

*Mastny, Vojtech: Helsinki, Human Rights and European Security. Analysis and Documentation.*

Duke University Press, Durham, NC 1986, 389 S.

It is in the context of change that *Helsinki, Human Rights, and European Security*, whose publication was planned to coincide with the third CSCE review conference in the autumn of 1986, is so important. Vojtech Mastny has traced the ten-year history of the CSCE from the signing of the final act in 1975 through 1985. A tight schedule – five months for research and preparation – accounts for the predominance of English-language originals in his materials, but Mastny has attempted to provide documents from all sides. Reports from Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty [RFE/RL] predominate, not least because it was the only news organization to have correspondents present at all meetings of the CSCE at all times.

In his introductory essay, the author charts the history of the CSCE, which he considers to be more about the political, nonmilitary aspects than the military aspects of security (p. 1). Originally a Soviet idea, the CSCE dates from a proposal made by Foreign Minister Viacheslav Molotov soon after the death of Stalin in 1953. This proposal was revived in the late 1960s, with Moscow no longer attempting to exclude the United States from the proceedings (Canada and the U.S. are the only non-European members among the 35 participating countries), under the influence of *détante*. The Helsinki Accords were in fact originally hailed by the Soviet Union as a substitute for the post-Second World War European peace settlement which never took place (p. 10).

Mastny explains how the issue of human rights eventually came to dominate Helsinki process when the CSCE established a linkage between human rights and the international order. This is the result of the development of a "Basket" system of topics for discussion. Basket One involved the Soviet demand for a European settlement; the Soviets wanted to protect the integrity of their domain – including Eastern Europe. It also included confidence-building measures in the military sphere aimed at reducing mutual suspicions, for example advance notification of maneuvers. Basket Two concerned East-West economic relations. The author considers the ultimate prize here to have been easier Soviet access to the economic bounty of the West, especially high technology, without paying a political price (p. 7). It was, however, Basket Three, topics bearing on domestic security, including the right of citizens to immigrate and the free flow of information, which came to dominate the process, as dissidents from throughout the East Bloc invoked its provisions as a charter of human rights (p. 10). A well-known example of this phenomenon is the dramatist Václav Havel, a founding member of Czechoslovakia's Charter 77, whose pronouncements on human rights were anathema to the hardline governments in Prague.

The book traces the Helsinki accords through the first and second review conferences at Belgrade (1977–1978) and Madrid (1980–1983), the disarmament conference in Stockholm (beginning in 1984), the human rights conference at Ottawa (spring 1985), and the Budapest Cultural Forum (autumn 1985). The appendices include a calendar of CSCE meetings from 1977 to 1985, the concluding documents from the Belgrade

and Madrid meetings, and the Western draft summaries of the results at Ottawa and Budapest.

This book is not, however, simply about East-West relations. It documents the intricacies of international diplomacy in general. *Helsinki, Human Rights, and European Security*, then is useful on several levels. In particular, it provides a documentary history of the Helsinki process, in general, an example of the process of international relations. Perhaps even more important, however, these very documents contrast Soviet attitudes toward human rights in the pre-Gorbachev and Gorbachev eras. This book is a reminder of how different intra-European, not to mention Soviet-American, relations were just three short years ago when this volume appeared.