

# **From Helsinki to Belgrade. The First CSCE Follow-up Meeting in Belgrade 1977/78**

International Conference  
organized by

The OSCE Mission to Serbia  
and  
The Zikic Foundation (Bonn/Belgrade)  
in cooperation with  
The Cold War International History Project  
at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

Belgrade, Serbia,  
Sava Center, 8-10 March 2008

*Saturday, March 8th*

18:00 *Opening of the Conference*

**Ambassador Hans Ola Urstad,**

*OSCE Mission to Serbia, Belgrade*

**Prof. Dr. Dittmar Dahlmann,**

*Zikic Foundation, Bonn/Belgrade*

**Ambassador Markku Reimaa,**

*Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, OSCE Chairmanship 2008, Helsinki*

**Ambassador Feodor Starčević,**

*Republic of Serbia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Belgrade*

**Živorad Kovačević,**

*Mayor of Belgrade (retired), President of the European Movement in Serbia*

19:00 *Reception by the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Serbia*

*Sunday, March 9th*

09:00 *Introduction*

**Vladimir Bilandžić,** *OSCE Mission to Serbia, Belgrade*

**Milan Kosanović,** *Zikic Foundation, Bonn/Belgrade*

09:30 *Keynote speech*

*European and World Politics in the 1970s*

**Klaus Hildebrand,** *University of Bonn*

10:30 *CSCE Development Process: Superpowers*

*Chair: Dittmar Dahlmann, University of Bonn*

*From Helsinki to Belgrade, From Kissinger to Brzezinski –*

*The Changing U.S. Policy Towards the CSCE Process*

**Thomas S. Blanton,** *National Security Archive, Washington, D.C.*

*Soviet Foreign Policy on the Road to Helsinki: Strategies and Tactics (1966-1976)*

**Andrey Edemskiy,** *Moscow Institute of Slavic Studies*

*U.S. Perceptions of the CSCE process during the 1970s*

**Harald Biermann,** *Foundation Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik, Bonn*

12:00 Break

12:30 *CSCE Development Process: Neutral and Non-Aligned States*  
Chair: **Ljubinka Trgovčević**, University of Belgrade

*From CSCE to OSCE*

**Branislav Milinković**, Mission of the Republic of Serbia to NATO, Brussels

*Josip Broz Tito, Yugoslav Foreign Policy, and the Shaping of the Concept of European Security and Cooperation 1968 – 1975*

**Ljubodrag Dimić**, University of Belgrade

*Neutrality and CSCE: the Finish and the Yugoslav Models for Neutrality – the Birth and the Development of CSCE*

**Rinaa Elina Kullaa**, University of Maryland, Baltimore

13:30 Lunch

14:30 *Human Rights and Minorities: The Eastern Approach*  
Chair: **Milan Ristović**, University of Belgrade

*Human Rights and Dissidents in the Soviet Union*

**Wolfgang Eichwede**, University of Bremen

*Human Rights and Dissidents in GDR*

**Joachim Scholtyseck**, University of Bonn

16:00 Break

16:30 *Human Rights and Minorities: The Western Approach*  
Chair: **Christian Ostermann**, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C.

*Western Grass Root Contacts With Eastern European Dissidents and Helsinki: The French Case*

**Bent Boel**, Aalborg University

*Follow-up at Belgrade: How Human Rights Activists Shaped the Helsinki Process*

**Sarah B. Snyder**, Yale University, New Haven

19:00 Reception by the Zikic Foundation

Monday, March 10th

09:00 *Global Politics: Superpowers*  
Chair: **Gottfried Niedhart**, University of Mannheim

*'Neither Shy nor Demagogic' – The Carter Administration Goes to Belgrade*

**Breck Walker**, Sewanee – The University of the South

*USSR and CSCE*

**Svetlana Savranskaya**, National Security Archive, Washington, D.C.

10:00 Break

- 10:30 *Global Politics: Western Europe*  
 Chair: **Bernd Schäfer**, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C.
- The European Community and the CSCE: Fostering Détente in Europe*  
**Angela Romano**, University of Florence
- Britain and Ostpolitik*  
**Robert Gerald Hughes**, University of Wales, Aberystwyth)
- The FRG and the GDR and the Belgrade CSCE Conference*  
**Oliver Bange**, University of Mannheim
- 12:00 *Lunch*
- 13:00 *Global Politics: Eastern Europe*  
 Chair: **Milan Kosanović**, University of Bonn
- Poland and the Belgrade CSCE Meeting – Hopes and Disappointments*  
**Wanda Jarzabek**, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw
- Bulgaria and the Warsaw Pact consultations on the CSCE Process: From Helsinki to Belgrade*  
**Jordan Baev**, Cold War Research Group – Bulgaria, Sofia
- Romania's reactions to the CSCE Process. From Helsinki to Belgrade*  
**Mircea Munteanu**, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C.
- 14:30 *Break*
- 15:00 *Global Politics: Neutral and Non-Aligned States*  
 Chair: **Vladimir Bilandžić**, OSCE-Mission, Belgrade
- Getting to Know Their Limits: The N+N and the Follow-up Meeting in Belgrade 1976-1978*  
**Thomas Fischer**, Austrian Institute for International Affairs, Vienna
- On the Road to Belgrade: Yugoslavia's Contribution to the Defining of the Concept of European Security and Cooperation 1975-1977*  
**Jovan Čavoški**, Institute for Modern History of Serbia, Belgrade
- 16:00 *Conclusion*  
**Vladimir Bilandžić**, OSCE Mission to Serbia, Belgrade  
**Milan Kosanović**, Zikic Foundation, Bonn/Belgrade
- 19:00 *Dinner*