International Relations. Subcommittee on International Organizations. Hearing 94th Congress, 2nd Session. March 30, 1976. 82 p. (Y4.In8/16:P95)

This document contains the testimony of Leonid Plyushch, a Ukrainian scientist who was confined to a Soviet mental hospital for two and one half years until his release in January 1976. His comprehensive testimony described not only his incarceration, but also his views of contemporary Soviet society, the goals of Ukrainian nationalists, and the instrumental role that the international community played in his release. The document contains a lengthy appendix of materials excerpted from human rights periodicals. For detailed research this document may lack depth, but it is yet one more record of the Soviet abuse of psychiatry for political repression (*see* Section IV Part B *infra*).

ANTI-SEMITISM AND REPRISALS AGAINST JEWISH EMIGRATION IN THE SOVIET UNION. House. Committee on International Relations. Subcommittee on International Organizations. Hearing. 94th Congress, 2nd Session. May 27, 1976. 26 p. (Y4.In8/16:J55)

Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union has been widely dis-

cussed, especially since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. This particular hearing focuses on the case of Dr. Mikhail Shtern, a Soviet medical doctor who, after refusing to dissuade his two adult sons from emigrating to Israel, was arrested, tried on bribery charges, and sentenced to eight years in a Soviet labor camp. Victor Shtern presented the details of his father's harassment and incarceration. An appendix from the National Conference on Soviet Jewry contains an analysis of the legal aspects of the case.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN THE SOVIET UNION. House. Committee on International Relations. Subcommittees on International Political and Military Affairs and on International Organizations. Hearings. 94th Congress, 2nd Session. June 24 and 30, 1976. 142 p. (Y4.In8/16:R27)

The Subcommittees on International Political and Military Affairs and on International Organizations of the House Committee on International Relations met jointly to discuss religious freedom in the Soviet Union. Testimony centered on the history of Soviet religious persecution, with particular emphasis on the case of Pastor Georgi Vins, Secretary for the Council for the Evangelical Christians and Baptists. (Pastor Vins has since been freed. See Vol. XI of Commission hearings on Basket III *in* Section II Part A *supra*).

One particularly well documented statement, submitted by Professor Bohdan R. Bociurkiw of Carlton University in Ottawa, Canada, is entitled "Political Dimensions of Religious Dissent." It provides numerous footnotes of potential value to the researcher. Another important item is a translation of a 1929 Soviet decree amended June 23, 1975. The translation, entitled "On Religious Associations," contains the major Soviet laws affecting religious organizations.

The appendix and materials submitted for the record include assorted statements and correspondence and the text of House Concurrent Resolution 726 requesting the release of Pastor Vins.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND UNITED STATES CONSULAR ACTIVITIES IN EASTERN EUROPE. House. Committee on the Judiciary. Print. 95th Congress, 1st Session. 1977. 74p.

In August 1977, a five-member Congressional delegation traveled to England, Italy, and Eastern Europe. The findings of the study mission touched upon many Helsinki-related topics such as

emigration procedures, religious freedom, and military security.

This is an extremely important post-Helsinki document which provides partially complementary coverage to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe's REPORT OF THE STUDY MISSION TO EUROPE (see Section II Part C *supra*). On the Commission's study trip, the United States delegates were refused visas to the USSR and Eastern European nations and were unable, therefore, to comment on the implementation progress of these countries. This Congressional mission on the other hand, visited four Eastern European countries and studied the human rights situations therein. Aware of the pending Belgrade review meeting (less than two months away), the delegation carefully studied the emigration laws and procedures of Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Czechoslovakian Charter 77 are included as appendices.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND IN UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY, 1945-76. House. Committee on International Relations. Subcommittee on International Organizations. Print. 95th Congress, 1st Session. July 24, 1977. 58 p. (Y4.In8/16:H88/20/945-76)

Prepared by the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division of the Congressional Research Service, this historical survey contains chapters on "International Community Action to Protect Human Rights," and "Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy: 1947-76." Footnotes throughout the document should be of value to the researcher, as should an appended chart of United Nations documents concerning human rights and a compilation of excerpts of provisions from United States human rights legislation. Aside from the detailed listings in the appendices, this document offers only superficial coverage and cannot be recommended for detailed research.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY: A REVIEW OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S RECORD. House. Committee on International Relations. Subcommittee on International Organizations. Hearing. 95th Congress, 1st Session. October 25, 1977. 74 p. (Y4.In8/16:H88/28)

Witnesses from the Agency for International Development (AID) and the Departments of Defense, State, and the Treasury

reviewed the Administration's policy on the United States international role concerning human rights. In addition to their testimony, this document includes Department of State responses to a questionnaire submitted by International Organization Subcommittee Chairman Donald M. Fraser. The questions concern topics such as United States ratification of international human rights treaties and the status of economic assistance to Central and South American nations.

The most valuable research feature of the document, however, is a Congressional Research Service (CRS) issue brief. In addition to providing an overview of the Administration's legislative and other activities, the CRS brief also includes a human rights chronology (1976-1977) and a bibliography of Congressional hearings, reports, and documents published from 1974 through 1977. A final section, entitled "Additional Reference Sources," lists articles, books and other materials pertinent to human rights and United States foreign policy.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE BALTIC STATES. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on International Organizations. Hearing, 96th Congress, 1st Session. June 26, 1979. 61 p. (Y4.F76/1:H88/8)

In anticipation of the fall 1980 Madrid Follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and in response to a newly promulgated Soviet law potentially affecting millions of United States citizens, the House Subcommittee on International Organizations met to examine the fate of the former Baltic States in light of the Helsinki Accord. The witnesses represented the Congress, the Department of State, the Joint Baltic-American National Committee, the Baltic World Federation, the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, and the United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America.

The hearings focused on the United States policy of nonrecognition of the incorporation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union. Many of the witnesses stressed the need for inclusion of this topic on the agenda for the Madrid meeting. Several comments concerned a law passed by the Supreme Soviet on July 1, 1979 which attaches Soviet citizenship not only to a person born in the Soviet Union or naturalized under Soviet law, but also to one whose parents were Soviet citizens at the time of his or her birth, regardless of the place of birth. Such a law might have serious implications for former citizens of the Baltic States.

The appendices include the texts of House Concurrent Resolutions 33 (January 24, 1979), 96 (April 4, 1979), and 147 (June 26, 1979) which express Congressional support for the nonrecognition policy and advocate restoration of independence to those countries. Resolution 147 also refers to the inapplicability of Soviet nationality law in the United States. The text of the "Treaty of Nonaggression between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," better known as the "Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact," signed in Moscow on August 23, 1939 is also reproduced.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on International Organizations. Hearings. 96th Congress, 1st Session. May 2, 10; June 21; July 12; and August 2, 1979. 503 p. (Y4.F76/1: H88/9)

This document contains the transcripts of a five-part series of hearings before the House Subcommittee on International Organizations. The hearings were held to review United States human rights policies, to examine how these policies are implemented, and to consider the need for changes in future policy formulation. The witnesses included representatives of the Department of State, the Congress, several major United States law schools, the Congressional Research Service, the Americans for Democratic Action, and other nongovernmental organizations.

Most of the witnesses expressed satisfaction with the Carter Administration's emphasis on human rights as a foreign policy factor, but opinions varied about the effectiveness of his approach. The proposition that human rights issues are raised at the expense of United States security was also debated.

Responses to written questions submitted by Subcommittee Chairman Bonker to most of the witnesses appear in the appendix along with correspondence, statements, reports, and other assorted documentary evidence on broad spectrum of human rights issues. Use of this lengthy volume is hampered by lack of a detailed index.

B. *Senate Hearings and Prints*

ABUSE OF PSYCHIATRY FOR POLITICAL REPRESSION IN THE SOVIET UNION. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws. Hearing. 92nd Congress, 2nd Ses-

sion. September 26, 1972. 257 p. (Y.4J89/2:P95/2)

This document may be regarded as a primary research tool. It contains important testimonies and extensive documentation and is thoroughly indexed. Included within are the testimonies of Alexander S. Yesenin-Volpin, an internationally recognized mathematician and a veteran of five periods of detention within Soviet mental institutions, and Constantin W. Boldyreff, a representative of the International Commission for the Defense of Human Rights. Dr. Yesenin-Volpin discussed the Soviet legal and medical criteria for determinations of insanity. In addition to his personal experiences, he cited many cases of political repression via confinement in mental institutions. Mr. Boldyreff highlighted the activities of United States citizens of Russian descent and their role in exposing the persecution carried on in the USSR.

Several important documents submitted for the record are arranged in fourteen appendices which comprise the bulk of this publication. For research purposes, however, the most important materials are the twelve appendices which document mistreatment of political dissidents in Soviet psychiatric hospitals. One such individual, Vladimir Bukovsky, arranged for articles, diaries, medical reports, photographs, and other materials pertinent to individual cases to be sent to the International Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in Paris. These important case studies were submitted for the record by Mr. Boldyreff. Other materials were compiled and translated by the Russian-American Committee for the Defense of Believers and Victims of Persecution in the USSR. (A 1974 companion volume entitled *ABUSE OF PSYCHIATRY FOR POLITICAL REPRESSION IN THE SOVIET UNION VOLUME II* appears below.)

USSR LABOR CAMPS. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws. Hearings. 93rd Congress, 1st Session. February 1 and 2, 1973. 282 p. (Y4.J89/2:Un33/3/pt. 1,2,3)

Avraham Shifrin, a former Soviet functionary and veteran of ten years in Soviet concentration and labor camps, testified before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee in February 1973. Drawing upon his personal experiences and the stories of other prisoners encountered during his incarceration, he described in meticulous detail the horrible living and working conditions within the

concentration camps of the post-Stalin period. Included within the three volumes are various photographs, interviews, statements and correspondence submitted for the record. Shifrin provided detailed information about the location of camps throughout the USSR, the approximate number of prisoners, and the political and religious reasons for many arrests. All three volumes, indexed for research and reference purposes, present an extremely factual report which will both shock and dismay its readers.

ABUSE OF PSYCHIATRY FOR POLITICAL REPRESSION IN THE SOVIET UNION VOLUME II. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws. Hearing. 94th Congress, 1st Session. March 12, 1974. 101 p. (Y4.J89/2:P95/2/vol. 2)

Dr. Norman B. Hirts testified on October 27, 1972 concerning his investigations into the Soviet misuse of psychiatry. This testimony was reaffirmed by a March 12, 1974 *jurat* sworn to before the American Consul in Vancouver. The hearing record incorporates supporting documentation current through June 1974, which describes instances of arbitrary confinement, drug overdosing, torture, and other mistreatment. A copy of a paper presented to the British Columbia Medical Association by Dr. Hirts is included as an appendix. Several resolutions, letters, and statements from international psychiatric associations, as well as many journal and newspaper articles criticizing Soviet misuses of psychiatry are also appended and made accessible through a valuable index. (This document is the companion volume to the 1972 **ABUSE OF PSYCHIATRY FOR POLITICAL REPRESSION IN THE SOVIET UNION** described above.)

HUMANS USED AS GUINEA PIGS IN THE SOVIET UNION. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws. Hearing. 94th Congress, 2nd Session. March 30, 1976. 43 p. (Y4.J89/2:So8/23)

This hearing contains the testimony of Luba Markish, a former Russian national who was involuntarily subjected to chemical experimentation by the Soviet government. Several supplementary documents, including the decision of a Moscow court which awarded Luba Markish damages, are included as appendices. A subject index facilitates usage of the document.

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS SELECTED STATEMENTS AND INITIATIVES. Senate. Committee on Government Operations. Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. Print. 95th Congress, 1st Session. January 1977. 46 p. (Y4.G74/6:H88/3)

Compiled by the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, this interesting collection of human rights materials is well worth examining. It includes letters, congressional testimony, legislation, special reports, press accounts and other assorted declarations and agreements concerning human rights. The views of the United States government, of private organizations such as the International League for the Rights of Man, and of well known individuals including Solzhenitsyn, Sakharov and Chalidze are presented. Some of the materials deal with human rights violations in Central and South America, other with the activities of the United Nations, and still others with implementation of the Helsinki Accord. The majority of the items are concerned with Soviet human rights policy.

HUMAN RIGHTS. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance. Hearings. 95th Congress, 1st Session. March 4 and 7, 1977. 104 p. (Y4.F76/2:H88/6)

Complex foreign policy issues raised by United States grants of military and economic aid to countries violating human rights are the subject of these hearings. Witnesses represented the Department of State, the University of Minnesota Law School, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Americans for Democratic Action.

The Subcommittee emphasized the need for improved human rights reporting by the Department of State to Congress. There was some hopeful anticipation that forthcoming Department of State annual country reports would correct this deficiency (*see* Section IV Part C *infra*). Cutbacks of money then available under the Foreign Assistance Act and the Foreign Military Sales Act were discussed, as were possible repercussions from such actions.

Though the Helsinki Accord was not discussed in detail, Senator Humphrey did emphasize the unexpected importance it had assumed. State Department official Patricia Derian referred to the preparatory work for the forthcoming Belgrade meeting.

C. *Annual Human Rights Reports Submitted to Congress*

HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES IN COUNTRIES RECEIVING UNITED STATES SECURITY ASSISTANCE. House. Committee on International Relations. Print. 95th Congress, 1st Session. April 25, 1977. 137 p. (Y4.In8/16:H88/17)

HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance. Print. 95th Congress, 1st Session. March 1977. 143 p. (Y4.F76/2:H88/5)

COUNTY REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES. House. Committee on International Relations; Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Print. 95th Congress, 2nd Session. Feb. 3, 1978. 426 p. (Y4.In8/16:H88/27)

REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES IN COUNTRIES RECEIVING UNITED STATES AID. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations; and House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Print. 96th Congress, 1st Session. February 8, 1979. 706 p. (Y4.F76/2:H88/9)

COUNTRY REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES FOR 1979. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs; and Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. 96th Congress, 2nd Session. February 4, 1980. 854 p. (Y4.F76/1:H88/10)

In accordance with sections 502(b) and 116(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, the Department of State has issued annual human rights reports since 1977. Originally restricted to those countries receiving United States aid, the list of countries was expanded in 1978 to include all proposed recipients. In 1979, all United Nations members, North Korea, Rhodesia, and Taiwan were added.

Materials from inter- and nongovernmental organizations, representatives of Missions, and Congressional study groups are combined to produce a series of documents of general reference value. The first report discusses each country according to: "Political Situation," "Legal Situation," "Observance of Internally Recognized Human Rights," and conclusions reached in "Other International Reports." Shallow coverage provides the researcher with little more than a general overview of the human rights situation in each country.

Later reports described each nation in terms of the following broad categories: (1) "Respect for the Integrity of the Person," (2)

“Government Policies Relating to the Fulfillment of Such Vital Needs as Food, Shelter, Health Care and Education,” (3) “Respect for Civil and Political Liberties,” and the (4) “Government Attitude and Record Regarding International and Nongovernmental Investigation of Alleged Violations of Human Rights.”

Over the years an attempt has been made to improve the quantity and the quality of the reports. The 1979 volume is the most complete of those produced. Within each document, the amount of information supplied for each country varies considerably. Even the most extensive lacks the depth needed to satisfy a researcher's needs. Given its encyclopedic nature, this document is more suitable as a reference than a research tool.

THE STATUS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SELECTED COUNTRIES AND THE UNITED STATES RESPONSE. House. Committee on International Relations. Subcommittee on International Organizations. Print. 95th Congress, 1st Session. July 25, 1977. 79 p. (Y4.In8/16:H88/21)

HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS IN SELECTED COUNTRIES AND THE UNITED STATES RESPONSE. House. Committee on International Relations. Subcommittee on International Organizations. Print. 95th Congress, 2nd Session. July 25, 1978. 372 p. (Y4.In.8/16:H88/30)

In response to a request from the House Subcommittee on International Organizations, the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division of the Congressional Research Service (CRS) prepared human rights reports in 1977 and 1978. Although not identical in content, coverage or methodology to the Department of State series just described, the CRS reports are similar in that they examine human rights traditions of selected countries and are prepared in response to congressional requests. The CRS compilations were, in fact, requested by the Congress in order to provide a basis for comparison with the Department of State series.

The only CSCE state described in the first CRS document is the USSR. Each of the 16 country descriptions examines the human rights situation and analyzes the United States government's response to violations. The summaries are less important for the researcher than the valuable bibliographic citations appearing in the footnotes. It should be noted that the 1978 document is much more extensive than its 1977 predecessor and is su-

terior to its State Department counterpart. It employs a sophisticated research methodology and covers eighteen countries including two CSCE signatories, the USSR and the United States. Of the countries surveyed in this report, only nine appear in the Department of State compilation for 1978. Citations to other reports, books, hearings, radio broadcasts, journal and newspaper articles are comprehensive.

The material for each country is arranged according to the following major topics: (1) "Integrity of Person," (2) "Basic Human Needs," and (3) "Civil and Political Liberties." The final chapter of the document discusses problems in evaluating and interpreting the report. An important appendix describes the "Physical Quality of Life Index" (PQLI) of the Overseas Development Council. The PQLI was one of the tools used by CRS to measure human rights conditions as they relate to the social and economic situation in each country.

