



in Puerto Rico and Miami. There had been only one or two people at the far end of the room, but he'd lowered his voice in the telling.

The visitor was still curious about that painting. Could the artist have been inspired by *l'affaire Cayo Lobos*? she asked the hotel's *patron*. Well, he answered, he himself had bought it a month and a half before, and of course it had been completed sometime before that.

Even as the U.S. and the U.N. and the Bahamian Government were arguing the status of the Haitian refugees, the exodus was continuing. At almost the very moment the unhappy group aboard the *Lady Moore* set sail on their homeward voyage, 150 more were attempting an escape from Port-de-Paix in Haiti's northwest. A terse report on the back page of Friday's *Le Nouvelliste* had announced their apprehension by the *gendarmarie*.

This morning, Monday, the visitor asked the desk clerk whether his friends and neighbors had been talking about the events of yesterday. "No," he replied, turning back to his duties. Then he looked up, gave a half-smile, and shrugged. "There are a lot of boats...."

T. Chadek, a pseudonym, is a frequent visitor to Haiti.

EXCURSUS 3

Stephen S. Fenichell on HELSINKI WATCH: WHERE'S THE BULL?

During the preliminaries to the Madrid meeting on the Helsinki accords (formally the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE]), scheduled to open officially on November 11, a Russian delegate announced that the USSR would not serve as a bull in a ring. The pronouncement came after nine weeks of haggling over the agenda, the Russians apparently worried about the picadors from the West.

The meeting began on time only because its Spanish hosts stopped the clocks in the conference hall at 11:57 on Monday night, November 10. Groggy from too much talk, too little sleep, and uncertain eating arrangements, the delegates finally agreed on a compromise agenda proposed by a group of "nonaligned" countries.

Thirty-five nations, European except for the U.S. and Canada, signed the Helsinki Final Act in 1975. This

appeared to be another of those treaties filled with good intentions—like the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the U.N. Charter—which could be signed, half-forgotten, and its provisions honored selectively. The USSR had its sphere of influence in Eastern Europe legitimated, and the Western countries had their human rights cradled in what became known as Basket III. Nothing in Basket III was new or startling, but the pact did call for a review every two years to report on compliance.

"Helsinki Watch committees" sprang up in such unlikely places as Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, and the USSR itself. The first review meeting, in Belgrade in 1978, ended in an impasse, East and West accusing each other of wrecking détente. Spain, however, succeeded in pushing through approval of Madrid as the site of the '80 meeting.

The portents for Madrid were not good. In Russia half the members of the Watch committee were arrested and others held for trial. Czech authorities took similar action. In Madrid the gloves were off. Polite diplomatic exchanges gave way to accusations of war-mongering and oppression. For nine weeks the delegates struggled, the Eastern bloc insisting on a very limited discussion of Basket III and the West arguing for an open session in which violations could be discussed. Looming in the background was Afghanistan and the unrest in Poland.

Outside the Palacio de Congresos an assortment of groups held meetings in churches, hotels, and apartments to make known their concerns. Amnesty International, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Nobel Peace Prize recipient Adolfo Esquivel, and prominent Russian exiles were all present (Andrei Almarik was killed in an automobile accident while en route). In Mainz, West Germany, the pope called upon the nations meeting in the Palacio to respect human rights and religious freedom as required by the Helsinki accords. And just outside the hall an exiled Lutheran minister from Latvia cut a vein in his arms and let the blood drip on a Soviet flag.

On the night of the 13th a compromise proposal submitted by Austria, Cyprus, Liechtenstein, Malta, San Marino, Sweden, and Yugoslavia saved the conference from collapse. Until the Christmas recess the meeting will take up compliance with the Helsinki Act provisions and humanitarian concerns. In January, after the recess, new disarmament proposals and détente will fill the agenda.

We will not know until spring, 1981, who was the bull in this corrida—or whose bull was gored.

Stephen Fenichell, Worldview's U.N. columnist, attended the Madrid conference as a Nongovernmental Observer.