

# **From Global Politics to Human Rights: The CSCE Follow Up Meeting, Belgrade, 1977**

Briefing Book

## **PART I**

### **GLOBAL POLITICS**

#### **1975**

14 January, Memorandum for Scowcroft from Springsteen, "Issue Paper on CSCE"

Attachment: [Secret] Background Paper on CSCE

Attachment: [Secret] Memorandum for Kissinger from Arthur A. Hartman through Sonnenfeldt, "CSCE: State of Play and Next Steps"

17 January, Memorandum for Kissinger from Clift, "Issues paper"

Attachment: Issues paper: CSCE – "Issues"

Attachment: [Secret] Memorandum for the President, "Resumption of CSCE Negotiations"

17 January, [Secret] Telegram from American Embassy Moscow to Secretary of State, 738, "CSCE: Ambassador's Call on Kovalev"

25 January, [Secret] Telegram from American Embassy Moscow to Secretary of State, 1117, "US-Soviet Relations"

25 February, [Confidential] Telegram from American Embassy Moscow to Secretary of State, 2588, "Deputy ForMin on Berlin, CSCE"

18 March, (Translation) Record of Conversation, Cde. L.I. Brezhnev – Leaders of Fraternal Parties of Socialist Countries in Budapest (NSArchive)

27 March, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation, [Brandt, Ford, von Staden, Kissinger, Scowcroft] "Portugal, Middle East, Turkey, CSCE, Southeast Asia"

2 April, [Confidential] Memorandum for Kissinger from Clift, "Status Report on CSCE"

2 April, [Secret] Memorandum for Kissinger from Sonnenfeldt, “Your Meeting with Dobrynin”

12 April, [Confidential] Telegram from US Mission Geneva to Secretary of State, 2532, “CSCE: State II Highlights – April 7-11”

29 April, Briefing Item, “Soviet Policy After CSCE”

16 May, [Confidential] Memorandum for Kissinger from Clift, “Your Meeting with Gromyko: Soviet Impatience at CSCE Growing”

16 May, [Secret] Secretary’s Staff Meeting

19 May, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation, [Gromyko, Dobrynin, Korniyenko, Sukhodrev, Kissinger, Stoessel, Sonnenfeldt, et al.], “CSCE”

20 May, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation, [Gromyko, Kissinger, Rodman, Sukhodrev], “CSCE Summit, India-Pakistan”

30 May, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation, [Ford, Kissinger, Scowcroft, Sonnenfeldt, Wilson, Callaghan, Hunt], “Briefly on CBMs, and on the Final Stage of the Conference”

11 June, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation, [Ceausescu, Mavovescu, Pungan, Bogdan, Ford, Kissinger, Barnes, Scowcroft], “Bilateral Economic Relations, CSCE, Middle East, Korea, Spain, Disarmament” (excerpt)

13 June, [Secret] Secretary’s Staff Meeting

17 June, Oral Message from Brezhnev to Ford, June 16, 1975  
Attachment: US Note delivered to Dobrynin

July, Briefing Paper: “CSCE Background Paper”

8 July, [Secret] Memorandum for the Secretary from Sonnenfeldt, “CSCE”

10 July, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation, [Gromyko, Kovalev, Dobrynin, Kissinger, Sisco, Stoessel, Sonnenfeldt, Lord, et al.], “CSCE”

11 July, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation, [Gromyko, Kovalev, Dobrynin, Kissinger, Sisco, Stoessel, Sonnenfeldt, Lord, et al.], “CSCE, Middle East” (excerpt)

23 July, Summary of Events, “Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)”

24 July, [Confidential] Telegram from American Embassy Moscow to Secretary of State, 10342, "CSCE and Eastern Europe: Some Random Thoughts"

30 July – 1 August, [Secret] Briefing Paper for the President from Kissinger, "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" (background paper and talking point for the President's address to the conference)

2 August, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation [Ford, Kissinger, Stoessel, Scowcroft, Sonnenfeldt, Brezhnev, Gromyko, Kornienko, et al.], "MIRVs, Brief Assessment on the Results of the Helsinki Conference"

5 August, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation, "President's First Meeting with [Japanese] Prime Minister Miki" (excerpt)

6 August, [Confidential] Briefing Paper, "Talking Points for the Secretary at the Cabinet Meeting"

28 September, [Top Secret] Memorandum of Conversation, [Ch'iao Kuan-hua, Huang Hua, Chang Han-chih, Lo Hsu, Shih Yen-hua, Kuo Chia-ting, Kissinger, Moynihan, Habib, Lord, Gleysteen, Solomon], "The Soviet Union, CSCE, Europe, Japan, Angola, Indochina, the President's China Trip, the Global Strategic Situation, Korea"

1 October, [Confidential] Memorandum to the Secretary from Hartman through Sonnenfeldt, "CSCE Implementation: Overall Concept"

12 November, (Translation available) G.M. Kornienko, Memorandum of Conversation with U.S. Attache Jack Matlock (NSArchive)

18 December, [Top Secret] Extract from Protocol 198 of CC CPSU Politburo Session, "About the Appeal to the FCP Leadership" (NSArchive)

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9 January, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation between Vasile Pungan, Counselor to President Ceaucescu of Romania, Secretary Ki

[date unknown], Handwritten message from Ford to Scowcroft  
Attachment: [date unknown], [Confidential]

2 March, Instruction, "Clarifying the Position of the USSR and Guidelines for the Resumption of Preparatory work for the Belgrade [CSCE] Conference"

23 March, Robert Hunter, Memorandum for Landon Butler, "Meeting between the President and George Meany"

13 April, Gregory F. Treverton, Memorandum for Zbigniew Brzezinski, "PRC Meeting on Europe, April 14, 1977, 3:00 p.m."

14 April, Report, "Review of Soviet Internal Affairs, February-March 1977"

1 May, [Secret] CIA Report, "The Soviet View of the Dissident Problem Since Helsinki" (RP 77-10100D)

May, [Secret] CIA Report, "Soviet Objectives and Tactics at the Be

22 September, [Secret] Peter Tarnoff, Memorandum, The White House, for Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Returning the Crown of St. Stephen"

September, Memorandum on Belgrade CSCE

7 October, [Top Secret] Zbigniew Brzezinski, Memorandum for the President, "NSC Weekly Report #31"

21 October, [Top Secret] Zbigniew Brzezinski, Memorandum for the President, "NSC Weekly Report #33"

29 October, [Top Secret] TsK KPSS, No. 2347-A, "Summary on the USA for October 28,

Attachment: 31 January, Dr. Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Honorable Arthur Goldberg, "Update on Scharansky and Kuznetsov Cases"

31 January, Bob Lipshutz and Zbig Brzezinski, Memorandum for The Vice President, Hamilton Jordan, Jody Powell, Stu Eizenstat, Frank Moore, Jack Watson, Midge Costanza, "Meetings with Representatives of Citizens of Foreign Countries Relating to Human Rights Matters and Similar Situations"

17 February, Presidential Directive/NSC-30, "Human Rights Policy"

27 February, Joyce Starr and Greg Treverton, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz, "Belgrade CSCE: Issue of Follow-up"

February, Daniel Woker, Report, "The Participation of Switzerland in the Group of Neutral and Non-Aligned States in the Framework of CSCE"

2 March, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz, "Belgrade CSCE Report"

3 March, [Administratively Confidential] Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz, "Belgrade CSCE trip, February 15 – February 24: observations and recommendations"  
Attachment: 23 February, *The Washington Post*, "Belgrade Meeting: Lost Hopes and Stalled Effort at Détente"

3 March, Telegram, Secretary of State to American Embassy Belgrade, "White House Statement on Belgrade Meeting"

4 March, [Confidential] Telegram, Secretary of State to American Embassy Belgrade, "Message from the President"  
Attachment: 1977, News Article, "Human Rights: A Resort to Quieter Diplomacy"

26 April, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz, "Belgrade Conference Report"

18 May, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Bob Lipshutz, Stu Eizenstat, Joe Aragon  
Attachment: 18 May, Telegram, Secretary of State to American Embassy Moscow, "Statement on Orlov"

14 June, Telegram, American Embassy Moscow to Secretary of State, "New CSCE Approaches to Soviet Union and East European States"

20 June, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz, Stu Eizenstat, "Ed Mezvinsky"

27 July, [Confidential] Telegram, American Embassy Amman to Robert Lipshutz, Stuart Eizenstat, Joe Aragon through Secretary of State, "Travel of Dr. Joyce Starr"

3 August, [Top Secret] Zbigniew Brzezinski, Memorandum for The President, "Information Items"

## **1979**

29 May, [Top Secret] William E. Odom, Memorandum for Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Weekly Report on Soviet Affairs"

11 July, Thomas Thornton, Memorandum for Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Bloomfield Material—Human Rights"

Attachment: [Confidential] "Human Rights"

12 December, Report, FBIS Trends, "East-West Relations"

## **1980**

7 January, [Secret] The Director of Central Intelligence Memorandum, "Western Europe: Responses to US-Soviet Tension in Wake of Afghan Crisis"

8 January, [Secret] Robert D. Blackwill, Memorandum for Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Western European Reaction to U.S.-Soviet Tensions"

14 April, [Top Secret] The Situation Room, Memorandum for Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Additional Information Items"

17 April, [Secret] Paul B. Henze, Memorandum for Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Dissidence in Eastern Europe and the USSR—Are We Doing Enough?"



**PART II**  
**HUMAN RIGHTS**

**[Collection from Istoricheskii Arkhiv, Vol 5, 1993]**

**1974**

29 March, Letter from G. P. Vishnevskaya and M. L. Rostropovich to L. I. Brezhnev (IA)

5 April, Letter from artiste from the Bolshoi Theater to L. I. Brezhnev (IA)

12 May, [Secret] Letter from the USSR Ministry of Culture to the CC of CPSU, including an information supplement on the conversation with M. L. Rostropovich at the Ministry of Culture on 5 May 1974 (IA)

20 May, [Secret] Memo from the CC of the CPSU department for work with cadres abroad and foreign travel to the CC of the CPSU regarding the permit to tour abroad for M. L. Rostropovich and his family (IA)

Attachment: [Secret] Information from the CC of the CPSU department for work with cadres abroad and foreign travel (IA)

31 May, [Secret] Information from the KGB under the Council of Ministers of the USSR for the CC of the CPSU about the seeing off of M. L. Rostropovich at his departure to England (IA)

16 November, [Top Secret] Information from the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs and KGB under the Council of the Ministers of the USSR to the CC of the CPSU, "About M. Rostropovich's improper conduct abroad" (IA)

16 December, [Secret] Information from the USSR Ministry of Culture to the CC of the CPSU regarding the extension of the validity of the Soviet passports for travel abroad for M. Rostropovich and his family (IA)

Attachment: Soviet Embassy in Paris, Soviet Embassy in Bern (for information) (IA)

31 December, [Secret] Information from the CC of the CPSU department of culture and the CC of the CPSU department for work with cadres abroad and foreign travel to CC of the CPSU, "About the extension of the validity of the Soviet passports for travel abroad for M. Rostropovich and his family" (IA)

**1975**

8 May, [Secret] Information from the KGB under the Council of Ministers of the USSR to the CC of the CPSU, "About the improper conduct abroad of the violoncellist M. L. Rostropovich" (IA)

Attachment: Draft [proekt] decree [ukaz] of the Presidium of the High Council of the USSR for the revocation of Soviet Citizenship of Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya (IA)

17 March, Letter from M. L. Rostropovich and G. P. Vishnevskaya to L. I. Brezhnev (IA)

28 March, [Secret] Information from the USSR Embassy in France for the CC of the CPSU, “Regarding the conversation with M. L. Rostropovich and G. P. Vishnevskaya from 20 March 1978” (IA)

11 December, Decree of the Presidium of the High Council of the USSR, “On the revocation of the national Soviet award received by M. L. Rostropovich and G. P. Vishnevskaya” (IA)

7 December, [Secret] Note from the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers to the CC of the CPSU – A. N. Kosygin- on the revocation of the titles Laureate of the National Soviet Prize and Laureate of the Lenin Prize received by M. L. Rostropovich (IA)

December 15, [Top Secret] Resolution of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU, “Regarding the revocation of the titles Laureate of the National Soviet Prize and Laureate of the Lenin Prize received by M. L. Rostropovich” (IA)

Attachment: December, [Secret] Draft [proekt] resolution [postanovlenie] regarding the revocation of the titles Laureate of the National Soviet Prize and Laureate of the Lenin Prize received by M. L. Rostropovich (IA)

## **PART II HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS**

### **1970**

23 October, [Secret] Report by CC CPSU Pr

## **1972**

7 January, [Secret] KGB Report to CC CPSU on Budovsky Trial (NSArchive)

## **1973**

3 April, [Secret] Extract from CC CPSU Secretariat Session on Publication of the Second Volume of History of the CPSU (NSArchive)

## **1974**

7 January, [Top Secret] Extract from CC CPSU Politburo Meeting on Alexander Solzhenytsin(NSArchive)

## **1975**

12 June, [Top Secret] M. Marinov, Notes from the June 11 conversation in the "BOYANA" Residence between Todor Zhivkov and comrades Kiseliiov and Grubiakov

31 October, (Translation available) [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum for CC CPSU, "About Some Results of the Preventive-Prophylactic Work of the State Security Organs" (NSArchive)

Attachment: Information, "About the Number of Persons Subjected to Criminal Punishment and Prophylactic Work by the KGB Organs in 1959-1974"

29 December, (Translation available) [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Report to the CC CPSU (NSArchive)

## **1976**

3 January, (Translation available) Anatoly S. Chernyaev, Diary Excerpt (NSArchive)

13 March, (Translation available) [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, "On the Results of Search for Authors of Anti-Soviet Anonymous Documents in 1975" (NSArchive)

30 March, (Translation available) [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Report on the Work of the Committee for State Security in 1975 (NSArchive)



22 February, Bob Lipshutz, Memorandum for Rick Hutcheson  
Attachment: 21 February, Jody Powell, Memorandum for the President, "Soviet Dissidents"

1 March, (Translation available) [Top Secret] Draft Press Release in Connection with Reception of Bukovski by Jimmy Carter (NSArchive)  
Attachment: March, L. Zamiatin, Memorandum to CC CPSU

1 March, [Confidential] Memorandum of Conversation with Vladimir K. Bukovsky [Ford, Mondale, Bukovsky, Clift, Levitsky, Krimer]

2 March, [Special Importance] KGB Annual Report for 1976 (NSArchive)

2 March, [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, "On the Results of Search for Authors of Anti-Soviet Anonymous Documents in 1976" (NSArchive)

24 March, [Top Secret] Extract for Politburo Meeting of CC CPSU, "On Further Measures to Discredit US Special Services Role in Anti-Soviet 'Human Rights' Campaign" (NSArchive)

29 March, [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, "On the Reaction of the US Embassy in Moscow and Foreign Journalists to Soviet Measures Toward 'Dissidents'" (NSArchive)

17 May, (Translation available) [Top Secret] Memorandum to Comrades Brezhnev, Kosygin, Andropov, Gromyko, Suslov, Ponomarev, Zimianin, G. Smirnov, "Extract from the Protocol No. 56 of the Meeting of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee on May 17, 1977"  
Attachment: 13 May, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, "In Regard to the Provocational Campaign of the So-Called 'Sakharov Committee in Denmark'"

19 May, [Top Secret] Extract from Protocol 56 of CC CPSU Politburo Session, "About Instructions to Soviet Ambassadors in Connection with the Noise in the West on the Issue of Human Rights" (NSArchive)

4 June, (Translation available) Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, "On a New Provocational 'Appeal' of Academician Sakharov"

10 June, [Top Secret] Extract from Politburo Meeting of CC CPSU, "On the Measures Against Anti-Soviet Activities of 'Amnesty International'" (NSArchive)

6 July, [Top Secret] Memorandum, The White House, "The CSCE Observation Group"

20 July, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU

[Prior to October 1977], [Secret] Background Memorandum, "Shcharanskiy Case"

26 March, (Translation available) [Secr



3 July, [Top Secret] Resolution of the Secretariat of CC CPSU, "On Telegram to Soviet Ambassador in Norway" (NSArchive)

Attachment: 28 June, [Secret] CC CPSU, "On Telegram to Soviet Ambassador in Norway"

Attachment: [date unknown] (Translated from English), Letter to President Leonid Brezhnev

Attachment: [date unknown] Telegram to Leonid Brezhnev

11 July, [Top Secret] The Situation Room, Memorandum for Dr. Brzezinski, "Evening Notes"

13 September, [Secret] KGB Memorandum to CC CPSU, "About the Subversive Idea of the West to Award the Nobel Prize to Ginzburg and Others" (NSArchive)

Attachment: August, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU

4 November (Translation available) [Top Secret] CC CPSU Memorandum to Comrades Andropov and Rudenko, Extract from Protocol No. 128 of the Meeting of the Politburo of the CC CPSU

Attachment: 31 October, (Translation available) [Secret] Andropov and Rekunkov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, "On Measures to Stop the Activity of A.D. Sakharov Which Poses a Threat to National Security"

1 December, Rick Inderfurth, Memorandum for Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Human Rights Performance"

14 December (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the Committee of State Security of the USSR, "On the New Trip of E.G. Bonner to Italy"

## **1979**

6 March, [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, "On the Results of Search for Authors of Anti-Soviet Anonymous Documents in 1978" (NSArchive)

2 April, [Special Importance] KGB Annual Report for 1978 (NSArchive)

24 April, [Top Secret] Extract from Protocol No. 150 of Politburo Meeting of CC CPSU, "On the Deprivation of Citizenship and the Eviction from the USSR of G.P. Vins, E.S. Kuznetsov, M.U. Dimschitsa, V.I. Moroza, and A.I. Ginsburg" (NSArchive)

Attachment: [Secret] Order of the Supreme Council Presidium of the USSR, "On the Deprivation of Citizenship and the Eviction from the USSR of G.P. Vins"

Attachment: [Secret] Order of the Supreme Council Presidium of the USSR, "On the Deprivation of Citizenship and the Eviction from the USSR of M.U. Dimschitsa"

Attachment: [Secret] Order of the Supreme Council Presidium of the USSR, "On the Deprivation of Citizenship and the Eviction from the USSR of V.Y. Moroza"

Attachment: [Secret] Order of the Supreme Council Presidium of the USSR, "On the Deprivation of Citizenship and the Eviction from the USSR of A.I. Ginsburg"

Attachment: 24 April, [Secret] "On the Deprivation of Citizenship and the Eviction from the USSR of G.P. Vins, E.S. Kuznetsov, M.U. Dimschitsa, V.I. Moroza, and A.I. Ginsburg"

Attachment: 23 May, [Secret] State Security Committee of the USSR, "On Expulsion of the Anti-Soviet Elements from the USSR"

11 May, [Secret] INR Weekly Highlights of Developments in Human Rights, No. 105, "Soviet Union and Eastern Europe"

31 May, [Top Secret] Extract from Protocol No. 153 of Politburo Meeting of CC CPSU, "On the Departure from the USSR of the Family Members of A. Ginsburg, and G. Vins" (NSArchive)

Attachment: 29 May, [Secret] CC CPSU, To be Added to Section 67, Protocol No. 153

Attachment: [Secret] Soviet Ambassador in Washington, To be Added to Section 67, Protocol No. 153

Attachment: 22 May, Visa and Registration Services, Ministry of Interior Main Office in Moscow, From the Ivanov Family

30 July, [Secret] KGB Memorandum to CC CPSU, "About Hostile Activities of the Enemy in Connection with Olympics, 1980" (NSArchive)

## **1980**

3 January, [Top Secret] Extract from Politburo Meeting of CC CPSU, "On Measures for Stopping the Hostile Activities of A.D. Sakharov"

31 January, [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, "On the Results of Search for Authors of Anti-Soviet Anonymous Documents in 1979" (NSArchive)

25 June, (Translation available) [Top Secret] Extract from Protocol No. 206 of the Session of the Politburo of the CC CPSU, "Concerning Measures with Regard to the Organization, 'Amnesty International'" (NSArchive)

[After January 1980], Intelligence Note, "Special Analysis: USSR: Suppression of Dissidents"

24 July, [Secret] Extract from Protocol No. 206 of CC CPSU Politburo Session, "About Measures Regarding Organization Amnesty International" (NSArchive)

**1981**

31 March, [Special Importance] Report on Work of the USSR Committee for State Security in 1980 (NSArchive)

**1982**

[date unknown] Petro Grigorenko, Letter to President Carter, from *Memoirs*, by Petro G. Grigorenko, translated by Thomas P. Whitney; W.W. Norton and Company.