

**THE COMMISSION ON  
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE**

**ACTIVITIES REPORT**

*95th Congress*

Washington, D.C.

October 11, 1978

THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

Activities Report

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Washington, D.C.  
October 11, 1978

## CONTENTS

I	Introduction.....	1
II	The Belgrade Meeting.....	3
III	Experts Meetings.....	7
IV	Casework and Human Rights Research.....	9
V	Public Hearings.....	13
VI	Commission Meetings and Staff Interviews.....	18
VII	Coordination and Policy: U.S. and International.....	21
VIII	Congressional Relations.....	23
IX	Reports and Publications.....	26
X	Cooperation with Non-Governmental Organizations.....	29
XI	Media Activities.....	32

## I INTRODUCTION

Created in 1976 as an independent agency to monitor and encourage compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the Commission has carried out its responsibilities in a variety of ways during the 95th Congress.

Primary focus of Commission activity during the past two years was on the Belgrade CSCE review conference which met from June 1977 to March 1978 to review implementation by all signatories of the military and security, economic and scientific, humanitarian and other goals of the Helsinki Final Act. The Commission was instrumental in formulating U.S. policy for the Belgrade meeting and then played an important and active role as part of the U.S. delegation to the review conference. It has also been active in planning for and staffing official U.S. delegations to a subsequent meeting of scientific experts in Bonn, as well as other conferences within the CSCE process.

In addition to carrying out its monitoring and informational responsibilities in major international fora, the Commission has been extremely active on a day-to-day basis in promoting implementation of the Helsinki accords.

Extensive and continuing hearings during the last two years have provided an important source of information on the state of Helsinki Final Act implementation, particularly in the human rights area. Human rights, especially family reunification, was also the subject of a large number of Commission meetings and

staff interviews during the 95th Congress. As a result, the Commission has been able to provide a regular flow of reports and information to the Congress, press and public on human rights and other issues involving Helsinki Final Act implementation.

The Commission has a unique role in policy formulation and coordination on CSCE; during the past two years, Commissioners and staff held extensive meetings with officials of the Executive Branch to review and initiate CSCE policy issues. In addition, periodic consultations were held with officials of the other signatory governments. It is likely that this process will intensify and expand in anticipation of the next major review conference at Madrid in 1980.

## II ~~THE BELGRADE MEETING~~

(2) [Preparations for, and participation in the Belgrade review meeting required a significant proportion of the Commission's time and resources. Given the importance of the meeting to the CSCE process and the extent of CSCE expertise on the Commission, both Commissioners and staff were fully and substantially integrated into the U.S. delegation to the meeting, with Congressman Dante B. Fascell and Senator Claiborne Pell serving as vice-chairmen of the U.S. delegation.

In an unprecedented move, the U.S. delegation was organized as a totally unified team consisting of Commission members and staff as well as State Department and other Executive Branch personnel and distinguished public members. The delegation's composition reflected the diversity of interests involved and the importance different groups attached to the Belgrade meeting. This was the first review meeting envisioned by the Final Act and thus a milestone in the continuing CSCE process. Its goals were to continue and strengthen that process by conducting a thorough exchange of views on implementation of the Final Act and by deepening mutual relations, improving security and developing cooperation among the 35 participating nations.

As part of the U.S. Government's pre-Belgrade preparations, the Commission staff actively participated in extensive bilateral consultations with Western, neutral and Eastern signatory states which preceded the meeting. The Commission also worked closely

with the State Department in writing the detailed briefing books, files and reports prepared for the use of the U.S. delegation in Belgrade. Several ideas for new proposals, later submitted at the meeting, came from suggestions the Commission had made. The Commission's lengthy report on implementation served as an important reference throughout the meeting. The Commission also maintained close contact with, and submitted reports before, during, and after the meeting, to Congress and the hundreds of non-governmental organizations which maintained an active interest in the course of the discussions.

Throughout the Belgrade meeting, Commissioners and staff played an active and visible role in the proceedings. The Commission supplied three members of the seven-member U.S. delegation to the June preparatory meeting. Eight Commissioners attended and participated in sessions of the main meeting, while 14 staff members took part in numerous aspects of the fall meeting. In two of the most significant working groups, Basket III and Follow-up, U.S. representation was chaired by Commission staff members, with back-up provided largely by Commission staff. The Commission's work in the delegation largely fell into the following categories:

(a) Committee Work - Prepared and delivered speeches, replies and answers to questions or criticism; chaired meetings, wrote summary daily and weekly cables to Washington, maintained close contact with all delegates, attended and participated in NATO caucuses and planned tactics and strategies.

(b) Plenary Work - Advised and prepared general and specific strategies, wrote speeches, assisted head of delegation and attended caucuses and negotiating groups.

(c) Special Projects - Wrote briefing papers, summaries, cables, newspaper articles, analyses, resolutions, talking points and all correspondence.

(d) Press Relations - Maintained close and continuous contact with members of the press at all stages of the meeting. Commission members held heavily-attended press conferences while in Belgrade. Staff members assisted in daily press briefings and press releases of U.S. delegation and wrote numerous press articles about the Belgrade meeting.

(e) Congressional and Public Visitors - Took responsibility for briefing and scheduling many members of Congress and representatives of private organizations who visited Belgrade during the meeting.

(f) Administrative - Provided a significant part of the administrative and secretarial support for the delegation throughout the conference.

③ [ Following the Belgrade meeting, the Commission initiated a series of reports, hearings, consultations and discussions on the results and significance of the Belgrade review. These included a detailed report and appraisal, "The Belgrade Follow-Up Meeting"; a public hearing with U.S. delegation chairman, Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg; a series of briefings for Commissioners,

Congressional staffers and non-governmental organizations; several articles and letters to the editor written by Congressman Fascell, including one in Foreign Policy magazine and The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists; and several post-Belgrade consultations with other signatory countries. ]

III EXPERTS MEETINGS

(4) Since the close of the Belgrade meeting in March 1978, the Commission's continuing involvement has been particularly apparent in the preparation and coordination of U.S. policy for additional CSCE-related meetings, including <sup>three</sup> the experts meeting <sup>s: #0</sup> to prepare a Scientific Forum in Bonn to be held next month, a meeting on the special problems of North American and European cooperation that were too broad in scope to be effectively treated in Belgrade.

The first experts meeting -- to draft the agenda for a conference of leading scientists from the CSCE states, the Scientific Forum -- took place in Bonn from June 18 to July 30, 1978. Reflecting the mandate given it by Congress to pay particular regard to the humanitarian provisions of the Final Act, the Commission sought -- in the course of its regular consultations with the State Department -- to insure that U.S. policy for the Bonn meeting would place a high priority on achieving an agenda that would permit adequate consideration of humanitarian issues. This concern for human rights was reflected in the delegation's written instructions. The Commission's staff director and deputy staff director also took part in NATO consultations in preparation for the Bonn meeting.

Once policy for the meeting was established, it was implemented by a small U.S. delegation, whose only two permanent

a Scientific Forum in Bonn to be held next month, a meeting on the special problems of North American and European cooperation that were too broad in scope to be effectively treated in Belgrade.  
 proceeded Settlement of disputes in Montreux Switzerland from Nov-Dec 1978 and a meeting on Mediterranean Cooperation held in Valletta Malta from Feb-March 1979

members were drawn from the Commission staff. Both of these individuals were veterans of the Belgrade meeting. The agenda of the Scientific Forum, as negotiated in Bonn, met U.S. requirements in that it permits Western participants to raise questions concerning the humanitarian aspects of scientific exchange.

Because the Montreux meeting, on peaceful settlement of disputes, is not scheduled to begin until October 1978, U.S. policy coordination is now in its early stages. However, the Commission has made several important recommendations to the State Department regarding U.S. strategy for this meeting. The Commission will also participate in policy formulation for the Malta experts meeting in 1979 to discuss economic, scientific and cultural cooperation in the Mediterranean area.

IV. ~~CASEWORK AND HUMAN RIGHTS RESEARCH~~

⑤ [The Commission's daily work has ~~largely~~ focused on individual violations of human rights, which fall into several categories: emigration, family reunification, marriage, travel (all known as human contacts cases), political prisoners, human rights dissidents, religious and national activists. The majority of human contacts cases that the Commission handles are from the Soviet Union, followed by Romania, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary. Most of the political, religious and national dissent cases that come to the Commission's attention are from the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, followed by East Germany, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary.

These cases come to the Commission from a variety of sources: the press, private organizations, concerned individuals, family members, samizdat (underground) documents, Congressional offices, and, in a few instances, the individual or groups in the Warsaw Pact country who are involved. In ~~general, the Commission learns of a case from a combination of these sources.~~ Many staff hours are spent responding to the scores of letters regarding individual cases received by the Commission; the number of such communications received by the Commission through October 1978 was approximately 1,600. The staff maintains extensive files on many of these cases. In addition, the Commission has compiled and regularly updates a list of unresolved human contacts cases. Included on this list are the identity, address and destination of the applicant, the date of first application and the date of

the most recent refusal. The list is published periodically and distributed to the press, interested parties, and the Washington embassies of the other 34 signatory nations. ] On the original list, published in August 1977, there were a total of 1,454 human contacts cases. The latest version -- published in October 1978 -- has approximately 2,060 cases on it. Since the list was first published, over 220 cases have been successfully resolved. The country-by-country breakdown is as follows:

	<u>August 1977</u>	<u>October 1978</u>	<u>Resolved</u>
<u>USSR</u>	1141	1259	145
<u>Romania</u>	188	633*	64
<u>Czechoslovakia</u>	76	83	8
<u>East Germany</u>	31	52	0
<u>Bulgaria</u>	7	19	2
<u>Poland</u>	9	11	1
<u>Hungary</u>	2	4	1
<u>TOTAL</u>	1454	2061	221

<sup>6</sup> [The Commission staff, in addition to responding to the volume of mail received on individual cases, spends time counseling family members, or in the case of bi-national marriages, fiancés -- both in person and over the telephone -- and suggesting methods that might be employed in their efforts to resolve their cases.] skip to p. 13

\*This figure includes approximately 200 cases which, according to Romanian embassy officials in Washington, have already been resolved, but confirmation is yet to be received from relatives.

The Commission receives a great deal of material from various unofficial groups and individual citizens in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In addition to publishing the translated versions of these documents, the staff uses these materials to document human rights abuses in these countries and to update the individual case files. Often, the staff shares these materials and translations with such private human rights research organizations as Amnesty International and Keston College Centre for the Study of Religion and Communism.

As part of the Commission's August 1977 report to the Congress on implementation of the Final Act, the Commission staff tabulated and analyzed the results of a questionnaire administered in Italy and Israel to over 1,000 recent Soviet emigrants about their experiences in leaving the USSR. The responses to the 21 questions have provided unique firsthand evidence of actual Soviet practices and procedures regarding family reunification and about any changes in those practices since the signing of the Final Act. As a follow-up to the original survey, staffers, in February 1978, administered an identical questionnaire to approximately 250 new emigrants who had left the USSR after the first survey was taken. A comparison of the results of the two surveys was published in March 1978. The Commission plans to administer and analyze the questionnaire regularly since it has proved to be a valuable source of documentation of Soviet progress, or lack of progress, in implementing the Final Act's human contacts provisions.

Another questionnaire concerning the working conditions of journalists abroad was submitted by the Commission staff to Western journalists in Europe and to Eastern journalists in the United States. Conclusions drawn from those responses were included in the Commission's report on implementation.

The staff has prepared extensive research materials on a variety of human rights issues for use by Commissioners, private organizations and individuals. For example, a background paper on the status of religious freedom in the USSR was prepared for a private delegation of Baptists traveling to the Soviet Union. Prior to each Commission hearing, the staff researches the relevant issues and provides briefing materials to the Commissioners and, often, to the witnesses. These materials are also made available to the public and the press and may appear as appendices in the published record of the hearing. Examples of such research are the papers on Soviet law and its application to the Helsinki watchers and another on the right to citizenship in international and Soviet law.

V PUBLIC HEARINGS

7. <sup>alone,</sup> [During the 95th Congress, the Commission conducted a total of 18 days of hearings during which it probed the views of 79 witnesses on an array of issues related to the implementation of the Helsinki accords. Specific hearing topics included East-West economic cooperation, family reunification, bi-national marriages, travel, religious liberty, minority rights, information flow, cultural and educational exchanges, political repression, the Belgrade meeting, the right to citizenship, Soviet law and the Helsinki monitors, and the repercussions of dissident trials in the Soviet Union.] Hearing records are published on all of these. <sub>ref to p. 26</sub>

(a) Basket II - Helsinki Final Act; East-West Cooperation -

On January 13 and 14, 1977, the Commission heard the testimony of U.S. Government officials, private citizens involved in trade with Hungary, Romania, and the USSR, and economists specializing in this field. The witnesses presented their views on progress achieved as well as problems persisting in the observance of Basket II provisions of the Final Act.

(b) Human Rights - In further seeking advice on the role of the Helsinki accords in the improvement of East-West relations, the Commission conducted two days of hearings on February 23 and 24, 1977. Among the witnesses were prominent émigrés Vladimir Bukovsky, who described the plight of some of his fellow prisoners still incarcerated in the Soviet Union as punishment for their efforts in the sphere of human rights; and Tomas Venclova,

Lithuanian poet and member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, who presented the Commission with the latest information on Helsinki monitors in the Soviet Union.

(c) Human Contacts: Family Reunification - On March 15 and 17, 1977, 14 witnesses appeared before the Commission with testimony on problems in the Basket III area of family reunification. Witnesses included representatives from non-governmental organizations whose work includes the monitoring of divided family cases from the various East European countries, as well as citizens who themselves had either successfully reunited with family members, or who were still in the process of attempting to do so.

(d) Religious Liberty and Minority Rights in the USSR - The Commission held two days of hearings, April 27 and 28, 1977, on the Principle VII issues relating to religious freedom and the treatment of national minorities in the Soviet Union. Among the 12 witnesses appearing before the Commission were Peter Redaway, senior lecturer at the London School of Economics, and expert on Soviet dissent; Lev Dobriansky, professor of economics and president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee; and other individuals with extensive experience in religious affairs.

(e) Helsinki Compliance in Eastern Europe - On May 9, 1977, the Commission conducted hearings to assess the diversity of compliance with the Final Act's human rights standards in the Warsaw Pact states. Witnesses provided the Commission with information in their area of expertise: James F. Brown, director of research and analysis with Radio Free Europe, testified on the

impact of the Final Act in the countries of Eastern Europe; Jiri Hochman, prominent Ducek-era editor and now exiled professor of journalism, presented data on the Final Act and Charter '77 in Czechoslovakia; other witnesses knowledgeable of the effect of the Final Act in Poland and Romania also shared their expertise with the Commission.

(f) Information Flow, and Cultural and Educational Exchanges - The impact of the Helsinki accords on expanding the flow of information between East and West and the progress and obstacles encountered by scholars and scientists in bilateral exchanges with the Eastern signatories of the Final Act served as the focus for Commission hearings on May 19, 24, 25, 1977. Among U.S. Government representatives testifying were John Reinhardt, director, U.S. Information Agency; and Joseph Duffey, Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs. Allen H. Kassoff, executive director of the International Research and Exchanges Board; and Sig Mickelson, president of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, Inc., were among the witnesses presenting testimony on this area of Basket III.

(g) Soviet Helsinki Watch, Reports on Repression - On June 3, 1977, the Commission conducted hearings on the activities of Helsinki monitors in the Soviet Union. Edward Bennett Williams, counsel for imprisoned Helsinki watcher Aleksandr Ginzburg, testified before the Commission, along with Lyudmila Alexeeva, representative of the Moscow Helsinki Watch Group Abroad. The witnesses provided the Commission with information concerning

the persecution of Soviet citizens who monitor their country's implementation of the Helsinki Final Act.

(h) U.S. Policy and the Belgrade Conference - On June 6, 1977, the Commission heard the testimonies of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Ambassador Albert Sherer, Jr. The witnesses provided the Commission with a view of proposed U.S. policy at the upcoming Belgrade meeting to review compliance with the Helsinki accords.

(i) Hearing on the Belgrade Conference - An account of the recently-concluded Belgrade conference served as the focus of the hearing conducted by the Commission on March 21, 1978. Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Belgrade conference, appeared as witness and provided the Commission with a detailed discussion of the Belgrade meeting.

(j) The Right to Citizenship in the Soviet Union - On May 4, 1978, the Commission heard the testimony of Mstislav Rostropovich, cellist and musical director of the National Symphony Orchestra, and his wife, opera singer Galina Vishnevskaya. Several months earlier, both witnesses had been deprived of their Soviet citizenship by the Soviet government on the grounds that they had damaged the prestige of their homeland. The couple also discussed cultural exchange between the Soviet Union and the U.S.

(k) Soviet Law and the Helsinki Monitors - In view of the scheduled trials of a large number of Helsinki Monitors in the Soviet Union, the Commission conducted hearings on June 6,

1978, on the legality of the reprisals against private citizens concerned with their country's observance of the Helsinki accords. Edward Bennett Williams, American counsel for Aleksandr Ginzburg; Alan Dershowitz, Harvard Law School professor and counsel for Anatoly Shcharansky; Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General and counsel for imprisoned Helsinki monitors Yuri Orlov, Oleksiy Tykhy and Mykola Rudenko; and George Fletcher, UCLA law professor and expert on comparative legal systems, provided the Commission with a perspective on the trials.

(1) Repercussion of the Trials of the Helsinki Monitors in the USSR - On July 11, 1978, the Commission conducted hearings to receive the testimony of 11 witnesses, including representatives of the U.S. Government, private Helsinki monitoring groups and private individuals concerned with the fate of Helsinki monitors in the USSR. Among the witnesses were Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs William Luers; Senator Bob Packwood; Representatives James M. Jeffords, Patricia Schroeder, Henry A. Waxman, and Larry McDonald; from the private sector, William Korey, director of International Policy Research of B'nai B'rith; Jerry Goodman, executive director of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry; and personal friends of several sentenced Helsinki monitors, Natalya Solzhenitsyn and Lyudmila Alexeeva.

VI COMMISSION MEETINGS AND STAFF INTERVIEWS

Commission meetings and staff interviews have served as a supplemental means to gather information on compliance with Final Act provisions among CSCE signatories. The following individuals or groups met with the Commission to discuss an assortment of Helsinki-related issues:

Commission Meetings:

(a) January 6, 1977 - The Commission held a meeting to hear the views of Andrei Amalrik, writer and former political prisoner from the Soviet Union. Amalrik, who has extensive personal knowledge of the movement in defense of human rights in the USSR, described for the Commission the work and problems facing Helsinki monitors in their efforts to inform world public opinion of their country's violations of Helsinki Final Act provisions.

(b) May 13, 1977 - Rudolf Nureyev discussed with the Commission the obstacles he has encountered in his attempts to bring his mother, who resides in the Soviet Union, to the United States for a visit.

(c) September 26, 1977 - The Commission met with Marina Voikhanskaya, Soviet émigré, psychiatrist with past employment in Soviet psychiatric hospitals; and Leonid Plyushch, former political prisoner in the Soviet Union who served the bulk of his term in psychiatric hospitals. Both recounted for the Commission their personal experiences with the abuse of

psychiatry in the treatment of Soviet prisoners with political or ideological beliefs considered undesirable by their government.

(d) January 27, 1978 - Close relatives and friends of imprisoned and harassed Helsinki monitors in the Soviet Union presented the Commission with updated information on the difficulties facing their family members during the recent crackdown on dissidents. Participating were: Avital Shcharansky, wife of Moscow Helsinki Group member and Jewish activist Anatoly Shcharansky; Aleksandr Slepak, son of exiled Jewish "refusenik" and Helsinki monitor Vladimir Slepak; Olga Plam, daughter of "refusenik" and Moscow Group member Naum Meiman; and Valentin Turchin, ex-representative of Amnesty International in Moscow.

(e) February 8, 1978 - Moscow and Ukrainian Helsinki Group member Pyotr Grigorenko and his wife met with the Commission to discuss in depth the process of monitoring human rights violations as it had evolved among the Soviet Helsinki Groups.

(f) July 17, 1978 - Avital Shcharansky, wife of Helsinki monitor and Jewish activist Anatoly Shcharansky, met with the Commission to discuss her husband's recent trial. Since her emigration from the USSR, Mrs. Shcharansky has traveled widely to inform the public of her husband's plight as human rights activist and long-time "refusenik" in the Moscow Jewish community.

(g) September 19, 1978 - Viktors Kalnins, recent émigré and ex-political prisoner from Latvia, shared with the Commission his experiences and opinions on human rights in the Baltic states.

Staff Interviews:

(a) August 3, 1977 - Maksimilians Grivans, émigré and former inmate in Soviet prison camps from Latvia, discussed with Commission staff members some specifics of the human situation in Latvia; he also provided a description of conditions in Soviet labor camps.

(b) November 3, 1977 - An official guest of the U.S. Government, Polish journalist Wladyslaw Bartoszewski provided staff members with his views on the effect of the Final Act in Poland; he also discussed the implications of President Carter's upcoming visit to that country.

(c) January 6, 1978 - Vilem Precan, recent émigré from Czechoslovakia, offered Commission staff members extensive details on Charter '77 and the Helsinki accords.

(d) September 21, 1978 - While an official guest of the U.S. Government, journalist and secretary of the Catholic Intellectual Clubs in Poland Andrezej Wielowieyski described extensively the role of the Catholic Church in his country; Wielowieyski also mentioned some of the recent trends among politically-aware Polish citizens promoting human rights.

VII COORDINATION AND POLICY: U.S. AND INTERNATIONAL

Since January 1977, the Commission and its staff have been actively involved in the review and coordination of CSCE policy in the U.S. As part of this activity, the Commission has worked closely with the relevant bureaus of the State Department and other governmental organizations and has engaged in a series of bilateral and multilateral contacts with representatives of foreign governments covering the whole range of CSCE issues.

Over the past two years, a working relationship has evolved between the Commission and the Bureau of European Affairs at the Department of State. Meetings between Commission staff and Department CSCE officials, particularly in the Regional Political-Military office of the European Bureau, are held frequently and there is considerable informal interaction with this section and others. The Political-Military office has also become the conduit through which the Commission and its staff receive classified Department reporting cables dealing with CSCE affairs. Coordination between the State Department and the Commission is currently carried out through regular weekly meetings between the Commission staff director and the counselor of the Department.

Throughout 1977, CSCE experts in the Department of State gave periodic briefings for members of the Commission. Members of the Commission and the staff were active participants in briefings and meetings in preparation for the Belgrade confer-

ence. Both prior to and after the Belgrade meeting, staffers have contributed to the formulation of policy documents dealing with CSCE issues. They also participated with State Department officials in a series of bilateral discussions in Washington with delegations of other CSCE countries including Sweden, Yugoslavia, Romania, Hungary, Poland, West Germany, Canada and Switzerland.

The Commissioners have hosted working lunches with CSCE officials from Yugoslavia and Sweden and met with parliamentarians from West Germany and Portugal to discuss CSCE and related issues. In February 1978, Chairman Fascell met in Washington with the chairman of the Romanian Parliamentarians' Group for CSCE.

The Commission staff has participated actively in CSCE discussions in NATO. In 1977, staff members attended four NATO meetings dealing with CSCE, three of which were meetings of NATO experts and one a meeting of the heads of delegations for the Belgrade meeting. To date in 1978, they have attended the three NATO experts meetings which have been held. They have also been involved in bilateral discussions abroad with various signatory countries. In 1977, these bilaterals were held with officials in Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, France, Finland, Spain and Yugoslavia. Since Belgrade, the Commission staff has held CSCE discussions with relevant officials in France, Yugoslavia, Romania, Italy and Spain.

## VIII CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

Although the Commission is an independent agency having three Executive Branch officials as members, the majority of the Commissioners are Members of Congress, its chairman having been appointed by the Speaker of the House. As a result, the Commission maintains a special relationship with the Congress and works closely with both individual Members and committees.

The Commission staff regularly responds to Congressional inquiries regarding the work of the Commission, the CSCE process, issues affecting East-West relations, human rights in Eastern Europe and to requests for information on the status of individual cases from Congressional offices. In addition to supplying this information, the Commission staff suggests actions a Member might take, provides materials for the preparation of speeches and statements in the Congressional Record and drafts letters or statements for the Member's use. If the staff is unable to furnish the necessary information, it will refer the Member's office to the appropriate private organization or government agency. The Commission also functions as a clearinghouse for information about Congressional activities on U.S.-European human rights and other Helsinki-related issues. Often, Congressional staffers contact the Commission to inquire what other Congressional offices have been active in a particular case and what actions have been taken on behalf of that case. Many offices routinely send the Commission copies of letters they have sent or statements they have made regarding

individual cases so that the Commission will be kept abreast of these efforts and be able to better inform other offices.

The Commission has supplied background materials for Members of Congress either participating in international meetings at which Helsinki-related issues are to be discussed or traveling to Eastern Europe. For example, the Commission -- working closely with the House International Relations Committee -- prepared briefing materials for the U.S. delegation to meetings of the Interparliamentary Union in Sofia, Vienna and Bonn. During the visit to Washington in early 1978 by a group of Soviet parliamentarians, the Commission staff prepared a briefing book on Helsinki-related issues, in the context of U.S.-Soviet relations, for the use of those Commissioners scheduled to take part in the discussions.

The Commission participated in the legislative process by drafting and supporting a variety of resolutions. In the case of H. Con. Res. 624, the staff prepared the resolution for introduction by the chairman of the House International Relations Committee and the Commission chairman. The resolution, expressing the sense of the Congress that the Helsinki Final Act affords protection to the Helsinki monitoring groups, was passed unanimously by the House on May 18, 1978, and by the Senate four days later. The Commission staff furnished information and assistance to numerous Congressional offices in the drafting stages of other resolutions dealing with the Helsinki Final Act or related issues. For example, the staff

assisted the office of Senator Henry Jackson in the preparation of S. Res. 512. The Commission had formally nominated the Soviet Helsinki watchers for the 1978 Nobel Peace Prize in January 1978, and S. Res. 512, which passed the Senate 90 to 1 on July 13, 1978, supported that nomination.

The Commission -- through public hearings -- has provided a forum for Members to express their view on many Helsinki-related issues. For example, 14 Members submitted statements or testified at the Commission's July 11, 1978, hearing on the trials of the Helsinki watchers. In addition, the Commissioners have participated in the hearings of committees or subcommittees on these issues. Chairman Fascell, for instance, submitted a statement on Romanian emigration practices to the Subcommittee on Trade of the House Ways and Means Committee during its hearings on the extension of most-favored-nation status to Romania.

All Congressional offices receive the Commission's publications and hearing notifications are published in the Congressional Record so that interested Members will be kept informed of the Commission's activities.

IX REPORTS AND PUBLICATIONS

8. [The Commission also produced reports of its hearings and a number of other studies and publications in fulfillment of its mandate to monitor implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. *The report entitled*

(a) Semi-Annual Reports by the President to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe - Initiated in December 1976, these reports, required by legislation establishing the Commission and prepared by the State Department, have provided, at six-month intervals, a comprehensive and detailed account of the record of implementation by CSCE signatories, with special emphasis on human rights. The Commission has given these reports wide dissemination to the press, the public and official and private organizations in all signatory countries.

(b) Report of the Study Mission to Europe to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (February 11, 1977) - This report covered an intensive fact-finding mission by Commissioners and staff to West European nations and Yugoslavia in the latter part of 1976.

(c) Implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Findings and Recommendations Two Years After Helsinki (August 1977) - ~~The most important of the Commission's earliest publications, this comprehensive document~~ provided a broad assessment of CSCE implementation progress two years after the signing of the Helsinki Final

Act. Released as the substantive portion of the Belgrade review conference convened, the document, in many respects, reflected the position of the U.S. delegation. It was circulated widely among other delegations, the general public and the media. In general terms, the report found that the record of the first two years had been more productive than the Commission expected, though far short of the high promises detailed in the language of the Final Act. *Another report,*

(b) The Belgrade Follow-Up Meeting to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: A Report and Appraisal May 17, 1978 provides an account of the proceedings of the

Belgrade meeting and gives the Commission's considered analysis of the results.

*The Commission has also released a series of documents*

(e) Documents of the Public Group to Promote Observance of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR (February 24 and June 3, 1977) and The Right to Know, The Right to Act, Document of Helsinki Dissent from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (May 1978) - These volumes consist of statements, declarations,

*compilations of documents issued by the Helsinki Monitoring Groups in the USSR.*

letters, and other testimonials from courageous human rights dissidents in the USSR and Eastern Europe concerning the failure of their governments to live up to commitments under the Helsinki Final Act. ] *see red, white, blue pamphlet*

(f) Supplement to the Commission's Implementation Report - Contains lists of Soviets and East Europeans denied emigration or family visit visas and is revised periodically to provide up-to-date information.

(g) On Leaving the Soviet Union: Two Surveys Compared (May 1, 1978) - Contains a statistical analysis of patterns and procedures in Soviet emigration based on extensive personal interviewing of recent émigrés by Commission staff members.

(h) Soviet Law and the Helsinki Monitors (June 6, 1978) - This is a Commission staff analysis of the Soviet legal system produced in conjunction with the trials of Helsinki monitors in the Soviet Union.

(i) Profiles: The Helsinki Monitors (June 6, 1978) - Contains biographic information and available photographs of all 58 members of the Public Groups to Promote the Observance of the Helsinki Agreement in the USSR.

X. COOPERATION WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Non-governmental organizations have been a primary source of information on the humanitarian aspects of Commission work. A significant amount of the casework that the Commission handles is originally referred by private organizations that range from groups with ethnic interests to agencies with broader humanitarian interests such as the International League for Human Rights. During the 95th Congress, the Commission corresponded extensively with these various groups, keeping them advised of any action that the Commission may take on their constituent's behalf and informing them of any new developments in cases they have sent to the Commission's attention. The Commission also consulted with private organizations in arranging hearings and obtained valuable insights and suggestions about their content and format. Once hearings were arranged, press releases with particulars were sent to all 400 non-governmental organizations on the Commission mailing list. All organizations on the list were sent published proceedings of hearings.

Representatives of citizens groups were kept current on Commission activities by mail and by means of frequently scheduled briefings. Prior to the Belgrade follow-up meeting, private groups and individuals were encouraged to contribute to pre-conference planning, reflecting the Commission's view

of the importance of non-governmental participation in this significant marker in the long-term CSCE process. For example, in advance of the preparatory meeting in June 1977, which determined the agenda of the substantive review session held in the fall, the Commission mailed detailed questionnaires to representatives of the academic and business community soliciting their views on the problems and possibilities that Belgrade would present in the area of economics and trade. Similarly, the Commission invited approximately 30 representatives of private organizations interested in the humanitarian provisions of CSCE to a briefing and consultation to plan strategy for the upcoming Conference. During the Belgrade Conference the Commission mailed ten bulletins outlining proceedings and analyses of the events to selected non-governmental organizations. This was an especially important service since the discussions at Belgrade were closed to the public and not transcribed, except for several days of on-the-record speeches at the start and end of the conference.

Commission staff members have frequently attended assemblies and seminars hosted by private organizations and often presented reports and speeches on such occasions. Notable examples include a speech given by Chairman Fascell on February 24, 1978, before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations entitled "Did Human Rights Survive Belgrade?" and an address by Staff Director R. Spencer Oliver delivered at the Ukrainian National Association in Pittsburgh on May 23, 1978.

In sum, the CSCE Commission serves as the nexus of Helsinki activity, providing a meeting place for governmental and private organizations to exchange knowledge and opinions about Helsinki-related issues. The Commission is geared to bring the particular concerns of private interest groups to government attention, while it helps to make government information accessible and government policy understandable to non-governmental organizations.

XI MEDIA ACTIVITIES

The Commission's investigative activities and research in the field of human rights have also made it a valuable source of information for U.S. and foreign media.

The Commission has provided information to the following national magazines and newspapers: The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Christian Science Monitor, The Wall Street Journal, Time, U.S. News and World Report, Newsweek, People, The New Republic, Business Week and The Baltimore Sun. In addition, the staff has given material to local newspapers, such as The Washington Star and the Santa Monica, California, Evening Outlook and local magazines such as Florida Trend. Such information has included background on emigration from Warsaw Pact countries, dissent in the Soviet Union, or the role of human rights in U.S. foreign policy.

Commissioners, in appearing on such television shows as "Face the Nation" or "The Today Show", have discussed Helsinki-related issues. In addition, a staff member appeared on the "McNeill-Lehrer Report" program on the Shcharansky-Ginzburg trials. The Commission staff gave considerable source material to NBC News in preparation for its two programs on human rights in Eastern Europe and the USSR. The NBC shows, which used documentary material shot in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, later won a prize as the outstanding program of television journalism for 1977. In July 1978, the Commission

staff provided NBC News with information for a program on the trials of three Soviet Helsinki monitors. On other occasions, the staff has responded to requests for information and visual materials from ABC, CBS, NBC, Metromedia and public television stations.

Articles by Chairman Fascell on human rights and the Helsinki process have appeared in journals such as Foreign Policy (Summer 1978) and The Journal of Atomic Scientists (October 1978). The staff has provided background material for articles in other publications such as Chemical and Engineering News.

At various times, the Commission staff has provided material following requests from representatives of the foreign media such as West German radio, TASS (the Soviet news agency), The London Times, Canadian television, The Financial Times, the Yugoslav press agency TANJUG, and The Manchester Guardian.

The Commission maintains contacts with media from American ethnic groups and human rights organizations. Such publications include newspapers published by Latvian and Lithuanian Americans, Smoloskyp Publishers (concerned with human rights in the Ukraine), the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, the Washington Street Research Center, Association of Polish Students and Graduates in Exile, Palach Press (publishes Polish and Czech unofficial materials), the Catholic News Service, Khronika Press (publishes samizdat documents from the USSR), Freedom House, the Union of Councils of

Soviet Jews, and the Lithuanian World Review Radio. Such contacts include information on Commission activities, translation of samizdat documents by the Commission staff, and general background information on human rights issues.

In addition, the Commission works closely with the media elements connected to various U.S. Government agencies, such as the Voice of America and Press Service of the International Communication Agency, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Activities have included interviews with Commissioners and their staff, translation of documents and providing information about Commission activities and other materials for distribution.