

INTRODUCTION

The primary purpose of this volume is to identify the international agreements entered into by the USSR from the beginning of 1958 to the end of 1973. For the sake of simplicity and convenience, we have called it *A Calendar of Soviet Treaties*. The choice of the title is also intended to underscore the fact that the present opus is an organic continuation of the earlier work, *A Calendar of Soviet Treaties 1917-1957* (Stanford University Press, 1959). As on that previous occasion, we have not confined our material to those formal international agreements generally designated as "treaties" but have admitted into our text *all* verified agreements to which the USSR was a party, no matter what their form.

It follows, therefore, that the term "treaty" as used here is even broader than the *descriptive* definition of the term employed by Soviet writers, which can be summarized as an agreement between two or more parties, usually States, usually embodied in a written document, establishing a relationship between the parties. In the Soviet view, the names given to the instrument – treaty, tractate, pact, convention, accord, declaration, exchange of notes, protocol, covenant, arrangement, resolution, compact, modification, supplement, regulations, etc. – are conventional rather than substantive denominations.

Soviet specialists in international law have evolved not only a descriptive but also a *normative* definition of the term "treaty", reserving it for those international agreements which meet a selected group of criteria established by them as an ideological adjunct of Soviet foreign policy. The analysis of these criteria, useful as it is for an understanding of the motives and methods of Soviet foreign policy, would be irrelevant for our present purposes, and we have accordingly ignored Soviet ideological considerations in choosing our material.

On the other hand, we have gone beyond the types of treaties recognized by both Soviet and Western international law specialists, and have included many quasi-agreements – joint communiqués, joint statements, memoranda, etc. – which Soviet foreign policy makers use to order and regulate Soviet relations with other States.

We have also added a number of international agreements arrived at during international conferences. Often negotiated orally and frequently chronicled only in unofficial documents such as memoirs, agreements of this type constitute an important aspect of contemporary international relations. To have omitted them from the *Calendar* would have meant to leave out a vital part of the historical record.

Those whose interest lies exclusively in traditional international treaties will find listed here all the relevant agreements of this type for which we have been able to find satisfactory evidence. Those whose concern is rather with the broad and complex problems of international relations and Soviet foreign policy will find it useful, we believe, to have as full a listing as possible, regardless of the form a particular agreement may take.

As a corollary to our main purpose we have noted certain other facets of Soviet

foreign policy practice as well: diplomatic meetings attended by the USSR, sessions of various specialized international bodies of which the Soviet Union is a member, regular and ad hoc convocations of CMEA's* assorted branches, committees, commissions and institutes, of related regional institutions and technical agencies, of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and its departments, and so forth. To some extent, then, the *Calendar* can serve as a guide to the public record of the Soviet Union's diplomatic activity and, in that sense, will help provide a broader background to its treaty repertory.

Since the organization of the *Calendar* may appear somewhat complex at first glance, a brief statement of the principles according to which the text has been compiled may prove useful.

The basic unit in the *Calendar* is the listing of an individual agreement. Each entry consists of the following elements: (1) a serial number, serving to identify the agreement, (2) a title or subject, (3) the main body of the entry, consisting of a précis of data concerning the agreement, followed by a list of (4) sources and/or (5) references.

The *serial number* serves as a brief identifying reference for the agreement. Basically it consists of two parts, a date in condensed numerical form, and an indication of the type of the agreement (bilateral, plurilateral, or multilateral). In the case of bilateral agreements, this indication takes the form of the name, in full or abbreviated, of the partner State. Thus 58/i/2/Yug refers to a bilateral agreement between the USSR and Yugoslavia signed on January 2, 1958.

For agreements between the USSR and two or more States, the type-of-treaty designation may take one of several forms, as follows: (1) Agreements with a small number of States, or international agreements less than universal in scope or intention, are ordinarily identified by the letters "Pl" for "Plurilateral". Thus the serial number for the agreement of January 29, 1958, is 58/i/29/Pl. (2) General international agreements to which the USSR is a party are identified either by the suffix "Mul", designating multilateral agreements to which the USSR acceded on the date of original signature, or by the year of original signature, designating agreements to which the USSR acceded only after an interval. In the latter case the first element of the serial number is determined by the date of Soviet accession, and the entry appears under that date, with a crossreference under the date of original signature. Thus 58/iv/29/Mul identifies a multilateral act of April 29, 1958, to which the Soviet Union was an original signatory, while 58/iv/10/1949 refers to a multilateral convention of 1949 to which the USSR acceded on April 10, 1958.

If an agreement was concluded over an interval of time (e.g., an exchange of notes sent on different dates, or an international conference which lasted longer than a single day), the date used for the serial number is the latest one concerned. Thus an exchange of notes between the USSR, the Chinese People's Republic, and the Korean People's Democratic Republic of December 8, 1958, January 30,

* Council for Mutual Economic Aid.

1959, February 11, 1959, and March 14, 1959, has the serial number 59/iii/14/Pl and is listed under March 14, 1959.

If more than one agreement was concluded with a given partner on a single day, or if it seems desirable in the interests of accuracy to differentiate between a number of components constituting a complex entity (e.g., a treaty accompanied by one or more exchanges of notes), a letter suffix is added to the serial number of each separate agreement or component. Thus 58/i/21/Pol/a identifies the consular convention between the USSR and Poland of January 21, 1958, while 58/i/21/Pol/b refers to the convention of the same date between the same partners concerning regulation of the question of citizenship of persons with dual citizenship.

The *title* or *subject*, set in boldface type, identifies the partners to the agreement (if it is a bilateral agreement) and indicates its subject. Whenever feasible the official title has been used, or the one under which the agreement is generally known; when the official or generally known title is unnecessarily cumbersome, uninformative, or ideologically loaded, however, we have substituted a shorter and more descriptive one. Parties to plurilateral agreements have been listed immediately below the title in most cases, but signatories to multilateral agreements have usually not been listed.

The *entry* brings together all relevant identified data on the juridical status of the agreement, including the date and place of signature and dates of ratification, entry into force, duration, modification or extension, and termination. Where information under any of these headings is not indicated, it is either not applicable or not known. References for factual data shown are to be found among the sources and references listed immediately below the entry. Individual citations for data shown are given only when conflicting evidence from several sources makes it desirable to give the reader material from which to form his own conclusions. In general we have followed the information given in Soviet sources unless there appeared to be valid reason to reject it.

Below the entry are shown *sources* and *references*. By source we mean a text of the agreement; by reference, any other identification, from a comprehensive summary to a bare mention. Sources are commonly listed in the following order: (1) official Soviet sources, including the central metropolitan press; (2) other Soviet sources; (3) official sources of the treaty partner; (4) other sources of the treaty partner; (5) official international sources, particularly the *Treaty Series* of the United Nations; and (6) any other sources. The language in which the text is printed can be assumed to be the language of the source whenever the source gives only a single version. Where more than one version is given, language references follow the source citation (e.g., "R" indicates that the source gives the Russian-language text, "E" the English-language text, and so forth).

Both sources and references are identified in full or, more frequently, by short title or abbreviation, in accordance with the Short Title List. All sources and references listed without comment have been checked directly; if it was not possible to check a primary source mentioned in an available secondary source, we have listed both.

In this *Calendar*, official sources and references have been drawn principally from Soviet publications. The financial and human resources available for the task proved too limited to permit systematic research through other official materials, except for the *Treaty Series* of the United Nations which we checked methodically. Digging through official publications issued by the USSR's treaty partners would doubtless unearth additional facts, but the job turned out to be logistically unmanageable and we opted instead to concentrate our main time and energy to covering the Soviet Union's own data-bank with maximum thoroughness. To guard against the danger of a one-sided coverage, we have made extensive use of a number of internationally recognized sources of information for the facts of contemporary history, notably the *New York Times* and *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*.

The main text of the *Calendar* also includes a type of secondary item which refers not to international agreements, even in the broad sense, but to ancillary forms of interstate transaction, e.g., contracts, visits by statesmen, diplomatic conferences and meetings, and sessions of international and regional bodies. These entries are identified by the relevant date (set in boldface type) which refers to the time when the event in question took place. Such items provide references but not sources.

In closing, we wish to acknowledge our profound indebtedness to the late Philip E. Mosely and the Humanities Fund, Inc., for the financial support which helped launch this project, and to the Earhart Foundation which has helped defray the costs of the work. We are especially grateful to Professor Dietrich A. Loeber, of Kiel University, for supplying a great deal of important information to which we did not have access, and to Messrs. William B. Simons, Robert Lyng and Ms. Inge Angevaare for their excellent editorial and secretarial advice and assistance that greatly enhanced the general quality and style of the end product. Last but not least, special thanks are due to our wives, Herta and Elizabeth, for valuable assistance with various aspects of assembling and preparing the manuscript for publication and for their admirable patience during the *Calendar's* long gestation.

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