

BOOK REVIEW

From Helsinki To Vienna: Basic Documents of The Helsinki Process. Edited by Arie Bloed. Dordrecht/Boston/London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. 1990. Pp. xiv, 285. \$87.50 (Hardbound).

On August 1, 1975, a non-treaty was adopted at Helsinki, Finland, by all the heads of state or government of Europe, except Albania, plus Canada and the United States. The Helsinki Final Act, also known as the Helsinki Accord, was the fruit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the culmination of multilateral preparatory discussions begun two years earlier. What East European politicians regarded as merely a political document heralded an ongoing process that has contributed in no small measure to the great changes that have already changed the map of Europe.

Thus far, the ongoing CSCE has completed three major follow-up conferences, each ending with the adoption of a concluding document. These conferences were held at Belgrade (1977-78), Madrid (1980-83), and Vienna (1986-89). The fourth follow-up conference is scheduled to take place in Helsinki in March 1992. The pace of cooperation, implementation of undertakings and innovations by the parties were reviewed at these gatherings and may be measured in these documents. Of course, these follow-up conferences were the main events when the world watched most intently. Aside from these accomplishments other important meetings took place, with positive results, although without the glare of publicity accorded the follow-up conferences.

This book serves two functions. First, Dr. Bloed, who is a Senior Lecturer of the Law of International Organizations at the Europa Institute, University of Utrecht, and General Secretary of the Netherlands Helsinki Committee, provides an excellent concise overview of the Helsinki process from its genesis to the end of the Vienna CSCE Follow-Up Conference. He also sets out a schedule of the planned meetings to be held through March 1992, to keep the reader apprised of the ongoing process. This part of the book will be most beneficial to the neophyte who wishes to embark upon a study of the CSCE process. His informative essay could have been of greater assistance to the newcomer had Dr. Bloed used footnotes to direct the reader to the appropriate extensive literature on each topic.

The second function of the book is to provide the reader with a portable library of the important documents that have emerged. In this

regard, one finds what can be called twelve of the most essential substantive documents necessary to study and assess the CSCE. Not all of the documents are easily accessible to scholars elsewhere, for example the Document of the Bonn Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe adopted on April 11, 1990. Interestingly, in the selected bibliography, Dr. Bloed gathers references to works in five languages, but for some unexplained reason he has been rather stingy with these sources given the rich literature which now exists.

Besides the three Concluding Documents of the Follow-Up Conferences, Belgrade (1978), Madrid (1983) and Vienna (1989), and the Helsinki Final Act (1975), there are the reports of specialized meetings on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes at Montreux (1978) and at Athens (1984), on Co-operation in the Mediterranean at Valletta (1979), on the Scientific Forum at Hamburg (1980), and the Document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (1986). Main procedural rules and organizational modalities used in all the meetings and conferences are found in the Document on Final Recommendations of the Helsinki Consultations adopted at Helsinki (1973), and the annexes to the Vienna Concluding Document (1989).

During November 19-21, 1990, the heads of state or government met at the Paris meeting of the CSCE and adopted the "Charter of Paris for a New Europe," which provided for the creation of the first permanent CSCE institutions, namely, a small secretariat, a conflict prevention center and an office of free elections. To comprehend the present role of the CSCE, one needs to look at its antecedents. The process underscores a commitment to human rights, economic liberty, mutual security, environmental protection, democracy, and friendly relations between states. Dr. Bloed's essay and relevant documents admirably assist the reader to comprehend what has transpired in order to follow the future of the CSCE.

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