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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

JANUARY 15, 1989

HON. JIM WRIGHT,
Speaker of the House of Representatives,
U.S. Capitol, Washington, DC

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: For the past 2 years I have had the privilege of serving as Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It has been a particularly exciting as well as challenging 2 years.

Human rights has not always been at the forefront. Yet the desire for basic human rights and fundamental freedoms is universal. Though human rights has emerged rather recently as an element in international relations it may not always remain a priority of nations. The Commission is firmly committed to encouraging and promoting respect for human rights as an enduring principle which guides relations among nations and between nations and their citizens.

I want to take this opportunity to highlight very briefly the activities, goals and accomplishments of the Commission during the past 2 years. A detailed report is attached. Although it is dangerous, it is also tempting to speak of trends. During the past 2 years we have witnessed signs the world over indicating an increasing receptivity to more forthright acknowledgement of human rights problems. For the first time during its existence the Commission was invited to the Soviet Union for discussions with deputies of the Supreme Soviet on human rights. The unprecedented exchange in November 1988 signalled a growing recognition by Soviet officials that a source of the Soviet Union's negative image is in its conduct, specifically its human rights violations. And while there have been significant advances in respect for basic human rights during the past several years they do not, however, signal either that the docket of past abuses has been cleared or that the current phase of relative improvement is becoming a permanent feature of Soviet internal policy.

In Eastern Europe conditions are certainly not uniform, but aspirations became increasingly so during the past several years. The societies in all six of the East European countries have been touched to varying degrees by the same developments: a religious revival, the peace and environmental movements, and trans-border outreach among independent activists. The Commission followed events in Eastern Europe more closely during the past Congress than ever before. It visited all six East European countries and engaged their leaders and non-official activists in a dialogue on all as-

pects of the Helsinki Final Act with particular emphasis on human rights.

During the past 2 years the Commission held extensive hearings on issues of particular concern and relevance to Eastern Europe. Contacts with East European embassies in Washington, DC were increased and follow-up discussions were held with visiting officials from Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia.

During the 100th Congress the Commission examined the Helsinki Final Act in all its aspects. Several hearings on the military security provisions of "Basket" I were held; East-West trade and environmental issues were examined; and focus on exchanges was heightened. In addition the Commission has maintained a continuing interest in the U.S. compliance record. None of the 35 participating States are in total compliance with each and every provision of the Final Act. Though the record of the United States ranks among the best of the 35 signatory states, there will always be room for improvement and the United States is under no less obligation to improve than other countries. The Commission believes that to insure the long-term success of the CSCE process, the U.S. must demonstrate its good faith by taking an honest, comprehensive look at its own performance.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I want to extend a special gratitude to the dedicated and talented staff of the Commission. They have worked hard and well together in a spirit of true bipartisanship guided by a deep commitment to human rights.

With best wishes,
Sincerely yours,

STENY H. HOYER
CHAIRMAN

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I. INTRODUCTION

Commission Background

Created in 1976 by Public Law 94-304 as an independent agency, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe is charged with monitoring and encouraging compliance with all provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Signed on August 1, 1975 in Helsinki, Finland by the heads of state of 35 nations, the Final Act encompasses nearly every aspect of East-West relations including military security, trade and economic cooperation, human rights and scientific and cultural exchanges.

The Commission's mandate, as outlined in Public Law 94-304, is to "monitor the acts of the signatories which reflect compliance with or violation of the articles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, with particular regard to the provisions relating to Human Rights and Cooperation in Humanitarian Fields." The Commission is further authorized and directed to "monitor and encourage the development of programs and activities of the U.S. Government and private organizations with a view toward taking advantage of the provisions of the Final Act to expand East-West economic cooperation and a greater interchange of people and ideas between East and West." Carrying out its mandate, the Commission actively documents violations of the Final Act, promotes public awareness of implementation of its provisions and is consulted on the formulation of U.S. Government policy on CSCE issues.

Monitoring compliance with the Final Act is the Commission's main activity. Public hearings with expert witnesses are regularly held on such issues as religious intolerance; the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act; Soviet and East European emigration policies; the nationalities of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; East-West trade; *glasnost*; *perestroika*; and the politics of pollution.

Much of the Commission's daily activity focuses on human rights casework. Visa denials, political prisoners, and other human rights violations are followed closely. The staff compiles and disseminates information on these cases and advises family members, congressional offices and interested nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) on steps to resolve them.

NGOs are a primary source of information for the Commission as well as a major channel through which the Commission publicizes its work. The Commission is geared to bring the particular CSCE-related concerns of private groups to the attention of the Government decision-makers. In turn, the Commission endeavors to make governmental policies and activities regarding CSCE more accessible to NGOs.

The Commission plays a unique role in assisting in the planning and executing of U.S. policy in various CSCE fora, beginning with the Belgrade Follow-Up Meeting of 1977-78 and including the Madrid Follow-Up Meeting of 1980-83 as well as the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting, currently underway. Commissioners and staff hold periodic meetings with officials of the executive branch on CSCE policy and implementation. The Commission participates on U.S. Government delegations to CSCE meetings and engages in high-level consultations with other Governments which are signatories to the Final Act.

II. THE HELSINKI PROCESS

On August 1, 1975, the heads of state of 35 nations signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, commonly known as the Helsinki Agreement. The document covers three major components of East-West relations: security; economic, industrial and scientific cooperation; and humanitarian issues including basic human rights and specific concerns such as family reunification, travel, information flow, and educational and cultural cooperation.

The document itself is comprised of three sections, popularly known as "baskets." The first basket contains 10 principles "guiding relations between states," including: inviolability of frontiers (Principle III), non-intervention in internal affairs (Principle VI), respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms (Principle VII), and self-determination of peoples (Principle VIII). In addition, Basket I deals with certain aspects of military security and disarmament, known as confidence-building measures (CBMs).

Basket II discusses cooperation in the economic sphere, including science and technology. There is also a section known as Basket II B, which deals with issues of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean.

Basket III calls for and encourages cooperation in the humanitarian fields: expansion of human contacts across borders; improvement of access to printed and broadcast information; improvement in the working conditions of journalists; as well as expansion of cultural and educational cooperation.

Finally, there is a section entitled "Follow-up to the Conference," which calls for experts meetings and periodic review meetings of the 35 states.

In accordance with the desire of the signatories, the Final Act is not a legally binding document. In fact, the Final Act states that it is not eligible for registration as a treaty or international agreement under Article 102 of the U.N. Charter.

Nevertheless, the participating States generally accept the proposition that, by signing the Final Act, they have given solemn, political commitments to fulfill their declared intentions. They can be held publicly, if not legally, accountable by other signatories. So accepted is this concept that not one of the participating States has used the nonbinding nature of the Final Act as a defense against nonfulfillment of its provisions.

Another concept agreed upon by all 35 signatories is that all areas of the Final Act are of equal importance. No one section of

the document is to be emphasized at the expense of another, and conversely, no area is to be ignored or relegated to a lower status.

The Helsinki Final Act's unique follow-up provisions call for periodic major review meetings. These gatherings have become important means by which the signatories to the Final Act assess what progress, if any, has been made during the preceding years as measured by a permanent yardstick. From the beginning, Helsinki signatories have acknowledged that full implementation of the Accords' provisions would not be accomplished overnight and that CSCE necessarily will be a long-term process.

The first such follow-up took place in Belgrade between October 1977 and March 1978. A relatively new ingredient in East-West diplomacy emerged: recognition of human rights as an integral aspect of East-West relations. Though the participants agreed on very few points, the 35 states did agree to meet again in Madrid in 1980. In addition to the two meetings of experts called for in the Final Act, the Hamburg Scientific Forum (1980) and the Montreux Meeting on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes (1978), a third, the Valletta (Malta) Meeting on Cooperation in the Mediterranean (1979), was agreed to at Belgrade.

While the first CSCE follow-up meeting yielded a terse communique, the second review meeting in Madrid, which spanned a 3-year period (November 1980 to September 1983), ended with a comprehensive concluding document promising improved East-West relations.

A successor to the Madrid Follow-Up Meeting was agreed to be held in Vienna, Austria, beginning November 4, 1986, and six meetings of experts were also agreed to be held on such issues as human rights, human contacts, and culture. These meetings have created, in effect, a continuing framework for consideration of a broad range of issues despite problems and setbacks in the wider context of East-West relations.

The third follow-up meeting is currently underway in Vienna. Though substantial differences divide East and West, especially in areas of human rights adherence, a common willingness to discuss and examine areas of concern propel the Helsinki process forward.

III. COMMISSION DELEGATIONS

Vienna/Prague

A Commission-sponsored delegation led by Commission Chairman Hoyer, who is also Vice Chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Vienna Meeting, visited Vienna in February of 1987. The delegation included Commissioner Christopher Smith (R-NJ), and Representatives Albert Bustamante (D-TX) and Benjamin Gilman (R-NY). Mr. Hoyer addressed the Vienna plenary meeting on February 13 and introduced, on behalf of the NATO countries, two human rights proposals concerning the plight of persons in confinement and the contribution of unofficial individuals and groups to the CSCE process. Later the delegation participated in a press conference and held meetings with the Soviet and Romanian delegations at which *glasnost* and human rights abuses were the main topics.

As part of the ongoing policy directive set by the Chairman to establish direct contacts with all of the East and Central European countries, the delegation then went to Prague, the first such visit by the Commission. Two days of talks were held with Czechoslovak officials and private citizens including representatives of Charter 77 and the Jazz Section. When some of these private citizens were forcibly prevented from meeting with the delegation, this was reported and strongly protested at the Vienna Meeting.

Speakers' trip to Soviet Union

In April 1987, Mr. Hoyer accompanied Speaker Jim Wright and others on a trip to the Soviet Union where they met with General Secretary Gorbachev, Politburo member Yegor Ligachev, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, Secretary Anatoly Dobrynin, President of the Supreme Soviet Andrei Gromyko, and numerous human rights activists, divided family members and refuseniks. The meetings were used by high-ranking Soviet officials to stress the themes of East-West cooperation and partnership and urge support for the Soviet proposal put forward at Vienna for a Moscow conference on humanitarian concerns. The range of issues put forward by the Wright delegation were broad with a major focus on reducing tensions through arms control and increased respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Romania/Bulgaria

In August, Chairman Hoyer led a Commission delegation to Romania and Bulgaria. He was accompanied by Commission members Bill Richardson (D-NM) and State Department Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Richard Schifter. Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ), also a Commissioner, participated in the Romanian portion of the trip and visited Poland and the U.S.S.R. as well. Representative Jim Moody (D-WI) joined the delegation in Romania before leaving for the Soviet Union. A considerable part of the discussions during these visits centered on the Vienna Meeting as well as human rights concerns across the board and current arms control proposals.

Among the party, Government and parliamentary leaders which the delegation met with were, in Romania, President Ceausescu, Foreign Minister Ioan Totu and Foreign Trade Minister Ilie Vaduva, and in Bulgaria, President Zhivkov, Foreign Trade Minister Andrey Lukanov, Deputy Foreign Minister Lyuben Gotsev, and National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov. In Romania, the delegation concentrated on religious freedom and met with Orthodox, Baptist and Jewish leaders as well as representatives of the Adventists, Pentecostal, and Catholic Churches. The delegation focused on national minority issues during its visits to Brasov and Sfantu Gheorge. Dialogue on human rights, particularly the Turkish minority issue, emigration in general, and economic reform dominated Commission discussions in Bulgaria.

Vienna/GDR

In October, the Chairman led a delegation composed of Representatives Benjamin Cardin (D-MD), Jan Meyers (R-KA) and Larry Smith (D-FL) to Vienna and the German Democratic Republic. In

Vienna, Mr. Hoyer delivered his third plenary address on October 9 in which he emphasized the link between human rights and military security. Stressing Commission concerns, Mr. Hoyer warned of the long-term implications of expanding the military security aspects of the Helsinki process to encompass conventional stability negotiations. Hoyer stated:

I would not want to conclude my remarks without briefly commenting on the Helsinki Commission concern regarding the growing focus on security issues—including conventional stability negotiations within the framework of the CSCE process.

With the probability of an INF agreement, the importance of addressing destabilizing imbalances in conventional forces will inevitably and necessarily grow. It will also be important to pursue and strengthen confidence- and security-building measures.

The concern of the Helsinki Commission and the U.S. Congress is that the importance of these objectives not obscure or diminish the imperative of achieving significantly greater progress in human rights than we have achieved since August of 1975.

As we stated repeatedly in Bern and have reiterated here, we believe that performance of human rights commitments is essential if we are to move forward. And we believe it critical to continue the focus of the Helsinki process on this objective. Parallel progress on security and human rights within the CSCE process is essential to stability and closer cooperation.

As a continuing forum, the CSCE can play an increasingly important role in enhancing international stability and in providing institutional pressure for observance of human rights in signatory nations. But CSCE must not divorce issues of national security from those of individual freedom. History has taught us that such a road leads to cynicism and disaster.

While at the Vienna Meeting the delegation had extensive meetings with the Soviet and Bulgarian delegations on a wide range of CSCE matters. Human rights was a main concern. Senator Timothy Wirth (D-CO), also a Commissioner, participated actively in the Vienna program and remained a few days longer for further discussions. Other members of the delegation visited Berlin (East and West) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR), October 10-13. They had meetings with religious leaders, peace and human rights activists and national leaders including GDR Party Secretary Axen and Foreign Minister Fischer. Again, the discussions focused on human rights and other concerns directly related to the Vienna Meeting with particular emphasis on and concern over laws and institutions which inhibit freedom of travel, religion and expression.

Poland/Great Britain

From April 4-10, 1988 a bipartisan delegation led by Chairman Hoyer including Representative Don Ritter, ranking House minority Commissioner, and Clay Shaw (R-FL), Gerry Sikorski (D-MN), and Kweisi Mfume (D-MD) visited Poland and Great Britain. The delegation's mission consisted of initiating a dialogue in Poland with official and unofficial persons regarding the full scope of Helsinki-related issues, and to gain in London a firsthand understanding of allied concerns and strategies regarding the ongoing Vienna Meeting.

The discussions in Warsaw centered on political and economic reforms as well as bilateral relations between Poland and the United States. Talks were held with Marian Orzechowski, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Vice Marshall of the Sejm; Zdzislaw Sadowski, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Andrzej Dorosz, Vice Minister of Finance. Unofficial meetings

included talks with Lech Walesa in Gdansk regarding Solidarity's role in Poland's economic and political processes and in Warsaw with leading supporters and members of the Freedom and Peace Movement (*Wolnosc i Pokoj* or "WiP"). In London the delegation met with officials of Amnesty International at its world headquarters, discussed current military security issues with officials from Britain's Ministry of Defense and reviewed the current negotiations of the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting with Britain's head of delegation, Ambassador Lawrence O'Keefe.

Commission-Supreme Soviet Interface

From Monday, November 14 through Friday, November 19, 1988 a congressional delegation led by Chairman Hoyer and Cochairman DeConcini held unprecedented discussions in Moscow with Deputies of the Supreme Soviet and with political activists, religious believers, human rights representatives, members of national minorities and refuseniks.

The delegation was composed of 11 Members of Congress and 3 representatives from the executive branch, including Assistant Secretary of Defense, Ronald Lehman, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, Louis Laun, and Assistant Secretary of State, Richard Schifter. All three executive branch representatives are members of the Commission.

The idea of the exchange was put forward during the ABC News Capital-to-Capital "space-bridge" on human rights a year ago, in October 1987. The program, which was broadcast live in the Soviet Union and the United States, included as one of the Soviet participants, Vadim Zagladin, who serves as deputy head of the International Department of the Central Committee. Mr. Zagladin proposed to Mr. Hoyer, participating on the U.S. panel with Senator Moynihan, that regular bilateral discussions be held on specific human rights cases by members of the Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Congress. Shortly after that program was aired, the U.S. House and Senate leadership agreed to accept the Soviet proposal and designated the Helsinki Commission as the congressional body to interact with Soviet parliamentary representatives in human rights discussions.

The bipartisan delegation's first function in Moscow was to host a reception at the U.S. Embassy for more than 200 private Soviet citizens involved in human rights work. The second day's schedule included an opening plenary and working group sessions with representatives of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. The Commission had proposed and the Soviets agreed to form three working groups dealing with freedom of movement, conscience, and the role of the individual within society.

Representative Hoyer chaired the working group dealing with movement, more specifically with emigration issues and secrecy classifications. Chairing the Soviet side was Vasilii Trushin, member of the Commission on Legislative Proposals of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs. Among the Soviet participants in that working group was Rudolph Kuznetsov, head of the Office of Visas and Registration (OVIR). During the working group meeting, the U.S. side presented a list of over 600 human contacts cases. In an unusual gesture, the Soviet

Government responded within 72 hours, providing information on half of the cases presented.

Arizona Senator Dennis DeConcini chaired the working group on freedom of conscience, belief, and association. DeConcini's group focused on concerns pertaining to freedom of religion while the Soviet side expressed an interest in the freedom of the press in the United States. Representative Don Ritter of Pennsylvania and the Commission's ranking House Republican member chaired the group on the individual in society and legal reform. During those discussions Representative Ritter handed over the Commission's political prisoner list with 178 known political prisoners.

In addition to holding several working group sessions the Commission delegation visited a prison, the editorial offices of the Soviet Government newspaper *Izvestia* and religious institutions. Luncheon roundtables hosted by the Commission featured an unprecedented, open exchange of views between Soviet human rights activists and Supreme Soviet deputies and Government and party officials. The exchanges were marked by candor and full discussion.

A November 17 reception hosted by U.S. Embassy Deputy Chief of Mission Mike Joyce was the venue for another first: the meeting at a social event of Soviet officials and activists representing the full spectrum of human rights concerns in the Soviet Union, including samizdat editors Sergei Grigoryants and Lev Timofeyev, dissident Orthodox priest Gleb Yakunin, Baltic Popular Front and Latvian Independence Party representatives, and Ukrainian cultural and religious activists, as well as refuseniks.

Evenings were filled by visits to the private homes of refuseniks and political activists. The home of Yuli and Inna Kosharovsky was the site for an evening of discussions with Representative Hoyer, Senator Dennis DeConcini and Representative Chris Smith of New Jersey. Also present was Alexander Pyatetsky of Kiev. Issues discussed included the repeated official denial of the right to emigrate, the status of Jewish culture, and expectations raised by the meetings then being held in Moscow and the conditions under which the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should be concluded. More than a dozen representatives of the "Jewish Women Against Refusal" group met with Representative Hoyer and Assistant Secretary of Defense Ron Lehman for about 2 hours at the Moscow home of Inna and Igor Uspensky to discuss ongoing problems surrounding their emigration denials. Most of the families represented had been refused emigration on the grounds of secrecy. In addition Senators DeConcini and Grassley and Congressmen Porter and Ritter met at the home of Yuri Cherniak and several other refuseniks to discuss current problems regarding immigration.

Chairman Hoyer and Cochairman DeConcini held luncheon meetings with Vadim Zagladin as well as Anatoly Dobrynin. Prior to its departure for Leningrad on November 18, the delegation met for 2 hours with First Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Luk'yanov. Luk'yanov described the changes occurring within the Soviet Union with particular emphasis on the proposed constitutional changes affecting the power relationship between the Union and the Republics. The Deputy Chairman acknowledged the existence of areas of disagreement center-

ing on the republics, particularly regarding the Baltics, but stated that such is normal within the context of *glasnost*. Luk'yarov stated that in general all of the suggestions received by the Supreme Soviet, over 150,000, urge a widening of democracy—the dispute is over timing.

The delegation spent 1½ days in Leningrad before returning to Washington. Meetings were held with members of Leningrad's dissident and refusenik communities, including members of the Democratic Union and Baptist activist Anna Filippov.

In a speech to the Baltimore Council on Foreign Affairs on November 29, following his return from the Soviet Union, Representative Hoyer noted that as recently as 18 months ago, meetings between official and unofficial Soviets would have been unimaginable. Hoyer stated that the trip underscored the reality of the dramatic change that has been occurring in the attitude of official Soviets toward human rights issues. Hoyer went on to say that the change has manifested itself in improved human rights performance and an increasing Soviet acceptance of the idea that human rights are a legitimate area of international concern. He concluded that the West can and should be encouraged by the new sentiments coming out of Moscow. However, as Hoyer had underlined in a November 11 plenary speech to the Vienna Review Meeting, the United States should continue to push for a "zero option for human rights," including "zero refusals to requests to emigrate or to return to the land of one's birth."

Follow-ups

To build upon the foundation laid by the Commission visits to all of the nations of Eastern and Central Europe, Chairman Hoyer invited visiting officials from these states to join him and other Commissioners for further bilateral discussions on a whole range of subjects including human rights and arms control.

In March of 1987 Chairman Hoyer held talks with Matyas Szuros, who then held the foreign policy portfolio in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP) Central Committee. Szuros who formally served as Hungary's Ambassador to both the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union spoke with Mr. Hoyer about current events in Hungary as well as the Soviet Union and the proposed Moscow Human Rights conference. In May of 1987 Gyorgy Aczel joined the Commission for talks on the Hungarian minority in Romania, political reform in Hungary, recent developments in the Soviet Union, and the CSCE Follow-Up Meeting in Vienna. Mr. Aczel was a Politburo member and serves as Director of the Institute of Social Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Science in Budapest. On April 26, 1988, the Commission hosted a luncheon to discuss United States-Bulgarian relations with a visiting delegation of Bulgarian officials led by Andrey Lukanov, Minister of Foreign Economic Relations. Accompanying Minister Lukanov was Lyuben Gotsev, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Atanas Ginev, Deputy Minister of Foreign Economic Relations and Bulgaria's Ambassador to the United States Stoyan Zhulev. Economic restructuring was extensively covered during the meeting along with religious freedom and the Turkish minority in Bulgaria.

Both Minister Lukanov and Deputy Foreign Minister Gotsev had received the Commission during its visit to Sofia in August 1987.

On June 28, 1988 the Commission hosted a visiting delegation of Czechoslovak Parliamentarians headed by Deputy Chairman of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Bohuslav Kucera. Mr. Kucera received a Helsinki Commission delegation during a visit to Prague in February 1987. Mr. Kucera was joined by Prague Party boss Miroslav Stepan, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and by Richard Nejezchleb, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee. This visit represented the first ever by Czechoslovak parliamentarians to the United States. Chairman Hoyer and Co-chairman DeConcini were joined by Senator Harry Reid and Representatives Chris Smith, John Porter, Don Ritter, and Bill Richardson. The discussions were quite candid. Religion and the rights to assembly and of association were discussed in detail. The next day the Commission met with Zdzislaw Sadowski, Polish Deputy Premier and Chief of Central Planning to discuss the ramifications of economic reform in Poland and to examine the steps taken in the area of political and civil rights.

IV. VIENNA FOLLOW-UP MEETING

The Vienna Follow-Up Meeting which began November 4, 1986, remained a major focus of the Commission during 1987 and 1988. Chairman Hoyer made several trips to the meeting during the course of the past 2 years and also visited the Soviet Union and a number of East European countries for discussion of human rights, military security and other matters related to the Vienna proceedings. The Commission also participated in meetings of the North Atlantic Assembly in Canada where further discussions on the Vienna Meeting were held.

In addition to the participation of the CSCE Commissioners and other Members of Congress in the Vienna proceedings, the Commission staff was also active. During the 2 years of the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting the Commission staff was fully engaged in the negotiations of the Vienna Meeting. The Commission staff director Samuel Wise functioned throughout as Deputy Chairman of the U.S. delegation with overall responsibility for human rights and human contacts questions. Other staff members worked in these areas and in Basket II on economic cooperation. The staff participation involved substantive work on human rights and trade, congressional and NGO relations, and delegation policy and tactics.

Developments at the Vienna Meeting

The main activity of the Vienna Meeting throughout 1987 and 1988 was the presentation and negotiation of proposals for inclusion in the Concluding Document of the meeting. The number (over 150), complexity and controversial nature of these proposals led to the Vienna Meeting being extended well beyond its target closing date of July 31, 1987. These factors, along with other elements such as continuing implementation shortcomings, Eastern reluctance to agree to strong human rights language proposed by the NNa and Western delay in reaching a decision on a Moscow human rights

meeting were largely responsible for the continuation of the Vienna Meeting into 1989.

The year of 1987 was devoted to the conclusion of the implementation review and the beginning of consideration of new proposals.

The slow pace of progress already evident in the early part of 1987 continued throughout the year and well into 1988. Each side defended its own proposals but showed little disposition to begin the process of compromise which could lead to the end of the meeting. Major developments included introduction of the long-awaited Western proposal on military security and the tabling of a comprehensive compromise in Basket III by two neutral delegations, Austria and Switzerland.

The Western (NATO) proposal on military security questions was designed as a response to the Eastern proposal which envisioned two main objectives: another round of negotiations on confidence- and security-building measures to follow-up on the successful Stockholm meeting and the initiation of negotiations on conventional disarmament, all within the same CSCE forum. The Western response to this proposal was delayed primarily because of United States and French differences over the connection between the conventional arms negotiations and the CSCE process, the French arguing that the negotiations should be directly a part of the process and the United States insisting that they be independent. The issue was resolved in June 1987 at the Reykjavik meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers when it was agreed that the negotiations should be "within the framework of the CSCE," but should remain autonomous.

However, the question of linkage between the two security talks as well as the exact contours of the relationship between the Conventional Stability Talks and the next follow-up meeting continued to take up a significant amount of negotiating time within the context of overall military security issues. The linkage question also proved more divisive at times within the NATO alliance as between East and West.

In the human rights area, on the other hand, progress was much slower. Consideration of the 152 proposals put forward in earlier rounds continued throughout 1988. The Neutral and Nonaligned (NNA) group attempted to give the meeting a push. Meetings of the NNA heads of delegation and their Foreign Ministers were held in April and May with a view to providing a political impulse to the proceedings. A comprehensive draft document was tabled by the NNA group on May 13 and additional NNA drafting efforts appeared subsequently.

U.S. stated goals for the meeting have been improved implementation of CSCE human rights commitments by the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the strengthening and expanding of those commitments, and significant post-Vienna follow-up activities in the area of human rights to balance results in the security and economic dimensions. Throughout the meeting the Commission has urged that the long-term implications of the expansion of the military security aspects of CSCE upon the human rights and human contacts provisions of the Helsinki Final Act be taken into consideration in any decision to end the Vienna Meeting. Concerns center on the belief that the road traveled so far, particularly with

regard to inclusion of conventional stability talks within the framework of CSCE, may lead to a CSCE process dominated by military security conferences, effectively decoupled from the human rights provisions of the Final Act. The Commission has insisted throughout the meeting in its discussions with officials from the Departments of State and Defense as well as in its bilateral dealings with representatives from the signatory states that concrete improvements in the human rights area be part of the necessary balance required for adoption of any concluding document. Exacting performance of existing commitments before entering into new promises has remained a critical criteria from the Commission's perspective of the success of the Vienna Meeting and the continued credibility of the process itself.

V. MONITORING COMPLIANCE

Human Rights Casework

During 1987 and 1988, the Commission devoted considerable time and resources to monitoring the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. This aspect of the Commission's work was intensified as expectations increased with the noticeable changes in the human rights picture in the Soviet Union and certain of the East European nations, the U.S.-Soviet summits, and the Commission's first official visit to the Soviet Union. In documenting human rights violations, the Commission relied on information received from individuals, private and governmental organizations in the United States and Europe, as well as such sources as State Department cables, Foreign Broadcast Information and Joint Publications Research Service translations of official government statements, East and West European and Soviet media and emigre press.

During the past 2 years, the Commission continued to update lists of imprisoned Helsinki monitors and other political prisoners; nominated the Czechoslovak human rights group Charter 77 and Diego Cordovez, U.N. Undersecretary for Political Affairs, respectively, for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1987 and 1988; provided information, briefings, and assistance to governmental and private organizations on various Helsinki-related issues; and interviewed recent arrivals from the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact states to learn of recent developments in their respective areas. In addition the Commission stepped up its presence within the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe by sending its staff to human rights conferences and meetings held in the Warsaw Pact nations.

Staff Delegations

Three of the Commission's Soviet experts spent 19 days in the U.S.S.R. in December 1987 visiting five cities: Leningrad, Kiev, Tbilisi, Vilnius and Moscow. The purpose of the trip was to interview Soviet officials as well as Soviet human rights activists and ordinary citizens on the Gorbachev reform program. Cathy Cosman, John Finerty and Michael Ochs attended the first international Moscow human rights seminar organized by Soviet dissidents, which began on December 10, International Human Rights Day. The first international unofficial Moscow human rights semi-

nar was attended by almost 400 Soviet activists, even though Soviet officials prevented at least 10 activists from Ukraine, Lithuania, Uzbekistan and Leningrad from attending. Also present were representatives from Charter '77, the Swedish Helsinki Group, the Humanities Group, and Helsinki Watch. The 5-day seminar discussed such topics as socio-economic issues, legal human rights mechanisms, religion, emigration, rights of the handicapped, culture and disarmament.

From April 12-17, 1988, Mike Amitay of the Commission who has general responsibility for Turkey, joined a congressional staff delegation to Istanbul and Ankara. The delegation was headed by Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy Ron Lehman II, who also serves as an executive branch representative to the Commission. The delegation met with numerous Turkish political and military officials including the Chairman of the Motherland Party and 12 other members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly's Committee on Foreign Affairs; the Minister of Defense; the Foreign Ministry spokesman; the Director of the Policy Planning Office and other regional directors. Although the primary focus of the trip was military security issues, human rights concerns were raised throughout the trip by Mr. Amitay.

During the 20-day wave of strikes in Poland, which stretched from the Baltic coast in the north to the Silesian coal fields in the south, a human rights conference took place in a church in Nowa Huta. Attending the conference on behalf of the Commission was Mary Sue Hafner, Deputy Staff Director and General Counsel. Attracting over 1,000 participants from Eastern and Western Europe as well as the United States, the August 25-28 conference was organized independently of the Polish Government by the Intervention and Lawfulness Commission of Solidarity and the Freedom and Peace Movement. Throughout the human rights conference, emphasis was placed on political pluralism and trade unionism. Also addressed were the mass demonstrations in Budapest, the strikes in Poland, the growing unrest in Romania, the cries for democracy in the Soviet Union, and demands for religious tolerance in Czechoslovakia.

From November 11-18, Helsinki Commission staffer Erika Schlager visited Prague, Czechoslovakia and Vienna, Austria. The purposes of the trip to Prague included reassessing the human rights situation in Czechoslovakia 1½ years after the visit of Chairman Hoyer; attending an independently sponsored symposium in Prague; and maintaining the Commission dialogue established by Chairman Hoyer with representatives of the Czechoslovakian Government as well as with private citizens and members of the religious community. As events unfolded in Prague however, the symposium was blocked by the Czechoslovak Government when it detained 20 Czechoslovak citizens, including 6 of the organizers, and threatened other would-be participants with detention if they attempted to participate in the symposium. Persons outside of Prague were detained in order to prevent them from traveling to the capital where the symposium was to have been held. However, while in Prague Ms. Schlager managed to meet with members of Charter '77 and members of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation. The visit to Vienna included par-

ticipation in a pre-arranged parallel conference organized in Vienna by the International Helsinki Federation.

In preparation for an update on human rights in Romania, Helsinki Commission staffer Judith Ingram traveled to Romania and Hungary in November. Ms. Ingram who is the Commission's specialist on Romania and Hungary spent several days in Bucharest, where she held talks with Romanian Foreign Ministry officials, met with independent activists, and had consultations with U.S. Embassy representatives. She also traveled to Brasov, site of the November 1987 workers' uprising, as well as to several small towns, some of which were in the process of destruction under Romanian President Ceausescu's program of rural *sistematizarea* (reconstruction). In Hungary, Ingram divided her time between Budapest and the Eastern city of Debrecen, the first stopping-place for many Romanian citizens who have fled across the border seeking refuge in Hungary. She met with Hungarian Government and party officials, as well as representatives of independent agencies such as the Red Cross, church leaders and private citizens involved in providing aid and advocacy for refugees from Romania. She also conducted interviews with refugees themselves.

Basket II

Economic Cooperation

The chapter of the Final Act entitled "Cooperation in the Field of Economics, of Science and Technology, and of the Environment," sets forth guidelines for East-West economic relations. The overall objective of this chapter, popularly known as Basket II, has been to increase commercial and scientific exchange between the widely disparate economic systems of East and West. This stated objective was premised upon the principle that mutually beneficial economic and scientific cooperation promotes understanding among states, thereby contributing to the umbrella goal of maintaining peace and security in Europe.

The Commission closely followed East-West trade developments, some of which was reported upon and analyzed in the CSCE Digest. In March 1987, the Commission issued its comprehensive report on Soviet and East European implementation of Basket II for the period November 1982 through January 1987.

In this era of economic restructuring in the Soviet Union and, as the dynamics of East-West relations adjust to the new policies of General Secretary Gorbachev, the question of East-West trade began to take on new dimensions. On May 10, 1988, the Commission undertook an examination of the changing nature of U.S.-Soviet relations regarding trade issues and the need for a reexamination of U.S. trade policies. Appearing before the Commission were Secretary of Commerce, C. William Verity; Richard Perle, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and a contributing editor of *U.S. News and World Report*; Dr. Paula Stern, senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Roger Robinson, president of RWR, Inc., a consulting firm advancing "national interest" transactions; and Mike Bonsignore, president of Honeywell International.

Leading U.S. businesses, human rights activists and nongovernmental organizations were invited by the Commission and the Slepak Foundation, a Philadelphia-based human rights group, to an all day roundtable discussion on conducting business within the Soviet Union. Chaired by Richard Perle, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, the discussions focused on what humanitarian standards, if any, should be established by U.S. corporations as guidelines in their business dealings with the Soviet Union. The distinguished participants included Ambassador Ronald Lehman II, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy; Bruce Weinrod, Director of Foreign Policy and Defense Studies at the Heritage Foundation; Felice Gaer, Executive Director of the International League for Human Rights; Dr. Kent Hill, Executive Director of the Institute on Religion and Democracy; Sister Ann Gillen of the National Interreligious Task Force; Ludmilla Thorne, Director of Soviet Studies at Freedom House; and Ludmilla Alexeeva, consultant to Helsinki Watch. The Commission will continue to work with the Slepak Foundation and groups interested in the development of guidelines pertaining to humanitarian concerns which U.S. businesses should be aware of as they pursue business opportunities in the Soviet Union.

While much of Basket II is made up of provisions to be implemented, unilaterally or on a bilateral basis, certain provisions call for multilateral action to be taken at the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), located in Geneva, Switzerland. Thus the ECE discusses implementation of Basket II and implements some provisions itself, such as those relating to trade and as in past years, the environment. The Commission, in 1987 and 1988, participated in the annual ECE plenary session and in the meeting of the ECE's Committee on the Development of Trade. This traditional Commission involvement has been beneficial in stressing a CSCE viewpoint in a U.N. forum.

Chernobyl

The nuclear accident on April 26, 1986, at the Chernobyl nuclear station in the Soviet Union is the most serious to occur at any nuclear powerplant. It caused the largest number of casualties, released the greatest amount of radiation, and generated serious global repercussions. Although Basket II provisions do not specifically discuss nuclear safety or international obligations regarding nuclear accidents, each signatory to the Final Act did agree to ensure "that activities carried out on its territory do not cause degradation of the environment in another state or in areas lying beyond the limits of national jurisdiction." In light of the dramatic effect of the Chernobyl nuclear accident on Europe, the Commission has followed developments related to the accident as part of its Basket II activities.

A significant portion of the Commission's Basket II implementation report therefore focused on Chernobyl: the accident, the Soviet response, the flow of information and contacts permitted and prohibited, the effect, the East European response, and international assistance. On March 31, 1987, the Commission took testimony

from Igor Gerashchenko who was in Kiev during the Chernobyl accident. A graduate from the Kiev Polytechnical Institute, Mr. Gerashchenko had worked at the Thermonuclear Institute in Kiev as a senior engineer and later as a laborer in a factory in Kiev which produces and repairs equipment for nuclear powerplants. In concluding his testimony, Mr. Gerashchenko noted that Chernobyl demonstrated that there are no strictly "internal affairs" of any one country on nuclear issues.

On April 26, 1988 (on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor accident) the Commission convened a hearing examining changing Soviet and East European environmental policies and the significance of the emergence of both official and unofficial environmental groups within the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Witnesses included John Lampe, Secretary of the East European Program at the European Institute of the Wilson Center, Charles Ziegler, associate professor of political science at the University of Louisville; Barbara Jancar, professor of political science at the State University of New York and John Kramer, professor of political science at Mary Washington College.

Exchanges

The year 1988 marked the 30th anniversary of the first U.S.-Soviet exchange agreement. Signed only a few months after the launching of Sputnik, the 1958 General Exchanges Agreement represented a significant point in bilateral relations.

At first, the development of exchanges with the Soviet Union was slow, exchangees were severely restricted in their movements, and the number of persons traveling was small—about 1,000 per year each way, plus tourists. But in the seventies, the era of detente, brought an increase and a broadening of exchange programs. Several scientific cooperation agreements were signed, and the 1973 cultural agreement was to be for 6 years instead of 2, giving more permanence and continuity to exchanges. Cultural exchanges were released from the quotas and limits of a governmental agreement. Central control of exchanges within each government was relaxed to some extent. With the decentralization (though limited) of the Soviet Government's administration of exchange programs, U.S. private organizations were able for the first time to deal directly with their Soviet counterparts.

This period of expansion and improvement in exchanges was set back in 1979. The U.S. Government suspended negotiations for a new exchanges agreement following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979. Any new agreement was further delayed by the imposition of martial law in Poland and the Soviet shutdown of a Korean airliner. Negotiations were resumed in August 1984, and a new agreement was signed at the Geneva summit in November 1985. During this 6-year period of strained bilateral relations and decreased official exchanges, exchanges with the Soviet Union evolved into a largely private sector program.

The new agreement signed in Geneva provides for exchanges of students, teachers, scholars, professionals in a wide variety of cultural and other fields, performing arts groups, members of civic and social organizations, sports and tourist groups, exhibits and

publications. The U.S. and U.S.S.R. also endorsed several people-to-people programs, including expanded youth exchanges.

The parties to the Final Act expressed their view that cultural exchanges and development of relations in education and science contribute to the strengthening of peace, better mutual understanding, and enrichment of the human personality. In the Commission's view, exchange programs with the Soviet Union and the nations of Eastern and Central Europe can contribute to a breaking down of barriers and a lessening of distrust. They help Americans learn about the views and goals of these societies. Such programs help expose the peoples of these countries to the values and goals of our pluralistic society. And critical to such programs is that Americans are given the opportunity to tell the Soviets and their allies on a personal level about their concern for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

An important component of the Commission's mandate as explicitly set forward in its legislation is the encouragement of U.S. governmental and private programs to expand East-West economic and cultural cooperation and exchange of people and ideas.

In order to gain a better understanding of the benefits and problems posed by U.S.-Soviet exchange programs the Commission held a hearing on November 17, 1987. Appearing before the Commission to discuss exchanges was Stephen Rhinesmith, coordinator of President Reagan's United States-Soviet Exchange Initiative; Jeremy Stone, Director of the Federation of American Scientists, which has been actively involved in the promotion of congressional exchanges with the Soviet Union; and Dr. Misha Tsypkin of the Naval Post Graduate School in Monterey, California.

In furtherance of the Commission's mandate to encourage and promote exchanges, Chairman Hoyer joined 30 U.S. politicians, journalists, and political activists in meetings with influential counterparts and other Soviet officials in Moscow January 3-8, 1988. The conference brought together leaders who met each other while participating in the American Council of Young Political Leaders (ACYPL) and Soviet Committee of Youth Organizations (CYO) political exchange programs that began in 1971. In addition to discussions about U.S.-Soviet relations, the conference sought ways to expand contacts and exchanges between opinion leaders and policy-makers in both countries. The Americans included Don Sundquist (R-TN), Tom Sawyer (D-OH), and Curt Weldon (R-PA), White House Counsel A.B. Culvahouse and former Democratic and Republican Administration officials Hodding Carter and Pat Buchanan.

The meetings in Moscow, in addition to informal dialogue between former program participants, included President Gromyko, Central Committee member and former Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin; United States-Canada Institute Director Georgi Arbatov; Minister of Culture Vasiliy G. Zakharov; *Pravda* editor-in-chief Afanaseyev as well as representatives of the Foreign Ministry and the Defense Ministry. In addition discussions were held with Drs. Sakharov and Elena Bonner; Sergei Grigoryants, editor of *Glasnost* a samizdat publication; Lev Timofeev and other members of the *Glasnost* Press Club; and refuseniks Sergei Petrov, Viktor Faermark, Yuli Kosharovskiy and Alexander Lerner, among others.

On February 2, 1988, the Commission hosted a panel discussion on U.S.-Soviet exchange programs with a delegation of 2 dozen Soviet policy and exchange leaders. The Soviet delegation was led by Vasilii G. Zakharov, the U.S.S.R. Minister of Culture. Also participating were Senator John Heinz (R-PA), former cosmonaut and Moscow Bauman Technical Institute Rector Aleksei Eliseev, and Representatives Chris Smith (R-NJ) and Don Ritter (R-PA). The discussions centered on the different approaches to exchanges by the two nations, the role of human rights, and the future of bilateral exchanges.

Military Security

Military security is an area in which the CSCE process plays an increasingly important role in East-West relations. At the Madrid Follow-Up Meeting a mandate for the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE) was agreed to. CDE began January 17, 1984 in Stockholm and lasted for almost 3 years.

One of the first CSCE meetings attended by Hoyer as Cochairman of the Commission was the Stockholm Conference during the summer of 1985 and then as head of a Commission delegation May 22-26, 1986. In 1986, the Commission delegation participated in the final plenary meeting of the 10th round of negotiations in Stockholm on May 23. Hoyer addressed the Stockholm Conference on the critical importance of human rights and the CSCE process. His remarks underscored the need for the implementation of all provisions of the Final Act. Hoyer noted that the development of trust among the Helsinki signatories could not be expected in the absence of concrete and balanced progress in all sections of the Act.

Chairman Hoyer's theme at Stockholm stressed that the military aspects of CSCE should not be divorced from the whole of the process which encompasses a very real and urgent human dimension. To permit military issues at the expense of human rights to predominate within CSCE would be tantamount to threatening the very stability of European security.

This Commission concern was reiterated throughout the past 2 years at the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting, in discussions with high-level State and Defense Department officials and in bilaterals with allies and the nations of the Warsaw Pact.

Conventional Stability Talks (CST)

A controversy among NATO allies on the role of military security talks in CSCE was resolved when the allies agreed to table a proposal that would place conventional forces negotiations within the framework of the Helsinki process. The proposal was put forward at the July 10, 1987 plenary of the Vienna Meeting. The proposal had been the subject of lengthy intra-alliance negotiations over insistence by France that any new conventional stability talks be closely linked with CSCE. On December 12, 1986, the Halifax Task Force issued the Brussels Declaration, according to which the United States and its allies expressed support for holding two separate and distinct negotiations on a mandate for conventional forces reduction and to build upon and expand the confidence- and securi-

ty-building measures adopted at CDE. Later at a June 1987 NATO ministerial meeting in Reykjavik, a communique was issued calling for conventional stability negotiations within the framework of CSCE though retaining autonomy as regards subject matter and modalities.

In 1987, in an effort to follow more closely the military security aspects of CSCE, the Commission increased its resources devoted to monitoring Basket I and participated with greater frequency at home and abroad in bilaterals, briefings, and meetings on military security issues. Consultations between Chairman Hoyer and Co-chairman DeConcini with high ranking U.S. Government officials from the Departments of State and Defense as well as the National Security Council were held. In addition, bilaterals with ambassadors from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were held at which the military security aspect of Helsinki was thoroughly discussed.

A Commission delegation to the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting, led by Chairman Hoyer in October 1987, met with Ambassador Steve Ledogar, U.S. representative to the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) and conventional stability talks. The meeting was devoted to an exchange of views on the status of the conventional stability talks and their implication for CSCE. Later in the year at the invitation of the Commission, Ambassador Ledogar upon his return to Washington, briefed the Commission on the status of the talks. During 1988, the Commission joined the House Foreign Affairs Committee in holding hearings on the negotiations in Vienna regarding the proposed conventional stability talks for Europe and the prospects for conventional arms reductions. The focus of the hearings, which featured testimony from Rozanne L. Ridgway, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, and Ron Lehman II, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, was on the progress of the CST mandate negotiations, their implications for CSCE and the arms control process in Europe. Later in 1988, Chairman Hoyer again visited Vienna and had further discussions with Ambassador Ledogar on the status of the conventional stability talks mandate negotiations and the implications which these held for the rest of the CSCE process.

VI. PUBLIC HEARINGS

1987

National Minorities in Eastern Europe: The Turkish Minority in Bulgaria

On February 3, the Commission held a hearing on the forced assimilation of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria, which began in 1984. Testifying on the issue were Mr. Thomas Caulfield Goltz, a journalist who has written on this issue; Mr. Halil Ibosoglu, an ethnic Turk and former member of the Bulgarian National Assembly; and Ambassador Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs and a Helsinki Commissioner.

Glasnost: *The Soviet Policy of "Openness"*

Glasnost, the new Soviet policy of "openness," or "publicity," was the subject of a Commission hearing on March 24. Expert witnesses discussed the meaning of *glasnost*, its impact on Soviet society, and its potential future. Testimony was heard from Dr. Marshall Goldman, associate director of Harvard University's Russian Research Center; Ambassador Arthur Hartman, the U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union for 5½ years; Dr. Peter Reddaway, secretary of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies; and Mr. I.F. Stone, a journalist with over 30 years experience writing about the Soviet Union.

Irina Ratushinskaya and Igor Gerashchenko

Dissident Soviet poet, Ms. Irina Ratushinskaya, testified before the Commission on March 31. Having just been released early from a Soviet labor camp where she had been sentenced to 7 years of hard labor and 5 years of internal exile for writing poetry, Ms. Ratushinskaya spoke on her religious beliefs, life in the Soviet labor camps, and on human rights in general in the Soviet Union. She was joined by her husband, Mr. Igor Gerashchenko, a thermophysical engineer, who spoke on the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear energy facility.

National Minorities in Eastern Europe: The Hungarian Minorities in Romania and Czechoslovakia

In its second hearing on minority rights, the Commission considered the status of the Hungarian minorities in Romania and Czechoslovakia. Appearing before the Commission on May 5, were Mr. Robert Robertson, a vice president for the Occidental Petroleum Co., who has worked closely on economic exchanges between Romania and the United States; Dr. George Schopflin, a lecturer at the London School of Economics and the University of London's School of Slavonic Studies; Mr. Geza Szocs, a Romanian-born ethnic Hungarian who had been persecuted by the Romanian authorities for his work on behalf of the ethnic Hungarians; and Mr. Thomas Simons, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs.

The Miroslav Medvid Incident

Pursuant to a resolution passed by the U.S. Senate directing the Helsinki Commission to investigate the Miroslav Medvid incident, the Commission held a hearing May 14 to receive and make public the findings, conclusions and recommendations of the Medvid investigative staff. Presentations were made by Mr. Paul D. Lamberth, project director; Ms. Barbara J. Cart, counsel; Mr. Frank G. Heath, staff investigator; and Dr. Howard Zonana, a member of a panel of expert psychiatric consultants to the investigation.

Dr. Anatoly Koryagin and Alexander Shatravka on the Abuse of Psychiatry in the Soviet Union

Dr. Anatoly Koryagin testified before the Commission May 15 on psychiatric abuse in the Soviet Union. Just recently released from a Soviet prison, Dr. Koryagin was joined by Alexander Shatravka.

Mr. Shatravka was a psychiatric patient whom Dr. Koryagin examined and found mentally healthy, leading Koryagin to expose the Soviet practice of imprisoning sane individuals for their political beliefs. Dr. Koryagin's expose resulted in his own imprisonment in 1979.

Religious Intolerance in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union

At a field hearing in Philadelphia, the Commission heard testimony from six expert witnesses on the problems of religious intolerance in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Witnesses for the hearing, held on May 29, 1987, included Father Gheorghe Calciu, a dissident Orthodox priest from Romania who now lives in the United States; Rabbi Leonid Feldman, the first Soviet-born rabbi in the Conservative movement of American Judaism; the Reverend Ernest Gordon from the Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents (CREED); Father Roman Mirchuk, a Ukrainian Catholic priest; Ms. Margot Terentiew, editor of the *Polish Daily News*; and Ms. Justine Wesnak, president of the Josef Cardinal Tomko Chapter of the Slovak Catholic Federation.

Gorbachev, Glasnost, and Eastern Europe

Glasnost was again the subject of a Commission hearing on June 18. Testimony focused on the potential impact that Secretary General Gorbachev's new policy might have on East European domestic developments and Soviet-East European relations. The expert witnesses included Ambassador Raymond Garthoff, senior fellow in foreign policy at the Brookings Institution and former Ambassador to Bulgaria; Dr. Kenneth Jowitt, professor of political science at the University of Berkeley; and Dr. Sarah M. Terry, professor of political science at Tufts University and fellow at Harvard University's Russian Research Center.

Human Rights in the Baltic

On October 6, three former human rights activists from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania testified before the Commission on human rights in the occupied Baltic States. The three witnesses, all of whom have served time in labor camps for their human rights activities, were Estonian Tiit Madisson, Latvian Rolands Silaraups, and Lithuanian Vytautas Skuodis.

Ukrainian and Georgian Human Rights Monitors

Human rights in Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Georgia was the focal point of a hearing October 22. The Ukrainian witnesses were Danylo Shumuk, the prisoner of conscience who has served longer than any other known Soviet prisoner and who was released only in January 1987, and Catholic activist Iosyf Terelya, who spent 18 years incarcerated for his religious activity. The Georgian witnesses were Eduard and Tenghiz Gudava. Tenghiz Gudava's membership in the Georgian Group to Monitor the Helsinki Accords resulted in his being sentenced to a labor camp and then exile. Eduard Gudava was sentenced to 4 years in a labor camp for demanding his brother's release.

Changing U.S. Attitudes Toward Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union

On October 28, the Commission held a hearing to examine what impact General Secretary Gorbachev's reform program may have on U.S. views and policies toward Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The Commission heard testimony from Mr. Michael Kaufman, a visiting fellow at Harvard University's Russian Research Center and journalist who has reported extensively on Poland; Mr. Edward Kline, a board member of the International League for Human Rights and president of the Chekhov Publishing Corporation; Ambassador William Luers, former U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia and current president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; and Mr. Helmut Sonnenfeldt, a Soviet specialist for the Brookings Institution who previously served on the staff of the National Security Council and the State Department.

United States-Soviet Exchanges

The benefits and problems posed by U.S.-Soviet exchange programs were discussed by expert witnesses at a Commission hearing on November 17. Testifying at the hearing were Mr. Stephen Rhinesmith, coordinator of President Reagan's United States-Soviet Exchange Initiative; Mr. Jeremy Stone, Director of the Federation of American Scientist, which has been actively involved in the promotion of congressional exchanges with the Soviet Union; and Dr. Misha Tsypkin, who currently teaches at the Naval Post Graduate School in Monterey, California.

The Soviet Jewry Struggle

Five former Soviet refuseniks testified on the many human rights issues confronting Soviet Jews. Testimony was presented to the Commission on the eve of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit by Mr. Natan Sharansky, Moscow Helsinki Monitor and former prisoner of conscience who spent more than 9 years in Soviet prisons and labor camps, and Mr. Yuli Edelshtein, a Hebrew teacher who spent 3 years in prison on trumped-up drug charges. They were joined at the hearing by Ms. Ida Nudel, Mr. Vladimir Slepak, and Mr. Lev Elbert, all of whom were denied permission to emigrate for 16, 17, and 3 years, respectively, because they allegedly held "state secrets."

1988

Perestroika in the Soviet Union

As General Secretary Gorbachev approached his fourth year as leader of the Soviet Union, two prominent specialists on Soviet affairs testified on *perestroika*, or restructuring, and its domestic implications for the Soviet Union. Appearing before the Commission were Peter Reddaway, Secretary of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, who examined changes in the human rights picture as a result of Gorbachev's policies; and Vladimir Kozlovsky, editor of the Russian-language daily, *Novoe Russkoe Slovo*, who addressed the impact of *perestroika* on the daily lives of Soviet citizens.

Perestroika and Eastern Europe: United States and Soviet Foreign Policy Options

On March 15 the Commission heard testimony on the relationship between *perestroika* and reforms in Eastern and Central Europe as well as the impact, if any, of the changes on United States and Soviet foreign policy. Appearing before the Commission was a very distinguished group of experts: Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, who served in the Reagan Cabinet from 1981-85, discussed U.S. policy options towards Eastern Europe as a result of *perestroika*; Karen Dawisha, professor at the University of Maryland, addressed how Soviet policy and domestic changes may be affecting Eastern and Central Europe; Charles Gati, professor at Union College in New York, examined the reforms underway in Hungary; Alexander Smolar, editor of the Polish affairs journal, *ANEKS*, testified on developments in Poland; and Milan Svec, who previously served as Minister Counselor at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington from 1982-85, focussed on the current situation in Czechoslovakia.

Soviet Army Defectors and Prisoners of War From Afghanistan

The future of Soviet Army defectors and prisoners of war being held in Afghanistan and Pakistan as the possible resolution of the war became more real was the focus of a Commission hearing on March 23. The Commission heard testimony on proposals to establish a means of bringing these soldiers out of captivity from: Senator Gordon Humphrey, Chair of the Congressional Task Force on Afghanistan; Ludmilla Thorne, Director of Freedom House's Center of Appeals for Freedom; Igor Kovalchuk, who served in the Soviet Army in Afghanistan as a machine-gunner for 1 year before defecting to the Mujahadeen; and Sergei Busov, a Soviet soldier who defected to rebel forces in Afghanistan in 1986.

The International Covenants on Human Rights: Prospects on U.S. Ratification

The United States signed the International Covenants on Human Rights in 1977 and extensive Senate hearings examining the treaties were held in 1979. Yet of the 35 Helsinki signatories, the United States remains one of the five nations which has failed to ratify or accede to one or both of the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The Commission hearing on March 29 revisited the question of U.S. ratification. In particular, the Commission examined the role played by the Covenants within the CSCE process and evaluated existing U.S. obligations as a signatory to these treaties. Testifying were: Senator Mark Hatfield, Chairman of the Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus; Ambassador Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs and member of the Commission; Dr. Rosalyn Higgins, professor of international law at the University of London and a member of the U.N. Human Rights Committee; and Mr. Hurst Hannum, Executive Director of the Procedural Aspects of International Law.

The Politics of Pollution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

On the Second anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor accident, the Commission held a hearing examining changing Soviet and East European environmental policies and the significance of the emergence of both official and unofficial environmental groups in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Witnesses included John Lampe, Secretary of the East European Program at the European Institute of the Wilson Center, Charles Ziegler, associate professor of political science at the University of Louisville; Barbara Jancar, professor of political science at the State University of New York and John Kramer, professor of political science at Mary Washington College.

Soviet Trade and Economic Reforms: Implications for U.S. Policy

On May 10, 1988, the Commission undertook an examination of the changing nature of U.S.-Soviet relations regarding trade issues and the need for a re-examination of U.S. trade policies. Appearing before the Commission were Secretary of Commerce, C. William Verity; Richard Perle, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and a contributing editor of *U.S. News and World Report*; Dr. Paula Stern, senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Roger Robinson, president of RWR, Inc., a consulting firm advancing "national interest" transactions; and Mike Bonsignore, president of Honeywell International.

Conventional Stability Talks and Confidence- and Security-Building Measures

A Joint hearing with the House Foreign Affairs Committee took place on June 23 and July 14: The negotiations in Vienna on the proposed conventional stability talks (CST) for Europe, and on the prospects for conventional arms reductions was the focus of the joint hearing. In addition to technical discussions on force structures, weaponry, etc., a major issue at these talks is the connection between CST and the 35-nation forum, and the role of the Neutral and Non-aligned states (NNA) in the talks. Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, Rozanne L. Ridgway, and Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, Ronald F. Lehman II, testified for the administration.

The Nationalities Issue in the Soviet Union: The Limits of Reform?

National unrest increasingly presents the Soviet Union with its most explosive and intractable problem, as events during 1988 showed in Armenia, the Baltic States, and Ukraine. The Commission heard from four distinguished experts who described current tensions in the multi-national Soviet state and how General Secretary Gorbachev is attempting to deal with the nationalities issues. At the conclusion of the hearing, a screening of videos taken at nationalist demonstrations in Vilnius, Lithuania and Yerevan, Armenia was presented. Testifying at the September 15 hearing were: Dr. Valery Chalidze, a MacArthur Award winning physicist and publisher; Paruir Airikyan, an Armenian nationalist leader who had spent 17 years in Soviet prisons, camps and internal exile and who was forcibly expelled from the U.S.S.R. in late July 1988;

Petro Ruban, a Ukrainian rights activist and a 22-year veteran of the Soviet Gulag; Dr. Algirdas Statkevicius, a psychiatrist and member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Monitoring Group who had spent 11 years in Soviet camps, prisons and psychiatric hospitals and had just arrived in the United States in May 1988.

The Current Situation in Poland

In late summer historic negotiations got underway between representatives of the Polish Government and the independent trade union, Solidarity. Some observers believed that Poland's dire economic situation and the unrest it engendered may be prompting the negotiations with Solidarity, which was seeking economic and political pluralism. Those observers predicted that a failure to reach a compromise could rekindle the workers' anger which had already exploded into widespread strikes twice in 1988. The Commission undertook an examination of the crisis facing all of Poland on September 23 with Janusz Onyszkiewicz, an official spokesperson for Solidarity since 1981.

VII. REPORTS AND PRINTED DOCUMENTS

In addition to formal hearing records, the following reports and miscellaneous publications were issued by the Commission during 1987 and 1988:

1987

A 3-volume report on implementation of the Final Act by the East bloc nations 11 years after its signing, was prepared and made available by the Commission..

A 2-volume analysis of the first two phases of the Vienna Review Meeting (4 November-20 December 1986 and 27 January-10 April 1987) was prepared by the Commission and distributed to the general public.

All U.S. delegation speeches delivered during the first three phases of the Vienna Review Meeting were compiled into three publications and made available to interested NGOs, press and other individuals.

The second volume of *Documents of Helsinki Monitoring Groups of the U.S.S.R. (1976--1986)* was issued by the Commission. This volume focused on Documents of the Ukrainian Monitoring Group.

On May 14, the Commission made public the *Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations* submitted to it by an investigative panel hired pursuant to Senate resolution, mandating an investigation into the Miroslav Medvid incident. The report was transmitted to all relevant, interested and involved governmental agencies and congressional committees for review and follow-up.

Human Rights in Czechoslovakia: The Documents of Charter '77 (1982-87), a compilation of letters, pleas and other documents by Charter '77 signatories was edited and published by the Commission to commemorate the group's 10th anniversary.

During 1987, the Commission published several op-eds in national newspapers such as the *Washington Post*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Chica-*

go *Tribune* and *Miami Herald*, dealing with such issues as psychiatric abuse, *glasnost*, arms control, human rights, and the McCarran-Walter Act.

1988

The Vienna Follow-Up Meeting: Phases III and IV: A summary of Phases III and IV of the Vienna Meeting covering the periods May 5–July 31, 1987 and September 22–December 18, 1987. This edition incorporates all U.S. speeches delivered during Phase IV of the meeting.

Reform and Human Rights: The Gorbachev Record
May 1988

The State of Human Rights in Turkey (An Update)
July 1988

Reform and Human Rights in Eastern Europe
December 1988

Romania: A Human Rights Update
December 1988

1987–1988

CSCE DIGEST—The Digest is a monthly publication of the Commission which offers current information on East-West issues, Commission activities, CSCE meetings and other current interest articles. It is disseminated to all Members of Congress, governmental and private organizations, press and the general public in the United States and Europe. The Digest has a circulation of over 4,000 in the United States and abroad.

The Helsinki *Final Act* in its entirety was republished for mass distribution by the Commission on the 12th anniversary of its signing. Over 25,000 copies were distributed by the Commission to American colleges, universities and public libraries.

A *CSCE brochure* describing the work of the Commission and the Helsinki process was printed in both English and Russian.

A *Congressional Update*, published weekly for all congressional offices, reviews pending legislation dealing with CSCE issues and provides current information on Commission activities and East-West issues.

VIII. MEDIA ACTIVITIES

From its inception, the Commission has been especially concerned with the publicity and lack of publicity of CSCE issues, especially those concerning the human contacts and humanitarian provisions of the Final Act. This concern stems from the belief that by holding up to public scrutiny violations of the Final Act by any of its signatories, accountability would become an important aspect of international debate and discussion between nations. Public and political pressures would coalesce to help bring about progress in respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. To this end, the Commission, through a variety of media activities in the past 2 years, sought to promote public awareness of the Helsinki process

by providing current and insightful information on CSCE issues and provoking public discussion on East-West issues.

The Commission maintains contact with national, local and ethnic media, in its efforts to place articles and communicate ideas, as well as make the Commission available as a resource on East-West and human rights concerns. The media divisions of U.S. Government agencies provide a further channel for Commission media outreach. Specifically, the Commission works closely with the language services of the Voice of America and the press service of the U.S. Information Agency. These organizations, including RFE/RL, are vital to the Commission's work because they serve as a lifeline to Soviet and East European audiences whose access to information is controlled in varying degrees.

An important component of the Commission's public outreach program is the monthly Commission newsletter, the *CSCE Digest*, which reports on a variety of CSCE developments. As one of the Commission's principle publications, the *Digest* serves as a vehicle for republishing Commissioner speeches, summarizing Commission hearings, reporting on official bilateral meetings, and publicizing related congressional activities. Reprints of foreign and domestic press reports are also included in the *Digest* as are analyses of selected issues. The *Digest* is disseminated to over 4,000 individuals and groups in the United States and abroad.

In an attempt to reach national opinion-makers, the Commission stepped up its press operation by increasing significantly the number of Commission speeches sent to columnists and editorial boards, and the placement of opinion columns on op-ed pages. In addition the Commission set up informal briefings with members of the press to highlight CSCE issues and human rights concerns. On August 17, 1988, the Commission arranged a press interview for Paruir Airikyan, the prominent Soviet Armenian activist who was forcibly expelled from the Soviet Union by the Soviet Government in July 1987. Mr. Airikyan spoke about his harrowing detention and expulsion from the Soviet Union, his own work on behalf of Armenian self-determination, and the impact of nationalist sentiment on Gorbachev's reform efforts. National Public Radio's "All Things Considered" Co-Anchor Robert Siegel participated in the interview, and then broadcast a lengthy story on Mr. Airikyan. Correspondents from the *Washington Post*, the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, VOA, and *U.S. News and World Report* also attended the session with Mr. Airikyan. The *Post* and the *Sun* subsequently printed articles on the interview.

On November 3, 1988, Chairman Hoyer had a breakfast briefing for members of the press, including reporters from the *Washington Post*, the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Washington Times*. He briefed the press on the background and purpose of the upcoming trip to Moscow for the U.S.-Soviet Parliamentary Exchange on Human Rights. Chairman Hoyer also discussed the Vienna Follow-up Meeting and the questions surrounding the Soviet proposal to host a human rights conference in Moscow in 1991. On November 30, the Chairman had a follow-up press breakfast with the same journalists he met with on the first occasion as well as Michael Gordon of the *New York Times*. The journalists asked for his ap-

praisal of the Moscow Meeting as well as his views on the prospects for a conclusion of the Vienna Review Meeting in the next few months.

The Commission also engaged in a number of television interviews in 1987 and 1988. In early 1987 Chairman Hoyer appearing from Washington joined Ambassador Zimmermann in Vienna on a live interchange on the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) WorldNet program, regarding the Vienna Meeting and the CSCE process. The publicity which accompanied the Leonard Peltier case resulted in interviews with Chairman Hoyer on the CBS Evening News and on the MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour, PBS, on June 24. Chairman Hoyer was chosen to participate in the October 14, 1987 ABC "Capital-to-Capital" news program, in which he and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan engaged in a live interchange with members of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow on human rights in the Soviet Union and United States. This historic newscast, the second in a series of debates between Government officials of the United States and the Soviet Union, was viewed live and unedited by an audience of some 120 million Soviet citizens and approximately 15 million Americans.

While not one of the panelists, Chairman Hoyer was able to discuss human rights concerns from Washington with a Soviet audience in Moscow during the third ABC News "Capital-to-Capital" program, which aired November 18 and focused on regional issues and other aspects of United States-Soviet relations. On December 9, 1988, in commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the U.N. Universal Declaration of Rights, Chairman Hoyer joined Professor Tom Farer of American University in a USIA WorldNet program on human rights. Questions were taken from viewers in Athens, Belgrade, Oslo and Strasbourg.

During the 1988 Moscow trip, Chairman Hoyer and Cochairman DeConcini as well as most members of the delegation met with several members of the American press corps resident in Moscow. Chairman Hoyer also gave an interview to two journalists from the Soviet daily *Izvestia*, and led a delegation to the paper's offices for a discussion of the paper's operations and the contrasting American and Soviet philosophies toward the proper role of the press in society. The delegation participated in an in-depth discussion of working conditions for foreign correspondents in Moscow as well as the changing Soviet scene with members of the American press corps resident in Moscow. On November 19, the American and Soviet delegations participated in a joint press conference at which the leaders of both sides made statements and then answered questions from the Soviet and foreign press.

ARTICLES AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS

1987-1988

"Irina Ratushinskaya and Igor Gerashchenko on Literature and Human Rights in the Soviet Union," CSCE pamphlet, 3/87

"Ongoing Standoff in Prague," *Washington Times*, March 18, 1987 by Representative Steny H. Hoyer

Origin of Helsinki Accords: 8-page folder available in English and in Russian describing the Commission's mandate and outlining the CSCE process "The Dilemma *Glasnost* Poses for the Human Rights Community," *Chicago Tribune*, 4/6/87 by Representative Steny H. Hoyer

"Scars of Soviet Psychiatric Abuse," *Miami Herald*, 4/25/87, Representative Steny H. Hoyer

"Religious Intolerance," CSCE pamphlet, 5/29/87

"Vienna Press Conference," CSCE pamphlet, 5/87

"Gorbachev, *Glasnost*, and Eastern Europe," CSCE pamphlet, 6/18/87

"Helsinki's Enduring Legacy Put to the Test," *Miami Herald*, 8/2/87, Representative Dante B. Fascell

"McCarron-Walter, A National Embarrassment," *Washington Post*, 9/2/87, Representative Steny H. Hoyer

IX. CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

Although the Commission is an independent agency with representation from the executive branch departments of Commerce, Defense, and State, 18 of the 21 Commissioners are Members of the House and Senate. In this regard, the Commission works closely with individual Members, committees, subcommittees, and the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress.

The Commission is committed to fostering a greater understanding of the complex issues facing the human rights community. Speakers from government, universities, nongovernmental organizations, and research institutes as well as political and human rights activists from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were invited by the Commission to discuss current topics such as religious intolerance and the nationalities of the Soviet Union. Congressional staff and NGOs were invited to participate in these discussions.

Hill Briefings

On March 4, the Commission sponsored a briefing on the current situation in Armenia in response to the ongoing crisis. Featured at the briefing were Paul Goble, Special Assistant for Soviet Nationality Affairs at the Department of State. Mr. Goble presented an overview of General Secretary Gorbachev's nationality policies and discussed the significance of the present situation in Armenia and Azerbaidzhan. Also speaking was Mark Saroyan, a graduate student of the University of California at Berkeley, who had just returned from 6 months of research in Armenia.

The Commission joined in with the Anti-Defamation League and the National Conference on Soviet Jewry for a discussion with former Moscow refusenik, Alexander Ioffe. Ioffe, a mathematician, first applied to emigrate in 1976, but was continually denied permission to leave for Israel on state secrecy grounds until 1988. The discussions were held on April 6.

A briefing for all interested congressional staff was held by the Commission on May 20 regarding the "Upcoming U.S.-Soviet Summit" in Moscow. Ambassador Sam Wise, staff director of the

Commission, provided an overview of the Helsinki process and the role of human rights in U.S.-Soviet relations. Thomas Simons, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, addressed the current state of U.S.-Soviet relations and the agenda for the upcoming summit.

On Thursday, June 9, the Commission held an informal meeting with Heiki Ahonen, an Estonian dissident expelled from Soviet Estonia in March 1988. In April 1983, Ahonen was one of several Estonian activists picked up by the KGB following Andropov's accession to power in Moscow and crackdown on dissidents. In December 1983, he was sentenced to 5 years labor camp and 2 years internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Released from labor camp in February 1987 (as part of a government amnesty extended to approximately 200 imprisoned dissidents), Ahonen returned to Estonia and took part in the formation of the "Estonian National Independence Party" which seeks eventual separation of Estonia from the Soviet Union. As a result, he was first threatened with conscription into the armed forces for cleanup work at Chernobyl, but eventually expelled to Sweden on March 3, 1988.

The Commission leadership was briefed on the situation of Albanians in Yugoslavia, particularly those living in the Serbian province of Kosovo on June 22. Representatives Joe DioGuardi and Tom Lantos, who serves as Chairman of the Human Rights Caucus, were present to provide an overview of the human rights situation facing the Albanians. Also present at the briefing was David Aasen, area coordinator for Europe and the Middle East for Amnesty International, U.S.A.

Arrests of journalists in Slovenia and continued tensions with the Albanian minority in Kosovo heightened concerns of human rights activists regarding the situation in Yugoslavia. Widespread labor unrest, an inflation rate of about 150%, a foreign debt of \$21 billion, and declining standards of living have fueled a general clamor for political and economic reform forcing the Government to consider broad constitutional and economic changes. In order to provide Hill staff with insight into some of the complex problems facing Yugoslavia, the Congressional Human Rights Caucus joined the Commission in a briefing on July 13, featuring Yugoslav dissident and historian Franjo Tudman. Dr. Tudman was charged in a Zagreb court in February 1981 with "hostile propaganda" and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment followed by 5 years of prohibition on all public appearances and publication. He serves as a cochairman of the Committee to Aid Democratic Dissidents in Yugoslavia and is a founding sponsor of the Helsinki Committee of Yugoslavia formed in 1987.

On August 4, Soviet Pentecostals Boris Perchatkin and Vitaly Istomin spoke at a Commission briefing on recent developments in the Pentecostal emigration struggle as well as the situation of Soviet workers. Both Istomin and Perchatkin were imprisoned by Soviet authorities for their emigration activities. Representative Chris Smith chaired the briefing.

The plight of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria was the subject of a briefing with Turkey's Olympic gold medal weightlifter Naim Suleymanoglu. The briefing took place on December 6. Suleymanoglu defected from Bulgaria during a 1986 meet in Australia. His defec-

tion was triggered by the Bulgarian Government's 1984 forced assimilation campaign under which members of the Turkish minority were forced, often at gunpoint, to change their Turkish/Muslim names to Bulgarian/Christian names.

Inquiries Regarding Specific Cases

As a result of Commission outreach to congressional offices and an increase in the resolution of cases by the Soviet Union, the Commission staff handled a significant increase in congressional requests for information on the status of individual cases. In addition, with the ongoing Vienna Follow-Up Meeting, congressional offices were provided regular updates on the deliberations, as well as the subject matter and cases being discussed.

The Commission increased its role in making available information and briefing materials to Members of Congress who traveled to the Soviet Union and other Eastern bloc nations, or who would be meeting these nations' representatives in other venues during the past 2 years. The Commission provided information to the congressional delegation led by House Speaker Jim Wright, which traveled to the Soviet Union in April, as well as for Members participating in interparliamentary groups such as the North Atlantic Assembly and the European Parliament. In several instances, Commission staff conducted briefings for congressional delegations prior to their departure, as well as for Members of Congress prior to media appearances, such as the ABC's Capital-to-Capital program. Commission staff stepped up its activities in drafting statements for the Congressional Record as well as letters and statements for the Member's use.

In 1987, the Commission increased its clearinghouse activities for information about congressional activities on United States-European human rights and other Helsinki related issues. In the early part of the year, the Commission initiated a weekly CSCE Congressional *Update* which provided congressional offices with current information on CSCE related issues. The *Update* also served as a resource guide for congressional staff in alerting them to actions being taken on behalf of individual cases, legislation introduced, and Commission related functions.

In addition to the weekly *Update*, the Commission fielded inquiries from congressional offices as to what other offices had been active in a particular case and what actions had 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 human rights cases so that the Commission can keep files current on such efforts.

The Commission maintained a computer list of congressional interest in cases and informed Members of actions taken by the Commission as it related to that case. Examples of this included presentation of unresolved caselists to Soviet and Eastern bloc officials, and visits by Commissioners to individuals in those countries. In turn, congressional offices were informed of these and other developments in particular cases and advised of the results of Commission consultations held with Soviet and East European officials abroad, either at the Vienna Meeting or within the signatory nation itself.

The Commission worked closely with, and provided information to, several congressional human rights groups including the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, the Congressional Arts Caucus, the Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus, the Interparliamentary Group on Human Rights in the Soviet Union, the Congressional Coalition on Soviet Jewry, and the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltics and Ukraine. Prior to and during the December 1987 and June 1988 Reagan-Gorbachev summits, the Commission was deeply involved in coordinating a number of activities and press conferences with Commissioners, Members of Congress and nongovernmental organizations relating to religious rights; the denial of human rights in Ukraine and the Baltic States; the refusal of Soviet authorities to allow people with severe medical problems to seek medical treatment in the West; and pleas from divided spouses seeking reunification with their families.

X. WORKING WITH THE PUBLIC

The Helsinki Commission maintains close contact with representatives of a wide variety of human rights, ethnic, religious and civil rights groups in the United States and abroad which have an active interest in the CSCE process. Nongovernmental organizations are a critical source of ideas and information for the Commission which serves as a point of contact and information for NGOs on CSCE issues. The Commission also brings various CSCE-related concerns of private groups to the attention of government policymakers. In turn, the Commission tries to make government policies and activities on CSCE more accessible to NGOs.

Through hearings and briefings the Commission provides a public forum for the expression and exchange of NGO views. Throughout 1987 and 1988, Commissioners and staff frequently met with representatives of private organizations, particularly right before leaving on visits to East bloc nations. NGO advice, assistance and concerns were solicited in preparation for all such visits.

During the past 2 years, the Commission participated in an increasing number of various conferences, seminars, and meetings hosted by American and foreign professional associations, academic institutions and private organizations. Chairman Hoyer was a featured panelist at the March 1988 Arden House Conference on "Detente Revisited?". On December 8, Mr. Hoyer joined Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs Richard Schifter, former Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs Pat Derian, ABA president Robert Raven, and Mayor Don Fraser at the Georgetown University Bicentennial Symposium on "International Human Rights and United States Foreign Policy in the 1990's." The purpose of the symposium was to discuss the current status of international human rights, and in particular, to make specific recommendations on what the role of the United States should be in promoting human rights in the next decade.

Helsinki Commission staff activities included: briefing the American Bar Association on the Czechoslovak and Soviet human rights situations; speaking on Soviet dissent to Russian students at the University of Virginia; addressing classes from area universities on

human rights and the CSCE process as well as universities in New York, Ohio and Illinois; discussing the Soviet human rights situation with the American Latvian Association; speaking on Soviet dissent at the Third and Fourth General Chautauqua Conference on United States-Soviet Relations; and addressing the World Congress of Free Ukrainians on the Commission's November 1988 meetings with the Supreme Soviet.

Commission staff also participated in numerous meetings and conferences relating to CSCE and human rights issues, including: the Arden House Conference, "A New U.S.S.R.?"; a United States-Soviet delegation sponsored by the American Council for Young Political Leaders; a meeting in Vienna of the International Helsinki Federation; various sessions at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies; a Committee on National Security conference; meetings of the Soviet Working Group at the Heritage Foundation; and lectures and conferences at numerous universities in the Washington, DC area.

Appendix I

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

1987 AND 1988

Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD) Chairman

Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) CoChairman*

U.S. SENATE COMMISSIONERS

Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ)**	Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY)
Timothy Wirth (D-CO)*	John Heinz (R-PA)
Wyche Fowler (D-GA)*	James McClure (R-ID)
Harry Reid (D-NV)**	Malcolm Wallop (R-WY)

*On February 26, pursuant to Public Law 94-304, as amended by Public Law 99-7, Senator Dennis DeConcini was designated Cochairman of the Commission and Senators Tim Wirth and Wyche Fowler were appointed to the Commission.

**On April 8, Senators Lautenberg and Reid were appointed to the Commission.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMISSIONERS

Dante B. Fascell (D-FL)	Don Ritter (R-PA)
Edward J. Markey (D-MA)	Chris Smith (R-NJ)
Bill Richardson (D-NM)*	Jack Kemp (R-NY)*
Edward Feighan (D-OH)**	John Porter (R-IL)*

*Appointed February 11, 1987 by the Speaker of the House to serve on the Commission.

**Representative Feighan was appointed on February 26, 1987.

EXECUTIVE BRANCH COMMISSIONERS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE:

Honorable Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE:

Mr. Louis F. Laun, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Economic Policy*

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE:

Honorable Ronald F. Lehman II, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy**

*Mr. Laun was appointed by the President on May 13, 1988

**Appointed by the President on August 2, 1988

APPENDIX II

STAFF

OF THE

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

SAMUEL G. WISE, *Staff Director*

MARY SUE HAFNER, *Deputy Staff Director and General Counsel*

JANE S. FISHER, *Senior Staff Consultant*

MIKE AMITAY, *Staff Assistant*

DICK COMBS, *Senior Advisor for Soviet & East European Affairs*

CATHERINE COSMAN, *Staff Assistant*

DANA L. CROSBY, *Receptionist*

OREST DEYCHAKIWSKY, *Staff Assistant*

JOHN FINERTY, *Staff Assistant*

ROBERT HAND, *Staff Assistant*

GINA M. HARNER, *Administrative Assistant*

JUDITH INGRAM, *Staff Assistant*

JESSE JACOBS, *Staff Assistant*

RONALD MCNAMARA, *Staff Assistant*

MICHAEL OCHS, *Staff Assistant*

SPENCER OLIVER, *Consultant*

BETH RITCHIE, *Press Officer*

ERIKA SCHLAGER, *Staff Assistant*

TOM WARNER, *Printing Clerk*