

UNCLASSIFIED  
Department of State

INCOMING  
TELEGRAM

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ACTION EUR-12

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PH-05 H-02 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12  
TRSE-00 HA-05 CU-06 BIB-01 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00  
INRE-00 VO-03 EB-06 OMB-01 CA-01 IO-14 /101 W  
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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3392

INFO USINFO WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 7807

CZECHOSLOVAKIA WHICH IN ALL GOOD CONSCIENCE HE COULD NOT ACCEPT. AND I MUST ALSO MENTION THAT IT IS A MATTER OF CONCERN TO MY COUNTRY THAT PAUL HOFMANN OF THE NEW YORK TIMES, WHICH IS WORLD RENOWNED, AND LESLIE COLLITT OF NBC HAVE BEEN EXPELLED FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA DURING WORKING VISITS THERE. I HOPE WE WILL GET AN EXPLANATION OF WHY THIS IS SO AS ALL OF THESE REPORTERS ARE DISTINGUISHED, RESPECTED, AND RESPONSIBLE AND I HOPE TO DISCUSS IT IN THE NEXT PHASE OF OUR WORK.

MY DELEGATION SUPPORTS THE STANDARD FOR DIALOGUE THE THEN PRIME MINISTER OF SWEDEN PROPOSED IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE HELSINKI SUMMIT. "RESPECT FOR ONE ANOTHER'S SOCIAL SYSTEMS AND THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION," PREMIER PALME SAID, "SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN TO MEAN THAT THIS EXCHANGE SHALL BE RESTRICTED TO ASSENT AND JOINT DECLARATIONS. FRANK CRITICISM MUST ALSO BE ALLOWED IN THE FACE OF PHENOMENA SUCH AS THE OPPRESSION OF DISSIDENTS, TORTURE AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION."

IT IS IN THIS SPIRIT THAT WE RAISE THE CASES OF ORLOV, SHCHARANSKY AND GINSBERG IN THE SOVIET UNION, AND WE RAISE THEM BY WAY OF ILLUSTRATION BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN SEEKING TO MONITOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT IN THE SOVIET UNION. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE FINAL ACT ENDORSES SUCH PEACEFUL ACTIVITIES, AND PERSONS ENGAGED IN THEM SHOULD BE FREE FROM HARASSMENT, ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT.

SOME HERE SAY IT IS BETTER NOT TO MENTION SUCH CASES SPECIFICALLY, AS I HAVE DONE, IN EITHER THE PLENARY OR WORKING GROUPS OF THIS CONFERENCE, BUT RATHER TO RAISE THESE QUESTIONS BILATERALLY. THE UNITED STATES HAS RAISED THESE CASES AND OTHERS BILATERALLY AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL SUCCESS AND, THEREFORE, WE RAISE THEM HERE, AS ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES OF MAY OTHERS, BECAUSE WE CONSIDER IT THE JOINT BUSINESS OF OUR CONFERENCE, AND WE HOPE THAT BY DOING SO PROGRESS CAN BE MADE.

NOW I CAN UNDERSTAND THAT THERE MAY BE INTERVENTIONS OBJECTING TO THIS APPROACH. I DON'T LIKE MY COUNTRY TO BE CRITICIZED, BUT I HAVE SAID AND NOW REPEAT THAT, IF THE CRITICISM IS UNJUSTIFIED, I SHALL REPLY, AND IF JUSTIFIED PROMISE REMEDIAL ACTION. IT IS NOT A PLEASANT TASK TO CRITICIZE OTHER COUNTRIES AND I TAKE NO RELISH IN IT. I HAVE BEEN CHARGED BY MY PRESIDENT TO REPRESENT MY COUNTRY HERE -- AND I WILL DO IT TO THE BEST OF MY ABILITY. IN THE SPIRIT OF DIALOGUE, HOWEVER, I SIMPLY DON'T UNDERSTAND WHY IT IS SAID THAT IT IS NOT APPROPRIATE TO RAISE SUCH MATTERS HERE. A FULL, SPECIFIC AND CANDID REVIEW OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHER PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT IS THE BUSINESS OF THIS CONFERENCE. I CONTINUE IN THE HOPE THAT SUCH A DIALOGUE WILL TAKE PLACE.

FURTHER, IT IS INEVITABLE IN LIGHT OF NEW PROPOSALS BEARING ON THESE SUBJECTS THAT IF PROGRESS IS TO BE MADE, THE NEW PROPOSALS WILL HAVE TO BE DISCUSSED FACTUALLY AND NOT IN PLATITUDINOUS TERMS.

IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO CONDUCT OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH CIVILITY AND TACT, BUT WE MUST BE CANDID ENOUGH TO COVER ALL ASPECTS AND SEEK TO ARRIVE AT A CONSENSUS ON THEM. I REPEAT THAT I DO NOT REGARD MY OWN COUNTRY TO BE IMMUNE FROM CRITICISM DURING THESE DISCUSSIONS SINCE WE DO NOT CLAIM TO BE PERFECT.

NOW, MR. CHAIRMAN, MY DELEGATION HAS SOUGHT TO MAKE TWO BASIC POINTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. FIRST, THE RECORD, DESPITE LIMITED PROGRESS, HAS ON THE WHOLE BEEN DISAPPOINTING. SECONDLY, WE NEED TO DISCUSS THIS RECORD FRANKLY AND TO SEEK IMPROVEMENTS IF WE ARE TO CONVINCING OUR PEOPLE THAT DETENTE MEANS PRACTICAL BENEFITS IN THEIR DAILY LIVES AND THAT THEY SHOULD, THEREFORE, GIVE IT THEIR SUPPORT. I AM PLEASED THAT MANY OTHER DELEGATIONS HAVE BEEN MAKING THE SAME POINT.

WHAT WE SEEK TO DISCUSS CANNOT BE REGARDED AS IMPROPER INTRUSION INTO THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANY COUNTRY. HUMAN RIGHTS IS A MATTER OF THE FINAL ACT AND OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AS SET FORTH IN THE UN CHARTER, THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS AND AGREEMENTS.

THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET UNION HAS VOICED HIS CONCERN THAT AN EXAMINATION OF DETAILS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS COULD SOMEHOW UNDERMINE THE BRIDGES OF UNDERSTANDING SO LABORIOUSLY BUILT OVER THE LAST DECADE BETWEEN THE PARTICIPATING STATES. MY BELIEF, ON THE CONTRARY, IS THAT THOSE BRIDGES ARE ONLY AS STRONG AS THEIR FOUNDATIONS. IT IS THE PRIMARY ROLE OF THIS CONFERENCE TO STRENGTHEN THE FOUNDATIONS SO THAT DETENTE CAN HAVE A STRONG, ENDURING AND NOBLE EDIFICE.

IT IS, THEREFORE, IN ALL OUR INTERESTS AND IN THE INTEREST OF THE CSCE PROCESS TO STRENGTHEN THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE FINAL ACT. THE DIALOGUE WE ARE SEEKING TO CONDUCT IS DESIGNED PRECISELY TO EXPLORE THE UNDERSTANDINGS WE HAVE REACHED, OUR PROGRESS AND SHORTCOMINGS AND TO INSURE THAT THERE ARE NO MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT THEIR MEANING. ONLY IF THAT EXAMINATION PROCEEDS CANDIDLY AND STUDIOUSLY, CAN WE BE CERTAIN, AS WE MOVE TO THE NEXT PHASE OF OUR WORK, THE DETENTE WE ALL SEEK WILL BE SOLID AND CONTRIBUTE TO SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. END TEXT.  
GOLDBERG

*Embassador  
Goldberg*

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