

# **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)

## **1976**

9 January, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation between Vasile Pungan, Counselor to President Ceaucescu of Romania, Secretary Kissinger, and Peter W. Rodman, NSC Staff, "Middle East; CSCE Follow-up; Balkan relations; bilateral economic relations; Soviet Union"

15 January, [Secret] NSC Under Secretaries Committee, Memorandum for the President, "First Quarterly Report on Implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)"

20 April, [Secret] NSC Under Secretaries Committee, Memorandum for the President, "Second Quarterly Report on Implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)"

[date unknown], Handwritten message from Ford to Scowcroft  
Attachment: [date unknown], [Confidential] Memorandum for the President from Kissinger,  
“Impact of European Security Conference on Baltic States”

27 April, [Secret] Memorandum for Scowcroft from Clift, “Implementation of the CSCE Final Act”

Attachment: Memorandum from Scowcroft to the President, “Implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe”

26 May, Letter, Uhlmann (Assistant Attorney General Office of Legislative Affairs) to Lynn (Office of Management and Budget)

26 May, Letter, McCloskey (Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations) to Lynn (Office of Management and Budget)

28 May, Memorandum for the President from Frey, “Enrolled Bill S. 2679 – Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe”

16 August, [Secret] NSC Under Secretaries Committee, Memorandum for the President, “Third Quarterly Report on Implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)”

1 October, [Secret] CIA Report, “Soviet Union-Eastern Europe”

6 October, Letter, Dante B. Fascell (Chairman of the House of Representative Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe) to Ford

8 October, Memorandum for Scowcroft from Borg, “CSCE Commission”  
Attachment: October, Draft Presidential Letter, Ford to Fascell

[November] Report, Edouard Brunner, “On the Importance of the CSCE Follow-up for Eastern European Countries Transformation”

3 December, Letter, Ford to Dante B. Fascell (Chairman of the House of Representative Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe)

8 December, [Secret] Memorandum of Conversation between Representatives of the US, France, Federal Republic of Germany, and the United Kingdom

## **1977**

26 February, [Top Secret] Minutes of Conversation with USA Secretary of State C. Vance

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 Belgrade Conference"

20 May, [Confidential] Presidential Review Memorandum/NSC-28, "Human Rights"

24 May, [Secret] Paul B. Henze, Memorandum for Dr. Brzezinski, "Evening Report – 24 May 1977"

9 June, [Top Secret] Memorandum, The White House

24 June, [Top Secret] Memorandum, The White House

8 July, [Secret] CIA Report, "Soviet Foreign Policy at the Crossroads"

19 July, [Secret] Zbigniew Brzezinski, Memorandum for the Vice President, "Origins of Soviet Campaign Against Dissidents"  
Attachment: 18 July, [Secret] Jessica Tuchman, Memorandum for Zbigniew Brzezinski, "CIA/INR Paper on Soviet Dissident"  
Attachment: 15 July, [Secret] CIA Report, "The Evolution of Soviet Reaction to Dissent"

23 August, [Secret] Meeting Minutes, Policy Review Committee, "CSCE"

24 August, [Top Secret] Zbigniew Brzezinski, Memorandum for the Vice President, Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense, "PD/NSC-18, U.S. National Strategy"  
Attachment: [Top Secret] Presidential Directive/NSC-18, "US National Strategy"

7 September, Press Release, For Immediate Release: Office of the White House Press Secretary  
Attachment: 17 October, *Time Magazine*, "Détente with a Human Face"  
Attachment: 17 October, *The Washington Post*, "Goldberg and Aides..."

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, 1977"

31 October, Telegram, "Belgrade CSCE—Soviet Warning in Basket One Human Rights Debate"

9 November, Telegram, "Belgrade CSCE—Ambassador Goldberg's Human Rights Speech November 9"

10 November, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz, "Belgrade"

18 November, Arthur J. Goldberg, Briefing Memorandum for the President, "Interim Report on the Belgrade Conference"

6 December, [Confidential] Robert King, Memorandum for Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Topics for the President's Meetings in Warsaw"

## **1978**

11 January, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz

Attachment: 11 January, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz, "Attendance at CSCE Strategy Meeting, Department of State, January 10, 1978"

30 January, [Confidential] Peter Tarnoff, Memorandum for Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Human Rights Policy"

Attachment: 20 January, [Confidential] Anthony Lake, Memorandum for the Secretary through Warren Christopher, "Human Rights Policy: An Interim Assessment"

Attachment: [date unknown], [Confidential] Anthony Lake, Memorandum for the Secretary through the Deputy Secretary, "The Human Rights Policy: An Interim Assessment"

31 January, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz

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)

## 1976

November, [Top Secret] Information from the chairman of the KGB under the Council of Ministers of the USSR - U. V. Andropov, the minister of foreign affairs of the USSR - A. A. Gromyko, the minister of culture of the USSR - P. N. Deminchev, and the secretary of the CC of the CPSU - M. V. Zimianin to the CC of the CPSU, "On sanctions [merah v otnoshenii] against Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya" (IA)

## 1977

22 March, [Secret] Cable from the USSR Embassy in the US to the CC of the CPSU "On Rostropovich's letter" (IA)

24 March, [Top Secret] Resolution of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU, "On the cable received from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, DC on 23 March, 1977" (IA)

Attachment: Soviet Embassy in Washington, DC [confirmation sent from the Embassy] (IA)

19 October, [Top Secret] Resolution of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU "Regarding the non-admission to the USSR of the touring Washington National Symphonic Orchestra under the leadership of M. Rostropovich and the incoming Soviet artiste who belong to the same orchestra abroad" (IA)

Attachment: 13 October, [Top Secret] CC of the CPSU "Regarding the non-admission to the USSR of the touring Washington National Symphonic Orchestra under the leadership of M. Rostropovich and the incoming Soviet artiste who belong to the same orchestra abroad" (IA)

## 1978

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

14 March, [Top Secret] Resolution of the Politburo of CC of the CPSU, "On the revocation of Soviet Citizenship of M. L. Rostropovich and G. P. Vishnevskaya" (IA)

Attachment: 10 March, [Secret] On the revocation of Soviet Citizenship of Rostropovich and Vishnevskaya (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 Propaganda Department on Measures in Connection with Awarding Alexander Solzhenytsin the Nobel Prize (NSArchive)

### **1971**

6 May, Zamiatin, Letter to Brezhnev (NSArchive)

18 June, [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum for CC CPSU, “On Bukovsky” (NSArchive)

## **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)

25 October, [Secret] Extract from CC CPSU Resolution, “About Instructions for Soviet Ambassadors in Some Countries in Connection with the Anti-Soviet Campaign in the West” (NSArchive)

15 November, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, “About the Hostile Actions of the So-called Group for Assistance of Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR” (NSArchive)

6 December, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, “On the Provocative Demonstration by Anti-Social Elements on Pushkin Square in Moscow and at the Pushkin Monument in Leningrad” (NSArchive)

## **1977**

5 January, (Translation available) [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, “About the Measures to End the Hostile Activity of Members of the So-Called ‘Group for Assistance in the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR’” (NSArchive)

20 January, (Translation available) [Top Secret] Resolution of secretariat of CC CPSU, “On Measures for the Curtailment of the Criminal Activities of Orlov, Ginsburg, Rudenko and Ventslova” (NSArchive)

9 February, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, “On Receiving by A.D. Sakharov of a Telegram from Carter”

10 February, Memorandum, The White House, “Situation of Ginzburg and Orlov; Southern Lebanon”

14 February, [Top Secret], Information on the activity of the enemy following the SSSE [CSCE], and on compromising NRB [People’s Republic of Bulgaria], SSR [USSR], and other socialist countries before the conference in Belgrade.

15 February, [Top Secret], Information regarding the attempts of the enemy to renew its subversive activity against NRB [People's Republic of Bulgaria] following the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and to discredit our country as one that does not observe the humanitarian aspects of the Helsinki Accords, (excerpt)

18 February, (Translation available) [Top Secret] Extract from Protocol No. 46 of CC CPSU Politburo Meeting, “On Instructions to Soviet Ambassador in Washington, DC for Conversation with Vance on ‘Human Rights’ Issue” (NSArchive)

18 February, [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, “On Measures For Cutting Off Intelligence and Subversive Activities of the Special Services of the US Among ‘Dissidents’ and Nationalists” (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"

11 December, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, with coversheet

## 1978

6 January, Memorandum of Conversation, Arthur Goldberg, December 28, 1977

6 January, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz, "Update on Scharansky Case and general status of Soviet Jewry/ Human Rights initiatives"

11 January, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz

12 January, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz

12 January, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz, "Proposed Meeting with Alexander Slepak"

Attachment: 26 December, Alexander Slepak, Letter to Mr. Lipshutz

31 January, Bob Lipshutz, Memorandum for Zbig Brzezinski

Attachment: 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"

31 January, Joyce Starr, Memorandum for Robert Lipshutz

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

9 February, [Top Secret] Extract from Protocol No. 92 of Politburo Meeting of CC CPSU, "On Deprivation of Citizenship of P.G. Grigorenko" (NSArchive)

Attachment: [date unknown] Order of the Supreme Council Presidium of the USSR, to be added to section 65 of the protocol no. 92

Attachment: 4 February, [Secret] Protocol No. 92/65, submitted to the Politburo of the CC CPSU

27 February, [Top Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, "On the Results of Search for Authors of Anti-Soviet Documents in 1977" (NSArchive)

14 March, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov and R. Rudenko, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, "On Prevention of a Provocation by Jewish Nationalists"

26 March, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, "On A.D. Sakharov's Visits to Embassies of Capitalist Countries in Moscow"

27 March, [Special Importance] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to CC CPSU, "On the Results of KGB Work Against Terrorist Activities" (NSArchive)

27 March, [Top Secret] KGB Annual Report for 1977 (NSArchive)

April, [Secret] KGB Memorandum to CC CPSU, "About the Forthcoming Trials of Anti-Social Elements" (NSArchive)

5 April, [Secret] KGB Report to CC CPSU, "To the Question of the So-Called Independent Trade Union" (NSArchive)

24 May, [Top Secret] The Situation Room, Memorandum for David Aaron, "Additional Information Items"

25 May, Memorandum, "Human Rights Developments in the USSR, January – May 1978"

26 May, (Translation available) [Secret] Yuri Andropov, Memorandum to the CC CPSU, "On the Malicious Hooliganism of Academician Sakharov"

Attachment: 8 June, (Translation available) L. Brezhnev, Meeting of the Politburo of the CC CPSU, "On Sakharov"

30 May, [Top Secret] Resolution of Secretariat of CC CPSU, "On the Letter to CC of the Belgian Communist Party" (NSArchive)

Attachment: 23 May, "Pravda" publication, "Regarding a resolution of the Congress"

Attachment: 22 May, "Izvestiya" article, "Criminals Are Punished"

Attachment: 18 May, "Vechernaya Moskva" article, "Fabricated Facts"

Attachment: 19 May, "Moscovskaya Pravda" article, "On the Wave of the Enemy: Notes from the Moscow Courthouse Hearing Room"

Attachment: 26 May, [Secret] CPSU Central Committee, "On Letter to CC of the Communist Party of Belgium"

May, Report, "The Right to Know, The Right to Act; Documents of Helsinki Dissent from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe [An Introduction to Charter '77 by Professor Vilem Precan]"

8 June, (Translation) [Top Secret] Session of the Politburo of the CC CPSU (NSArchive)

22 June, (Translation) [Top Secret] Session of the Politburo of the CC CPSU (NSArchive)



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”

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

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## **PART II THE MITROKHIN COLLECTION**

[date unknown] Vasiliy Mitrokhin, “Chekisms: Tales of the Cheka,” a KGB Anthology, Notes on Non-conformism (Folder 9)

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