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BOOK REVIEW

HELSINKI, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND EUROPEAN SECURITY. by Vojtech Mastny. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1986. Pp. xvi, 389. \$20.90.

Reviewed by Daniel C. Turack*

Just over twelve years ago, Canada, the United States and 33 European States concluded the historic Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Helsinki with the signing of a Final Act, therein embracing a broad range of economic, humanitarian, political and security issues of mutual concern to the Parties. Through a series of followup conferences, preparatory meetings, fora of experts on specific topics, the process begun at Helsinki has continued and remains viable. This book, although originally conceived as a project to mark the tenth anniversary of the Final Act, was subsequently redesigned to review the genesis and antecedents of the original conference, and the path followed up to the time of the third review conference at Vienna in the fall of 1986.

The author is a historian. With access to the resource of a complete set of dispatches by correspondents of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, the only news organization whose personnel were present at all the CSCE meetings, the author has set out to analyze and document what has transpired. Anyone who is engaged in research involving the CSCE process knows that official minutes are not kept. Hense, the documentation, which constitutes the bulk of the book, consists of a collection of relevant items that are statments by the individual CSCE participants, human rights activists, transcripts of interviews and discussions outside the conference and meeting rooms, academic assessments and correspondents' reports and editorials. Every document indicates the author, occasion or place espoused and date. The first part of the book consists of an introductory essay

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^{1.} The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe often called the Helsinki Accord is found in 73 DEPT. STATE BULL. 323 (1975).

describing the Helsinki process up to the Vienna review conference. Within this well-written introduction, the author has footnoted to refer the reader to the particular document to illustrate or expound on the point made. These documents are divided into three broad sections to a time-frame relating human rights to aspects of either European political settlement, military affairs or East-West trade. The author is aware of the accessibility of U.S. source materials and consequently decided rather than to emphasize these sources, to utilize documents reflecting other positions, namely, NATO, Common Market, Warsaw Pact, neutral and non-aligned countries. A number of these documents were translated into English. The idea behind their use was of course to provide a better balance of the different viewpoints. The book also contains in appendices, the concluding documents of the first and second follow-up review conferences at Belgrade and Madrid, respectively, the Western summaries of the meetings of experts on human rights held at Ottawa and Budapest, all of which are not readily available, and a list of all CSCE meetings and their dates. This book is one of a number of recent studies² on the CSCE process of which Professor Mastny is aware. His contribution makes use of a unique approach and is a benefit to all who would better understand the significance of the connection between human rights and security as it relates to Europe and in the East-West context.

^{2.} J. Sizoo & R.T. Jurrjens, CSCE Decision-Making: The Madrid Experience (1984); Essays on Human Rights in the Helsinki Process (A. Blood & P. Van Dijk eds. 1985); J.J. Maresca, To Helsinki: The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe 1973-1975 (1985).