

COMMISSION ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

ACTIVITIES REPORT
96th Congress

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Commission was created in 1976 as an independent agency to monitor and encourage compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). It undertook a wide variety of activities to fulfill that mandate during the 96th Congress.

The primary focus of Commission activity during the past two years was on the Madrid CSCE review conference which began in November, 1980 to review implementation by all signatories of the military, security, economic, scientific, humanitarian and other goals of the Helsinki Final Act. The Commission both contributed to the formulating of U.S. policy for the Madrid meeting and played an important and active role in the U.S. delegation to the review conference. It has also been active in planning for and staffing official U.S. delegations to other meetings within the CSCE process which took place during the last two years.

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 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, including religious and ethnic rights and family reunification, were also the subjects of numerous Commission meetings and staff interviews during the 96th 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, including a comprehensive review of U.S. implementation of the Final Act.

The Commission has had 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 CSCE policy issues. In addition, periodic consultations were held with officials of the other signatory governments.

While it is expected that the Commission will continue many of the same activities after Madrid, the precise nature of these activities will be shaped by the outcome of the Madrid review conference.

II. THE MADRID MEETING

Preparations for, and participation in the Madrid review meeting required a significant proportion of the Commission's time and resources. Because of the importance of the meeting to the CSCE process and the extent of CSCE expertise in the Commission, both Commissioners and staff have been integrated into the U.S. delegation to the meeting. Representative Dante B. Fascell and Senator Claiborne Pell, later replaced by Senator Robert Dole, served as vice-chairmen of the U.S. delegation. Commission Staff Director, R. Spencer Oliver, served as one of the two Deputy Delegation Chairmen.

As at the Belgrade meeting in 1977-78, the U.S. delegation was 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 Madrid meeting. This was the second in a series of review meetings of the type envisioned by the Final Act and, thus, a significant step in continuing the CSCE process. Its goals were to strengthen that process by conducting a thorough exchange of views on implementation of the Final Act, by trying to agree on a balanced mix of new proposals in all areas of the Final Act and by agreeing on the date and place of another similar review meeting.

As part of the U.S. Government's pre-Madrid preparations, the Commission staff actively participated in extensive bilateral consultations with Western, neutral and Eastern signatory states. 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 Madrid. Several ideas for and actual texts of new proposals, later submitted at the meeting, came from the Commission. The Commission's lengthy report on implementation five years after Helsinki served as an important reference throughout the meeting. The Commission also maintained close contact with, and submitted reports before and during the meeting to Congress and to the hundreds of non-governmental organizations which maintained an active interest in the course of the discussions. A final report on the Madrid meeting will be issued upon the completion of the meeting.

Throughout the Madrid meeting, Commissioners and staff played an active and visible role in the proceedings. The Commission supplied three members of the eight-member U.S. delegation to the preparatory meeting which lasted nine weeks, from Sept.-Nov. 1980. Five Commissioners attended and participated in sessions of the main meeting, while 14 staff members took part at various times in every substantive aspect of the main meeting. In two of the five working groups, Mediterranean Cooperation and Follow-up, U.S. representation was chaired by Commission staff members, with back-up provided both by Commission staff and State Department

officers. The Commission staff also played an active role in the other three working groups, especially in the Basket III group on Cooperation in Humanitarian and related fields, where it supplied all the support staff. The Commission staff was also in charge of the review of Principle VII, the human rights principle, in Basket I. 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 criticisms, chaired meetings, wrote daily and weekly summary cables to Washington, maintained close contact with all delegates, attended and participated in NATO caucuses, planned tactics and strategies and drafted new proposals.

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

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

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

(e) Congressional and Public Visitors: Took full responsibility for briefing and scheduling the many Members of Congress and representatives of private organizations who visited Madrid during the meeting. During the review phase of the meeting, the Commission staff members of the delegation organized and operated a public relations office for the delegation, which helped visiting private citizens and public members of the delegation keep apprised of developments at the meeting and made available copies of speeches and other public material related to the meeting.

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

Following the Madrid meeting, the Commission intends to initiate a series of reports, hearings, consultations and discussions on the results and significance of the Madrid review. The first of these will be a detailed report and appraisal of the Madrid Follow-up meeting to be released shortly after the conclusion of the meeting. Also planned are a public hearing with the U.S. delegation chairman, Ambassador Max M. Kampelman; a series of briefings for Commissioners, Congressional staffers and non-governmental organizations; and several post-Madrid consultations with other CSCE countries.

III. EXPERTS MEETINGS

Two of three experts meetings mandated by the Belgrade review meeting (the Valletta Meeting on Cooperation in the Mediterranean and the Hamburg Scientific Forum) took place during the 96th Congress. The third, held in Montreux, Switzerland in the fall of 1978, dealt with the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes. These three meetings were set up by the Belgrade meeting to deal with special problems of North American and European cooperation that were either too broad in scope or too detailed to be effectively treated at review meetings such as Belgrade and Madrid.

The experts meeting on Cooperation in the Mediterranean took place in Valletta, Malta from February 13 through March 26, 1979. The meeting's mandate was to consider the possibilities and means of promoting economic, scientific and cultural cooperation in the Mediterranean area. The Commission played an important role both in determining U.S. strategy for this meeting and in carrying this policy out on the official U.S. delegation. Four members of the Commission staff served at various times on the delegation in senior positions. The Report to Governments prepared by the experts at Valletta and reaffirmed by the Madrid meeting, lists various areas and projects which the participating states should consider in the Mediterranean area.

The CSCE Scientific Forum met in Hamburg from February 18 to March 3, 1980. A preparatory meeting, during which the Commission played an active role, had taken place from June-July 1978. Important questions relating to the humanitarian aspects of scientific exchanges were raised by the U.S. delegation, which was assisted by two members of the Commission staff with extensive CSCE experience who served as advisors to the delegation. The Commission worked closely with the State Department and with members of the National Academy of Sciences and the U.S. scientific community who made up a significant portion of the official U.S. delegation. Despite opposition from the Soviet Union, the Scientific Forum produced a final document reaffirming respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms as one of the foundations for significant improvement in mutual relations and in building international scientific cooperation. Not the least of the reasons for this success was the insistence of the Commission and the U.S. delegation on standing up to the Soviets and exposing their deplorable human rights record.

IV. HUMAN RIGHTS RESEARCH AND CASEWORK

Mandated by its enacting legislation to pay particular attention to the humanitarian aspects of the Helsinki Final Act, the Commission devotes much of its time to documenting human rights violations in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The Commission receives a great deal of material from various private organizations in the United States and Europe as well as from unofficial groups and individual citizens in the Warsaw Pact nations. In addition to regularly translating and publishing these documents, the staff uses these materials to document human rights abuses, to update the extensive individual case files the Commission maintains, and to serve as sources of information for the many research projects and reports the Commission issues.

In the late summer of 1980, in preparation for the Madrid meeting, the Commission issued a comprehensive report to the Congress entitled: Implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Findings and Recommendations Five Years After Helsinki. Approximately 200 of the 341 pages in the report were devoted to the status of implementation of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. The Commission staff also participated in researching, compiling and preparing the extensive documentation of human rights violations and briefing materials for the United States delegation to use at the Madrid meeting.

Other human rights-related projects the Commission has undertaken include: publication of photographs and detailed biographical information on the over 50 members of the Soviet Helsinki Monitoring Groups in December 1979 and subsequent updates; publication of periodic updated lists of Prisoners of Conscience in the U.S.S.R., including the imprisoned Helsinki Monitors; a paper entitled, "International Guarantees of Human Rights" which was prepared for the observance of Law Day 1979 at UCLA Law School; a report on the issue of emigration for religious reasons, including names and addresses of over 10,000 Evangelical Christians who want to emigrate from the Soviet Union; the translation and publication of Soviet Helsinki Group documents related to the themes of the third session of the International Sakharov Hearings held in Washington in September 1979; the administration and analysis of a Russian-language questionnaire in April, 1980, to nearly 1,000 recent Soviet emigrants in Israel and Italy to obtain firsthand evidence of actual Soviet emigration practices and procedures; the nomination in 1979 by the Congressional members of the Commission of the members of the Soviet Helsinki Monitors for the Nobel Peace Prize; and a paper on the relationship of the Moscow Helsinki Group to the issue of nationalist dissent in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe delivered at the Second World Congress of Slavists.

Much of the Commission staff's daily work has focused on casework on individual violations of human rights. These fall into several categories: emigration, family reunification, bi-national marriage, travel (all referred to as human contacts cases); political prisoners; and various types of dissenters. The staff maintains extensive files on hundreds of such cases, and many staff hours are spent on casework correspondence. In addition, the Commission has compiled and regularly updates lists of unresolved human contacts cases. The Commission staff also spends time counseling and advising family members, concerned individuals, representatives of private groups and Congressional staffs on methods that might be employed in efforts to resolve cases.

V. PUBLIC HEARINGS

During the 96th Congress, the Commission conducted a total of 11 days of hearings, eliciting the opinions of 59 witnesses on a variety of issues related to the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. The specific topics of these hearings included: United States compliance in the area of human rights; United States visa policies; eyewitness accounts of the Soviet camp system; the problems of Soviet human rights and religious activists; the human rights situation in Ukraine; a review of implementation of Basket II provisions of the Final Act; the CSCE Scientific Forum and East-West scientific exchanges; a review of East European compliance with the human rights provisions of the Final Act; Soviet treatment of ethnic and national groups; and religious rights in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe. There are published hearing records -- including statements for the record -- for each of these Commission hearings. Before each Commission hearing, the staff researches the relevant issues and provides briefing materials to the Commissioners. These materials are also made available to the public and the press and may appear as appendices in the published record of the hearing.

(a) U.S. Compliance: Human Rights and U.S. Visa Policies

On April 3, 4, and 5, 1979, the Commission heard testimony on United States compliance -- particularly in human rights -- with the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. Among the witnesses were: Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Belgrade CSCE review meeting, Justice Arthur J. Goldberg; senior representatives of the Interior, Justice and Labor Departments; the Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; and private monitoring groups such as the New York Helsinki Watch and the Washington Helsinki Watch Committee for the United States. The first two sessions reviewed U.S. performance in the areas of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, while the third session focused on Helsinki-related criticisms of U.S. visa laws and procedures. Information gained from this hearing was later incorporated into a CSCE Commission report on U.S. domestic compliance.

(b) Aleksandr Ginzburg on the Human Rights Situation in the U.S.S.R.

On May 11, 1979, the Commission heard the eyewitness account of life in Soviet prison camps and prisons by leading Soviet dissident, Aleksandr Ginzburg. Mr. Ginzburg -- one of five Soviet citizens exchanged for two Soviet spies -- discussed the human rights situation in the U.S.S.R., including the work of the Public Fund for the Aid of Political Prisoners (of which he was Chairman) and the activities of the Moscow Helsinki Group (of which he was a founding member).

(c) Pastor Georgy Vins on the Persecution of Reformed Baptists in the U.S.S.R.

On June 7, 1979, noted Soviet reform Baptist minister, Georgy Vins, described the struggle of Soviet Baptists to practice their faith in the Soviet Union. Pastor Vins -- who was one of the five Soviets exchanged for Soviet spies apprehended in the United States -- told of his years in Soviet labor camps and explained the numerous Soviet legal restrictions on religious life in the U.S.S.R.

(d) Human Rights Violations in Ukraine

Two witnesses -- Ukrainian dissident historian, Valentyn Moroz and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Petr Vins -- in their testimony on July 19, 1979, focused on the plight of human rights activists in Ukraine. They described the systematic Soviet policy of Russification of Ukrainian cultural life and the severe penalties to which religious, nationalist and political dissidents are subjected.

(e) East-West Scientific Exchanges/Internal Exile of Sakharov

On January 31, 1980, CSCE Commission Chairman Fascell with the Chairmen of the House Subcommittees on Science, Research and Technology, and on International Security and Scientific Affairs, sponsored hearings on the CSCE Scientific Forum scheduled for the following month. The Scientific Forum held in Hamburg, Germany, was organized to discuss general scientific issues as well as to exchange views on the freer exchange of scientific information, and on the human rights of Eastern European and Soviet scientists. Experts from the U.S. scientific community and government participated in three panel discussions. Soviet emigre physicist, Andrei Tverdokhlebov, a human rights activist, spoke about his friend and colleague, Dr. Sakharov.

(f) Basket II - Review of Helsinki Final Act

On March 6, 1980, the Commission heard the testimony of U.S. Government officials and private sector interests involved in trade with Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. The witnesses presented their views on progress achieved, as well as on persistent problems in the observance of Basket II provisions of the Final Act.

(g) Review of East European Compliance with the Human Rights Provisions of the Helsinki Final Act

Five experts provided testimony on the situation in Romania, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia, plus an overview of the political and legal mechanisms in the region as a whole. CSCE issues covered during the hearing included: the situation of religious groups in these countries; family reunification; and dissident movements in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania.

(h) Soviet Treatment of Ethnic Groups

Four recent emigres from the Soviet Union testified on April 29, 1980 on the struggle of non-Russian ethnic and national groups in the Soviet Union against Russification, while providing further information on the situation of Ukrainians, Jews, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Crimean Tatars.

(i) Religious Rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

On May 21, 1980, four expert witnesses described the recent upsurge of religious feeling in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe. Professor Bohdan Bociurkiw provided a survey of the legal status of religion in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe, while other witnesses discussed the difficulties of the Russian Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim communities in the U.S.S.R.

VI. COORDINATION AND POLICY: U.S. AND INTERNATIONAL

Since January 1979, the Commission has continued to assist in the coordination of U.S. policy on CSCE issues. The Commission has worked closely with other U.S. Government agencies to develop policies and has participated in consultations with many of the other 34 participating countries.

The Commission works closely with the Bureau of European Affairs of the Department of State. The Commission staff meets frequently with State Department officers who are concerned with CSCE matters and with other Department officers whose work is related to CSCE issues. The Regional Political Military Affairs Office in the European Bureau provides the staff with copies of State Department cables related to CSCE matters.

Staff members participated actively with offices of the Department of State in the formulation of policy positions relating to CSCE. In addition, Commission staff did the initial drafts of several position papers used by the delegation at Madrid.

The Commission has also participated in consultations with other signatories to the Final Act. The principal forum for coordinating the positions of the NATO allies are NATO experts meetings held periodically in Brussels between CSCE review meetings. Commission staff members participated in these experts meetings which were held every three or four months between the Belgrade and Madrid meetings.

Commission staff also participated in consultations with non-NATO signatories. Among Western signatories, bilateral consultations were held with Austria, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland and Spain. In addition, staff members participated in bilateral discussions which were held with each of the countries of Eastern Europe except Czechoslovakia. These consultations consisted of two meetings, one in the foreign capital and one in Washington.

An exploratory low-level consultation was held with the Soviets in Washington in September, 1979, but no further consultations were held because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

VII. CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

Although the Commission is an independent agency with three Executive Branch members, the majority of the Commissioners are Members of Congress, and the Chairman is 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 CSCE process, as well as issues affecting East-West relations, human rights in Eastern Europe, and to requests for information on the status of individual cases. 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 and liaison support for Members of Congress participating in international meetings at which Helsinki-related issues were discussed, or traveling to Eastern Europe or the U.S.S.R. For example, the Commission -- working closely with the House Foreign Affairs Committee -- prepared briefing materials for and participated in the U.S. delegation to the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union held in Brussels, Belgium and meetings of the North Atlantic Assembly here in Washington, D.C. In April, 1979, the Commission provided background briefing materials and conducted a briefing for a Congressional delegation, led by then House Majority Whip John Brademas, to the U.S.S.R. Most notably, the Commission provided complete staff liaison support services to numerous Members of Congress attending the CSCE review meeting in Madrid, Spain.

The Commission participated in the legislative process by drafting and supporting a number of resolutions. In the cases of H. Con. Res. 391 and 272, the staff prepared the resolutions for principle sponsorship by Commission Members. H. Con. Res. 391 reaffirmed the support of the Congress for full implementation and review of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and urged the U.S. delegation in Madrid to give prominent attention to human

rights concerns during the negotiations. H. Con. Res. 272 expressed the sense of Congress that the exile of Andrei Sakharov and the continued suppression of human rights in the Soviet Union were in violation of the Helsinki Final Act and that the U.S. delegation should raise these objections at the Madrid meeting.

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 Commission worked closely with those Members expressing concern about the exile and emigration restrictions placed on Soviet Jewish refusenik Ida Nudel, the longstanding mysterious disappearance of Swedish diplomat-humanitarian Raoul Wallenberg, the arrest of the Soviet Jewish activist Vladimir Kislik, the plight of Christians in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and the political-economic situation in Poland.

The Commission -- through public hearings -- has provided a forum for Members to express their views on many Helsinki-related issues and, where appropriate, has held joint hearings with legislative committees of the Congress. In addition, Commissioners have testified in the hearings of standing committees and subcommittees on these issues. Chairman Fascell, for instance, testified and submitted a statement on human rights in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union to the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organizations during its review of human rights policy in September, 1980.

In other activities, the Commission has provided public opportunities to show Congressional support of Helsinki-related issues. For example, the Commission hosted a reception in honor of Mrs. Anatoly Shcharansky, the wife of the jailed Soviet Jewish activist, to mark the second anniversary of her husband's arrest. Over 80 Members of Congress co-hosted and attended this function as an expression of their support for the human rights activities of the Helsinki Monitors in the Soviet Union.

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

VIII. REPORTS AND PUBLICATIONS

Among the various reports and publications the Commission issued or distributed during the 96th Congress are:

(a) Semi-Annual Reports by the President to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe -- These reports, initiated in December 1976, are required by legislation establishing the Commission and are prepared by the State Department. They have provided, at 6-month intervals, a comprehensive and detailed account of the record of implementation by CSCE signatories, with special emphasis on human rights. The Commission has disseminated these reports widely to the press, the public and official and private organizations in all signatory countries.

(b) CSCE Digest -- Issued bi-weekly, the Digest is a detailed compilation of American and European media coverage of Helsinki-related topics. The Digest, which includes a section on Commission activities, is mailed to interested Members of Congress, governmental and private organizations and the general public in the United States and Europe.

(c) Documents of the Public Groups to Promote Observance of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR, Vol. III (November 7, 1978) -- This volume consists of statements, declarations, 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.

(d) On the Right to Emigrate for Religious Reasons: The Case of 10,000 Soviet Evangelical Christians -- In May, 1979, the Commission published this 196-page report tracing some aspects of the history of Soviet religious repression, particularly of evangelical Christians, including accounts of current treatment and the names of hundreds of such persons from 11 Soviet republics or occupied states who have registered their desire to emigrate.

(e) The third session of the international Sakharov Hearings (a private organization) was held in the Dirksen Senate Office Building September 26-29, 1979. The Commission staff translated, edited and published Soviet Helsinki Group documents related to the themes of these hearings: Socio-economic Rights of Soviet Citizens: the Workers' Question; Imprisoned Helsinki Group Monitors and Other Prisoners of Conscience in the U.S.S.R.; A Fact Sheet on the Soviet Helsinki Monitoring Groups; Freedom of Movement Inside the U.S.S.R.; and The Soviet Legal System.

(f) Fulfilling Our Promises: The United States and the Helsinki Final Act (November, 1979) -- With this analysis of the United States' own record of implementation, the Commission sought to establish U.S. credibility, to stimulate honest implementation evaluations by other member states prior to the Madrid conference and to encourage improved compliance by the United States. Days of public hearings and months of staff work produced a comprehensive examination of U.S. compliance with all provisions of the Final Act which identified areas for improvement as well as those in which compliance was judged to be satisfactory.

(g) Profiles: The Helsinki Monitors (December, 1979) -- This is a compilation of detailed biographical information on 66 members of the various Helsinki Monitoring Groups in Moscow, Ukraine, Lithuania, Armenia and Georgia, plus other such groups, including the Christian, Catholic and Adventist Committees and the Working Commission on the Abuse of Psychiatry.

(h) Fact Sheet on Soviet Political Prisoners (February 14, 1980) -- This report compiles statistics on 162 cases of political imprisonment in the Soviet Union in 1979, including the cause of imprisonment and the present status of the case.

(i) Implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: Findings and Recommendations Five Years After Helsinki (August 1, 1980) -- Assessing implementation of the Helsinki Final Act during the five years since its signing, with particular emphasis on the 3-year period since the Commission's initial report in 1977, this comprehensive examination found that whereas the level of implementation in all areas of Western CSCE states had remained relatively high, implementation by Warsaw Pact countries, with rare exceptions, was appallingly low in many areas or had even regressed, particularly in the area of human rights. The 341-page report assessed the results of the Belgrade meeting, examined problems in the CSCE process and challenged the Soviet Union and its Eastern allies to improve their compliance in a number of specific ways.

The document was released just before the Madrid review conference and contained, based upon its findings, a recommended set of minimum objectives for the meeting. The Commission report was used extensively at the conference by other delegations as a guide and reference source in considerations of policy and positions for the review of compliance. In the opening session of the conference, the U.S. delegation took the lead in strong criticism of Eastern performance in the human rights areas and was joined by major Western allies. In special appendices, the report also provided a brief update of U.S. compliance since the 1979 report; a detailed report of repression of individuals and organizations in Czechoslovakia; and a status report on imprisoned members of the Helsinki monitoring groups in the Soviet Union.

IX. COOPERATION WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are a primary source of information for the Commission as well as the major channel through which the Commission publicizes its work. The Commission, therefore, keeps in close and regular contact with representatives of the various private groups interested in CSCE. NGO representatives receive all Commission publications and press releases and are invited to attend Commission meetings and hearings. On a less formal basis, Commissioners and staff members meet and consult frequently with representatives of private organizations.

The Commission attempts to provide a forum for NGOs to express their views by inviting private witnesses to testify and submit statements at Commission public hearings. The Commission, by maintaining close contacts with NGOs, is geared to bring the particular concerns of private groups to government attention thus making government CSCE policy more responsive to non-governmental organizations and government information more accessible to them.

At the Madrid meeting, members of the Commission staff operated the public affairs office and served as liaisons for the U.S. delegation with the hundreds of private organizations represented there. Frequent briefings were held and meetings with delegation leaders were arranged. The Commission staffers on the U.S. delegation also had primary responsibility for assisting the Public Members of the delegation, 30 prominent individuals representing a variety of ethnic, religious, labor and civic constituencies. The Commission staff prepared special briefing books for these individuals and provided them with Commission materials prior to their arrival in Madrid.

Commission staffers also helped arrange and participated in a series of meetings around the country in the spring and summer of 1980 between representatives of private groups and officials of the U.S. delegation to Madrid. Among these was a day-long conference at the State Department and White House held to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act.

Commission staffers have frequently attended conferences, seminars, assemblies and meetings hosted by private organizations and professional associations both in the United States and abroad. On numerous occasions, Commissioners and staff members have presented reports and papers, delivered speeches and participated in panel discussions.

X. MEDIA ACTIVITIES

The Commission has made use of a wide variety of media outlets in carrying out its responsibilities, including press conferences, television, radio and newspaper interviews, letters, feature articles in newspapers and journals, and the provision of background information to members of the press, scholars and other publicists, both in the United States and abroad.

Representative of the Commission's activities with the media are the following:

The Christian Science Monitor, on February 23, 1979, featured an article by Chairman Dante B. Fascell exposing Soviet manipulation of emigration policies in violation of the Helsinki accords and the effect of these practices on religious and ethnic minority groups in the Soviet Union.

In the March, 1979 issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Chairman Fascell published a case study of the Helsinki accords, exploring how non-governmental individuals and groups have affected the agreement.

In an op-ed column for the Baltimore Sun on May 28, 1979, Chairman Fascell noted the wide discrepancy in the number of Jews actually allowed to leave the Soviet Union versus the number who have applied to leave, even when the number permitted to leave has risen.

Considerable media use was made of the Commission's November, 1979, report, "Fulfilling Our Promises: The United States and the Helsinki Final Act." AP, UPI, German radio, Reuters, the Voice of America, the New York Times and the Christian Science Monitor carried stories of the report. The Monitor cited the report as demonstrating that the United States takes the Final Act seriously.

A letter from Chairman Fascell reporting the sharply-increased rate of repression of Soviet religious, ethnic and labor activists was carried in the Washington Post on December 10, 1979.

Chairman Fascell and a staff member were interviewed in January, 1980, by Independent Television News network on the internal exile of Andrei Sakharov.

The International Communications Agency interviewed Chairman Fascell and Commission Staff Director R. Spencer Oliver in January, 1980, for a telecast on the CSCE review process.

In February, 1980, Chairman Fascell was interviewed on National Public Radio regarding the role of the Commission and the State Department's human rights reports.

Chairman Fascell also published an op-ed article in the Los Angeles Times on March 6, 1980, on Soviet human rights activists in conjunction with the approaching opening of the Olympic Games in Moscow.

The Spring-Summer 1980 issue of the Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law contained a detailed analysis of the Helsinki review process by Chairman Fascell entitled, "The CSCE Follow-up Mechanism: From Belgrade to Madrid."

The Washington Post on August 8, 1980, carried an article by then Commission Co-Chairman Claiborne Pell calling attention to human rights abuses in East Germany and analyzing the growth of dissident activity in Czechoslovakia four years after the signing of the Helsinki accords.

U.S. News & World Report on August 11, 1980, cited a number of findings from the Commission's report, "Findings and Recommendations Five Years After Helsinki," in an article highlighting U.S. criticism of the Soviet human rights record.

The Washington Post on December 26, 1980, carried a lengthy excerpt from Staff Director Oliver's statement at Madrid as deputy chairman of the U.S. delegation, in which he declared the U.S. intention to speak out on violations of the Final Act.

The Commission maintains extensive contacts with media representatives of human rights organizations and groups concerned with religious rights. These publications include newspapers, journals and press releases from such human rights organizations as Amnesty International, Human Rights Internet, the International League for Human Rights, Freedom House and Khronika Press; and publications about religious issues such as the Keston College News Service, Far East Broadcasting, the Religious News Service, the Research Center for Religion in Communist Dominated Areas and the Catholic News Service. Such contacts have included information on Commission activities, general information on human rights issues and translations of samizdat documents by the Commission staff.

The Commission also works closely with the media elements of various U.S. government agencies such as the language services of the Voice of America, the Press Service of the International Communications Agency and various branches of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Among other activities, the Commission staff has arranged interviews with Commissioners; translated unofficial documents; provided information on various aspects of the Helsinki process; publicized Commission activities; and provided general information on human rights problems.