

[COMMITTEE PRINT]

102D CONGRESS  
*1st Session*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

CSCE  
102-1-1

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION  
IN EUROPE FOR THE PERIOD COVERING  
JANUARY 1, 1990, THROUGH DECEMBER  
31, 1990

ONE HUNDRED SECOND CONGRESS

A REPORT TO CONGRESS



Printed for the use of the  
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1991

38-174 ←

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Congressional Sales Office  
U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402

## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

### COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
237 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING ANNEX 2  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515

(202) 225-1901

January 15, 1991

The Honorable George A. Mitchell  
Majority Leader  
United State Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Majority Leader:

I am pleased to forward a copy of the 1990 Annual Report of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which I have had the privilege to chair for the past 2 years. We have witnessed tremendous change in Europe during this period. The Helsinki process has been a catalyst for many of the changes which have occurred, particularly in the field of human rights.

As the implementation of CSCE human rights commitments has improved significantly in Central and Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union, increasing attention has been given to the process of democratization in the region. CSCE has been at the fore of efforts to promote democracy and free markets in the participating States. Historic provisions on free elections and the rule of law were adopted during the June 1990 Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension. Free elections were held last year in much of Europe for the first time since World War II.

During 1990 the Commission undertook an ambitious program designed to monitor implementation of CSCE provisions on free and fair elections. Commission members and staff observed and prepared reports on elections in Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Estonia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia as well as the Soviet republics of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldavia, the Russian Republic, and Ukraine.

In addition, Commission delegations visited a number of participating States to assess recent developments. The Commission sponsored the first official delegation to visit Albania since the diplomatic relations with the United States were broken in 1946. During 1990 Albania requested and was, for the first time, granted CSCE observer status. Commissioners also met with government officials, representatives of political parties, journalists, and private citizens in Berlin, the Federal Republic of Germany, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Finland, Estonia, Denmark, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, and France.

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The Commission held public hearings on: the Status of Soviet Jewry; German unification; Developments in the Baltics; Soviet involvement in Afghanistan; East-West trade; and the results of the Copenhagen Meeting on the Human Dimension.

Members of the Commission staff played an active role in the Helsinki process as members of the U.S. delegations CSCE follow-up activities held during 1990: the Bonn Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe, the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension, the Palma Meeting on the Mediterranean, the Negotiations on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (CSBM), the Vienna Preparatory Committee, the New York CSCE Ministerial Meeting, and the Paris CSCE Summit.

During the reporting period the Commission placed greater emphasis on its role in the military security sphere of CSCE. A full-time member of the Commission staff included as a member of the U.S. delegation to the Negotiations on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (CSBM) in Vienna. The Commission also monitored developments at the 22-nation Negotiation on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE), talks taking place within the framework of the CSCE process.

During 1990 the Commission continued to work closely with the Department of State, representatives of non-governmental organizations for the resolution of outstanding family reunification and travel cases. Caselists were presented to Soviet officials on several occasions during the year. In addition, the Commission continued to monitor the cases of Soviet prisoners whose convictions are suspected to have been politically motivated.

The Commission also maintains materials on U.S. domestic compliance covering a wide-range of issues, including minorities, immigration, prison conditions, capital punishment, and First Amendment rights. In August 1990, the Commission published a comprehensive staff report on homelessness in America.

During the year the Commission brought together Members of Congress, Congressional and Committee staff with speakers from government, universities, non-governmental organizations and research institutes as well as political and human rights activists from the Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe to discuss the dramatic changes taking place in much of Europe. The Commission staff also prepared and provided many Members of Congress and their staff with background materials, briefings and other substantive information on developments in the Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe.

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The dramatic developments which occurred in Europe during 1990 present new challenges and opportunities for the CSCE process and the Commission. As we look ahead, I am confident that the dedication of the Commission members, together with the professionalism of our talented staff, will enable the Commission to continue to play an active and valuable role in fostering respect for human rights, the promotion of democratic institutions and free markets, and the enhancement of security and cooperation in Europe.

Respectfully yours,

*Dennis De Cosini*

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 leaders of 35 nations, the Final Act encompasses nearly every aspect of East-West relations including military security, trade and economic cooperation, scientific and cultural exchanges, and human rights.

The Commission is mandated 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. In fulfilling its mandate, the Commission actively documents violations of the Final Act, promotes public awareness of the Helsinki process and is involved in the formulation of U.S. Government policy on CSCE-related issues.

The Commission is engaged in monitoring compliance with the Final Act. Public hearings with expert witnesses are regularly held on such issues as the status of Soviet Jewry; Soviet involvement in Afghanistan; developments in the Baltic States; East-West trade; German unification; human rights and humanitarian cooperation.

Much of the Commission's activity traditionally has focused on human rights casework, although the caseload has decreased significantly with the resolution of most of the outstanding cases known to the Commission. Exit 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 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on steps to resolve them.

During 1990 the Commission devoted considerable effort to observation and reporting on elections throughout Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltic States and republics of the Soviet Union. Much of this work was a direct result of the provisions on free and fair elections advanced by the Commission and adopted at the June 1990 Copenhagen Meeting on the Human Dimension.

During 1990 the Commission also placed greater emphasis on its role in the military security sphere of CSCE by detailing a full-time

staff member to the U.S. delegation at the Vienna Negotiations on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (CSBMs). This Commission staff member was also responsible for monitoring developments at the Negotiation on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE), talks taking place within the framework of the CSCE process.

In addition to official sources, the Commission relies heavily upon information provided by NGOs. The Commission is uniquely positioned to bring the specific CSCE-related concerns of private citizens and groups to the attention of U.S. Government officials, the U.S. Congress and representatives of the participating States. In turn, the Commission endeavors to facilitate access by NGOs to CSCE meetings and follow-up activities.

The Commission is integrally involved in the development and execution of U.S. policy related to the Helsinki process, especially in conjunction with CSCE follow-up activities. During the reporting period commissioners and Commission staff participated in the Bonn Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe, the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension (CDH), the New York CSCE Ministerial Meeting, the Palma Meeting on the Mediterranean, the Vienna Preparatory Committee, and the Paris CSCE Summit Meeting as well as the on-going security talks in Vienna.

## 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 Accords. The participating States consist of all European countries, with the exception of Albania, plus the United States and Canada. In early 1990, Albania expressed interest in joining the CSCE process and becoming a member state. Albania was granted CSCE observer status during the Copenhagen meeting in June and attended subsequent CSCE meetings in 1990 in this capacity. On October 3, 1990, the number of participating States was reduced to 34 with the unification of the two Germanys.

The Final Act covers three major components of East-West relations: military security; economic, scientific and environmental cooperation, and human rights and humanitarian issues. Specific human rights provisions cover freedom of movement; freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief; the free flow of information; and educational and cultural cooperation.

The Final Act consists of three main sections, also known as "baskets". The first basket contains a Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States. Among the 10 Principles are those covering inviolability of frontiers (Principle III); non-intervention in internal affairs (Principle VI); respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms (Principle VII); and self-determination (Principle VIII). In addition, Basket I also covers certain aspects of military security, most notably in the area of confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs).

Basket II covers cooperation in the fields of economics, science and technology, and the environment. Among the specific topics



covered are: business contacts and facilities; economic and commercial information; direct scientific contacts; protection of air and water; nature conservation; promotion of tourism; and migrant labor. There is also a separate section on questions relating to security and cooperation in the Mediterranean.

Basket III is devoted to cooperation in humanitarian and other fields such as human contact and information, as well as cooperation and exchanges in culture and education. The provisions of this section of the Final Act deal with such issues as family reunification; marriage between citizens of different states; improvement of the circulation of, access to, and exchange of information; improvement of working conditions for journalists; and the promotion of cultural and educational exchanges.

The last section of the Final Act, entitled "Follow-up to the Conference," provides for periodic meetings of representatives from the 35 [now 34] participating States for an exchange of views on implementation of CSCE commitments and discussion of further means to advance security and cooperation in Europe.

The Final Act is an international agreement which is politically binding in nature. Consensus is required for adoption of CSCE documents, including the Final Act, thus ensuring that smaller states are given an equal voice within the process. A basic tenet of the agreement is that all of its provisions are of equal importance.

As envisioned in the Final Act, periodic review meetings have been held to assess the status of implementation of CSCE commitments. These sessions have served as an important instrument for measuring the actions of the signatory states against the standards reflected in the Final Act and other CSCE documents.

The first follow-up meeting took place in Belgrade between October 1977 and March 1978. There was a recognition in Belgrade of the importance of human rights in East-West relations. Although they could reach consensus on few specific points during the first meeting, the participants agreed to convene another review conference in Madrid in 1980. In addition, there was agreement in Belgrade to hold a meeting on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, in Montreux (1978), a meeting on Cooperation in the Mediterranean, in Valletta (1979), and a Scientific Forum, in Hamburg (1980).

The Madrid Follow-up Meeting opened in November 1980 amid heightened East-West tensions following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The atmosphere at the conference was further dampened with the imposition of martial law in Poland. Nevertheless, the participants were able to elaborate new commitments in the Madrid Concluding Document. Consensus was also reached on a series of six experts meetings to be held prior to the convening of the third follow-up meeting in Vienna in November 1986. These specialized activities were: a meeting on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, in Athens (1984); a seminar on Mediterranean Cooperation, in Venice (1984); a meeting on Human Rights, in Ottawa (1985); a forum on Cultural Cooperation, in Budapest (1985); an experts meeting on Human Contacts, in Bern (1986); and the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE), in Stockholm (1984-86).

The Vienna Follow-up Meeting, which began in late 1986 and concluded in January 1989, further developed the CSCE process.

The atmosphere at the conference improved as a direct result of improved human rights performance in much of Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Provisions of the Vienna Concluding Document went significantly beyond those adopted in Madrid. Participants also agreed to create a Conference on the Human Dimension (CDH) for discussion on human rights and humanitarian cooperation. A series of three CDH meetings was mandated: Paris (1989), Copenhagen (1990), and Moscow (1991). Other experts meetings mandated by the Vienna meeting and to be held prior to the 1992 Helsinki Follow-up Meeting are: an Information Forum, in London (1989); a Meeting on Protection of the Environment, in Sofia (1989); a Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe, in Bonn (1990); a Meeting on the Mediterranean, in Palma (1990); a meeting on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, in Valletta (1991); and a Symposium on Cultural Heritage, in Krakow (1991).

The participating States also agreed to continue the work begun in Stockholm on confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs) at the Negotiations on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures which opened in Vienna in March 1989. In addition, the 23 [now 22] members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact agreed to a mandate for the Negotiation on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) which also opened in Vienna in March 1989. The CFE talks are taking place within the framework of the CSCE process. Finally, it was agreed to hold the next CSCE follow-up meeting in Helsinki in 1992.

In June 1990 representatives of the participating States reached provisional agreement to convene a meeting of heads of state or government from the participating States to assess developments in Europe and chart a course for the future of Europe. Soviet President Gorbachev had advanced the notion of such a summit during the late 1980's. The initiative was endorsed by the Foreign Ministers of the European Community countries in Dublin, Ireland, in late January 1990. The proposal received the support of the Foreign Ministers of the neutral and non-aligned countries in early March. The NATO leaders gave their backing to the Soviet initiative during their summit meeting in London in early July. Preparations for a CSCE summit began in July with the establishment of a preparatory committee in Vienna. CSCE foreign ministers gathered in New York in early October to review the work of the committee and set the dates for the CSCE summit.

#### *The Paris summit*

The heads of state or government assembled in Paris from November 19-21, the first such meeting to take place since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975. The leaders adopted the Charter of Paris for a New Europe which outlined areas for enhanced cooperation among the 34 participating States, including human rights, the rule of law, trade, the environment, and military security. The leaders of the 22 NATO and Warsaw Pact countries signed the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) in Paris.

In addition, the Charter established a mechanism for regular consultations and the first permanent institutions in CSCE history. Consultations will take place periodically among CSCE foreign

ministers as well as senior officials. A small administrative secretariat will be located in Prague. A Conflict Prevention Center is to be based in Vienna. An Office of Free Elections will be located in Warsaw. The summit participants also agreed to hold the following additional experts meetings: a Meeting on National Minorities, in Geneva (1991); and a Seminar on Democratic Institutions and Rule of Law, in Oslo (1991).

### III. CSCE FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES

#### *Bonn Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe*

From March 19 to April 11, 1990, the CSCE participating States convened a Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe, held in Bonn, West Germany, and attended by representatives of the business communities of the participating States in addition to governmental officials. The Bonn conference reflected the increased attention being paid to the fields covered by the Basket II chapter of the Helsinki Final Act since the Vienna Follow-up Meeting.

Mandated by the Vienna Concluding Document, the major focus of the conference was on creating better conditions for Western business persons working in Eastern countries, including more and improved facilities and more timely, accurate and useful economic and commercial information. There was also considerable discussion of economic reform efforts underway in the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, including descriptions of the legal parameters for foreign investment and joint ventures as well as efforts to make currencies in non-market economies convertible. The conference was considered by the private individuals who attended to be a useful forum for establishing contacts and raising practical problems regarding the conduct of business relations.

The Bonn conference ended with the adoption by consensus of a concluding document, the first such document produced at a subsidiary CSCE meeting other than on military-security issues since 1984. Among the notable provisions of this landmark document is a list of principles on economic cooperation, based on a U.S. proposal, which includes establishing democratic political systems, respecting workers' rights, allowing market forces to determine prices, protecting private property rights, and considering environmental questions in economic development. The document also contains a number of practical measures to facilitate the conduct of business relations and hence to expand commerce between East and West.

The Bonn conference took place in the aftermath of the political upheavals in Central and Eastern Europe, the initiation of steps leading toward the unification of Germany, and statements supporting an increased role for the CSCE in efforts to maintain stability in a fast-changing Europe. These developments were very evident during the course of the conference and contributed to its successful outcome. In turn, the Bonn conference and the document adopted there have contributed to further positive developments in the economic sphere which will hopefully lead to a prosperous and undivided Europe.

As with other CSCE meetings, the Helsinki Commission played an active role in the Bonn conference and contributed to the posi-

tive result. For example, the Chairman of the Commission, Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) spoke at a briefing of interested non-governmental organizations at the Department of the State prior to the conference. A congressional delegation—led by Representative and Commissioner Bill Richardson (D-NM) and including Senator Paul Sarbanes (D-MD) and Representative John Bryant (D-TX), David Scaggs (D-CO) and Jack Beuchner (R-MO)—attended the opening of the Bonn conference. In addition, members of the Commission staff actively participated in the conference as members of the U.S. delegation, providing their expertise on CSCE procedures and East-West trade and often representing the United States at the negotiating table.

*Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension*

From June 5-29, the second of three meetings of the Conference on the Human Dimension was held in Copenhagen, Denmark. It was the first CSCE meeting on human rights and humanitarian issues to take place since the revolutions of 1989.

At the first meeting held in Paris in 1989, Cochairman Representative Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD) introduced on behalf of the U.S. delegation a proposal on free and fair elections. Discussion on that and other proposals failed to generate a consensus document, but laid much of the groundwork for Copenhagen. In Denmark, there was considerable pressure to draft a document which would both reflect the historic changes taking place in Europe and, at the same time, anchor newly emerging democracies to stronger human dimension commitments. These goals were achieved in the Copenhagen Document, which not only strengthened CSCE commitments regarding individual civil and political rights, but also broke new ground in elaborating commitments regarding democratic institutions and the protections of minorities. Commission staff members played a significant role in all phases and aspects of the meeting. Deputy Staff Director Jane Fisher served as Deputy Head of Delegation.

Commission Cochairman Steny Hoyer led a delegation to Copenhagen which included Representative Frank R. Wolf (R-VA), a CSCE Commissioner, Representative Ben Cardin, and Commerce Department Commissioner William D. Fritts, Jr. During their visit, Cochairman Hoyer, in his capacity as Vice-Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Copenhagen Meeting, addressed a plenary session of the Meeting. The Commission delegation also held several bilateral meetings with delegations from the Soviet Union, Turkey, Romania, and Yugoslavia. An informal meeting was also held with representatives of Albania, which, for the first time, participated in a CSCE meeting with observer status.

After the Copenhagen Meeting, the Commission held a hearing, at which Ambassador Max Kampelman, Head of the U.S. delegation, expressed his appreciation to Cochairman Hoyer for contributing to the meeting and "for the extraordinarily capable staff that [the Commission] lent [the delegation] in Copenhagen."

*Palma Meeting on the Mediterranean*

From September 24 to October 19, the participating States convened a CSCE Meeting on the Mediterranean in Palma de Mal-

Iorca, Spain, as mandated by the Vienna Concluding Document. The meeting focused on issues relating to the environment and ecosystems of the Mediterranean basin as well as on social and economic concerns of the region.

Participants stressed reliance on cooperation—greater integration of practices and policies thorough coordination of national planning, and wider exchange of information—between CSCE participating States and their Mediterranean neighbors, to be pursued on multilateral and bilateral levels, in order to ensure the vitality of the region and its people.

The report adopted by the Palma meeting reflects the significant contribution made by the U.S. delegation to the agenda's environmental issues. Based on the concept of a citizen's right to know, and building on the Sofia document's statement supporting the right of environmentalists to obtain information, the head of the U.S. Delegation, Ambassador John R. Davis, Jr. proposed that toxic emissions reporting programs be established to disclose the release of toxic chemicals into the air, soil and water. Not only was this U.S. proposal incorporated into the report, but many recommendations made by the delegation were accepted as well.

The report also closely links improvement of the region's economic conditions with the establishment of market mechanisms, regional integration, private investment, joint ventures, the development of a transport infrastructure and participation by all concerned states in fora designed to promote economic cooperation. Echoing the emphasis placed by the delegates on the importance of harmonizing statistical methods, the report recommends the holding of a meeting of statistical offices of Mediterranean countries. Although several countries promoted the concept of a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean, to be based on the experience of the Helsinki process, direct reference to this proposal was not included in the report.

The Helsinki Commission played an active role in the Palma meeting and contributed to the positive result. Commission staff participated in all phases and aspects of the meeting, with Senior Advisor David M. Evans serving as deputy head of the U.S. delegation. In addition to Commission staff, the delegation included representatives from the Department of State, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) of the Commerce Department, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), and two public members with strong environmental interests and backgrounds.

#### *The Negotiations on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (CSBMs)*

Mandated by the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting to build on the set of measures adopted in Stockholm, the CSBM negotiations resulted in improvements provisions of the Stockholm Document as well as qualitatively new co-operative measures enabling states to raise concerns regarding unusual or hazardous military activities and implementation of CSBMs.

Expanding its activities in the military security area, the Commission sent a staffer to the negotiations full-time for the first time in 1990, as an active participant and full member of the U.S. delegation. The Commission was thus able to follow the military securi-

ty aspects of the CSCE as well as better monitor the balance among the areas of the CSCE process. Chairman DeConcini and Co-chairman Hoyer met periodically with the U.S. representative to the CSBMs, Ambassador John J. Maresca, to exchange views and assess progress at the talks.

*The Negotiation on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE)*

The CFE negotiations, a successor to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks (MBFR), was brought into the CSCE framework by the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting. The treaty signed at the Paris Summit in November 1990 removes the overwhelming advantage the Soviet Union has long enjoyed in conventional forces and establishes the right to verify weapon levels, movements and destruction. CFE will continue in 1991 and focus on limiting personnel; however, the Paris summit agreed that after the Helsinki Follow-Up Meeting, arms control will be conducted among all 34 participating states.

Although the Commission has not obtained a place on the CFE delegation, the presence of a Commission staffer in Vienna has increased the ability of the Commission to follow CFE. In addition, the Commission followed the proceedings through briefings which Chairman DeConcini and Cochairman Hoyer have received from U.S. representative R. James Woolsey. The Commission continues to monitor CFE in order to respond to Commissioners' concerns and to be better prepared to participate as CSCE takes on wider functions in European security.

As the climate in East-West relations has improved, the military security basket of the CSCE has taken on greater importance as a forum for consideration of security issues affecting all the participating states. 1990 saw the conclusion of agreements in both security negotiations ongoing in Vienna: the Confidence- and Security-Building Measures Negotiations, a continuation of the Stockholm Conference; and the Negotiation on Conventional Forces in Europe, conducted within the CSCE framework among members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

*Vienna Preparatory Committee*

In June 1990 representatives of the participating States reached provisional agreement to convene a meeting of heads of state or government from the participating States to assess developments in Europe and chart a course for the future of Europe. Preparations for the summit began in July with the establishment of a preparatory committee in Vienna. Commission staff were involved in virtually all aspects of work at the Vienna Preparatory Committee leading up to the CSCE summit held in late 1990. The work of the committee was divided into three main areas: Political Language, Guidelines for the Future, and New Structures and Institutions of the CSCE Process. In addition, representatives of the 22 NATO and Warsaw Pact countries worked on a joint declaration on friendly relations. Staff Director Sam Wise headed the negotiations on the Guidelines section of the summit preparations. Commission staff members Ronald McNamara and Heather Hurlburt also worked on the U.S. delegation.

The Commission was also active in preparations for the CSCE foreign ministers meeting—the first CSCE activity hosted by the United States. Foreign ministers from the participating States gathered in New York on October 1-2 to review the work of the preparatory committee and reach agreement on dates and the venue for the CSCE summit, although the United States continued to link the convening of the summit with the completion of work on a treaty on conventional forces in Europe. Commission Chairman DeConcini and Commissioner Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY) attended the ministerial meeting and hosted a luncheon for the Baltic foreign ministers. The Commission assigned staff to the Secretariat to assist in organizing the event. Commission staffers Robert Hand and Erika Schlager helped prepare the meeting as members of the U.S. secretariat while Staff Director Sam Wise and Deputy Staff Director Jane Fisher joined the U.S. delegation to the meeting.

#### *Paris CSCE Summit*

The leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union and 32 other countries gathered in Paris for a summit meeting to celebrate the end of the division of Europe and to map out ways of ensuring peace and strengthening democracy in a region devastated by two world wars in this century. The three day summit was attended by Commission Cochairman Steny H. Hoyer, Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI), Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and former Commissioner, and ranking House minority Commissioner Don Ritter (R-PA).

The summit meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe opened on Monday, November 19 with the signing of the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) to reduce the levels of conventional weapons of NATO and Warsaw Pact countries permitted in a zone stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals. The treaty provides for the destruction of significant numbers of tanks, armored combat vehicles, and artillery. The treaty also covers combat aircraft and attack helicopters. Under the treaty, neither NATO nor the Warsaw Pact would be allowed to maintain more than 20,000 tanks, 20,000 artillery pieces, 30,000 armored combat vehicles, 6,800 combat aircraft and 2,000 attack helicopters in the designated region. In conjunction with the CFE Treaty, Germany agreed to reduce its total armed forces from 560,000 to less than 370,000.

The CSCE leaders signed the Charter of Paris for a New Europe which established the first permanent CSCE institutions, with a Secretariat in Prague, a Conflict Prevention Center in Vienna, and an Office of Free Elections in Warsaw. The leaders also agreed on a mechanism for regular high-level political consultations, including annual meetings of foreign ministers as well as meetings of senior officials. Summit meetings will be held in connection with follow-up meetings to take place every two years.

The Charter reflects a basic commitment to human rights as a basis for government and endorses free elections, rule of law, and a market economy. The foreign ministers of the participating States are slated to hold their first post-summit consultation in Berlin June 19-20, 1991.

## IV. COMMISSION DELEGATIONS

*Berlin/Federal Republic of Germany*

From March 16-19, a delegation led by Commissioner Bill Richardson (D-NM) visited Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany. Other participants included Senator Paul Sarbanes (D-MD) and Representatives John Bryant (D-TX), David Skaggs (D-CO), and Jack Buechner (R-MO).

Members of the delegation were briefed at Ramstein Air Force Base on the CSCE process and on political developments in Germany, including the implications of the move toward unification. The group also met with Lt. Gen. Clifford T. Rees, Vice Commander-in-Chief, United States Air Forces in Europe to discuss issues relating to U.S. military presence in Europe.

The delegation travelled to Berlin where the members were briefed by Richard C. Barkley, U.S. Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic, and other embassy officials. Meetings were held with representatives of various political parties. Participants observed election activities at polling sites in both urban and rural centers, including stops in Guterfelde, Schenkendorf, Treptow, Koepernick, Oberschoeneweide and Potsdam. A dinner was hosted for the delegation in West Berlin by Vernon A. Walters, U.S. Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. While in Bonn, the delegation met with State Secretary Dr. Juergen Sudhoff to discuss CSCE issues. A meeting was also held with representatives of the business community. Members attended the opening session of the Bonn CSCE Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe, where they met briefly with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

*Yugoslavia/Bulgaria/Romania*

From April 6-13, Commission Chairman DeConcini and Cochairman Hoyer led a delegation to Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Romania. Representatives Jim Moody (D-WI) and Helen Delich Bentley (R-MD) also participated.

The Commission delegation was in Yugoslavia to observe that country's first free, multi-party elections since World War II; to discuss a variety of human rights concerns; and to examine the situation in Kosovo province where meetings were held with Serbian and Albanian groups. The delegation visited the cities of Ljubljana, Belgrade and Pristina. Meetings were held with federal, republic and provincial officials, as well as with human rights activists, religious figures, representatives of alternative groups and parties, journalists, and other private citizens.

The Commission delegation visited Romania to examine the steps made to date to institutionalize human rights guarantees and democratic institutions, preparations for the May 20 elections, and the current status of religious and minority rights in Romania. It met with the widest possible range of official and unofficial representatives.

The delegation was greeted by U.S. Ambassador Sol Polansky upon its arrival in Sofia. The Ambassador briefed the delegation on the current situation in Bulgaria, focusing primarily on the upcoming elections and the prospect for their fairness. The group met Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov, and representatives of the Union



of Democratic Forces, including Petur Beron and Zhelyu Zhelev, to discuss political, economic and human rights developments in Bulgaria.

#### *Finland/Estonia*

From May 31 to June 4, Commission Chairman DeConcini led a delegation to Finland and Estonia to gain a more complete understanding of the Baltic drive for independence and the prospects for bilateral relations with Estonia as well as the neighboring Baltic States of Latvia and Lithuania.

While in Helsinki, members of the delegation met with U.S. Ambassador John G. Weinmann to discuss the situation in the Baltic region. The Ambassador hosted a dinner for the delegation and prominent Finnish officials, journalists and private citizens.

The delegation travelled by ferry to the Estonian capital of Tallinn and were greeted by the president of the Estonian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the official host of the group. Meetings were held with Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar and Janis Jurkans, Foreign Minister of Latvia, Ulo Nugi, Speaker of the Estonian Supreme Council and leader of the Estonian Union of Working Collectives, Indrek Toome, former Prime Minister and a leader of "Free Estonia", Endel Lippmaa, a member of the U.S.S.R. Congress of People's Deputies, and Hardo Assmar, Mayor of Tallinn. In addition, the delegation met with members of the Estonian Popular Front, the Union of Artists, and Chairman DeConcini inaugurated the Estonian-American Chamber of Commerce. A brief press conference with Estonian media was held prior to the delegation's departure.

#### *Copenhagen*

From June 14-19, Commission Cochairman Hoyer led a delegation to attend the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension. Members of the delegation included Commissioner Representative Frank Wolf (R-VA) and Department of Commerce Commissioner William D. Fritts, Jr., as well as Representative Ben Cardin (D-MD). Cochairman Hoyer, in his capacity as Vice Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Copenhagen Meeting, addressed a plenary session of the meeting.

The congressional delegation also held bilateral meetings with the delegations from the Soviet Union, Turkey, Romania, and Yugoslavia; an informal meeting was held with observers from Albania. The delegation joined a reception for representatives of the non-governmental organizations attending the Copenhagen Meeting.

#### *Albania/Bulgaria/Czechoslovakia/Berlin*

From August 18-21, Commission Chairman DeConcini led the first Commission delegation to Albania, to initiate a dialogue on CSCE issues including human rights, and to study first-hand the current economic and political situation. Senator Paul Sarbanes (D-MD) and Representative Jim Moody (D-WI) participated in the delegation. The visit was the first official congressional delegation since diplomatic relations between Albania and the United States were broken in 1946.

Among many other officials, the Commission delegation met with Albanian President Ramiz Alia, Foreign Minister Reis Melile, Supreme Court Chairman Kleanthi Koci and Foto Cami, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Permanent Commission of the Albanian Peoples' Assembly. It also met with members of the popular front organization regarding the Greek minority in Albania, university students and numerous cultural figures, economists, journalists, foreign diplomats and other prominent individuals, many of whom attended a Commission-hosted reception. In addition to the capital, Tirana, the delegation visited the city of Durres on the Adriatic coast as well as the historic town of Kruje.

Chairman DeConcini stated the Commission's full support for the observer status Albania has been granted at recent CSCE meetings, beginning with the Copenhagen Human Dimension Meeting in June. When Albanian officials stated their interest in attaining full CSCE membership in the near future, the Chairman noted reports of many major human rights abuses and raised specific concerns with the Albanian leaders. The Chairman and other delegation participants stressed the need for Albania to bring its human rights practices into line with CSCE commitments.

From August 21-24 the delegation visited Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Berlin to study the implications of recent developments there.

In Sofia, the delegation met with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev and then Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov. The Commission delegation, joined by Commerce Department Commissioner William D. Fritts, Jr., discussed a wide-range of issues with the Bulgarians including the deteriorating economic situation; the status of members of the Turkish minority; efforts to dismantle the secret police; and the possibilities for the CSCE process in coming years.

In Prague, the delegation met with Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenek Matejka and President Vaclav Havel's senior foreign policy advisor, Sasa Vondra, to discuss Czechoslovak initiatives within the Helsinki process as well as environmental problems. A meeting with Jaroslav Sabata, a minister of the Czech Republic and Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the Helsinki Citizens Assembly also focused on CSCE. Delegation members also met with Jozef Vavrousek, the Federal Minister for Environmental Affairs, and other environmental officials to discuss this topic of growing concern within CSCE. The delegation visited a former Soviet military base in northern Bohemia, where there has been extensive environmental damage. Other meetings were held with Frantisek Tomasek, the Archbishop of Prague and Czech Republic Premier Petr Pithart.

The visit to Berlin took place in the context of the East German government confronting a crisis regarding the timing of German unification, and growing economic problems. In meetings with State Secretary Helmut Domke and other foreign ministry officials, the Helsinki process was again a major topic of discussion. Members of the delegation also met with Peter-Michael Diestel, the East German Interior Minister, charged with dismantling of the East German secret police, or Stasi. Finally, the members met with Sabine Bergmann-Pohl, Chair of the assembly and acting head of

state, who described the volatile political situation in East Germany and the moves toward unification.

*France*

From November 18-20, Commission Cochairman Hoyer attended the CSCE summit meeting in Paris as a member of the Presidential delegation. The summit was the first meeting of heads of state of government from the participating States since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975. The Cochairman was joined by Commissioner Don Ritter (R-PA), and former Commission Cochairman, Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI), Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Members were included as part of the official U.S. delegation and Senator Pell was present for the signing of the CFE Treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe and attended plenary sessions of the summit. While in Paris, members of the delegation met with representatives of U.S. non-governmental organizations to discuss a variety of CSCE issues, including human rights.

V. PUBLIC HEARINGS

The Commission conducted six hearings during 1990 and heard testimony from experts on a wide range of CSCE-related issues from the status of Soviet Jewry to the implications of German unification. All hearings were open to the public and representatives of the media. Published copies of the proceedings were available upon request.

*Status of Soviet Jewry*

On March 7, 1990, the Helsinki Commission convened to examine the state of Soviet Jewry, focusing upon Jewish cultural life, reports of increased anti-semitism and emigration/immigration issues. Testifying from the State Department were Ambassador Princeton Lyman, Director of the Bureau for Refugee Programs, and Alexander Vershbow, Director of the Office of Soviet Affairs. Dr. William Korey, Director of International Policy Research for B'nai Brith. Mrs. Shoshana Cardin, Chairperson of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and Mr. Micah Naftalin, Director of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews also presented testimony before the Commission.

*German Unification*

German unification, its implications for the CSCE process, and U.S. policy were the main topics of a Commission hearing on April 3, 1990. Testifying were: James Dobbins, the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs; Dr. Richard Pipes, a Harvard professor and expert on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; Dr. Angela Stent, an associate Professor at Georgetown University and German affairs expert; Wolfgang Pordzik, the Director of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, a think-tank affiliated with the Christian Democratic movement; and Dieter Dettke, Executive Director of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, a think-tank associated with the Social Democratic Party.

### *Developments in the Baltics*

Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskienė testified before the Commission on May 3, 1990 during her first official visit to Washington, DC. The Prime Minister's testimony focused upon the rapidly unfolding events in Lithuania from the declaration of independence to the Soviet economic blockade.

### *Soviet Involvement in Afghanistan*

On May 3, the Commission examined continued Soviet involvement in Afghanistan, U.N. sponsored efforts in the region, and U.S. policy. Testifying before the Commission were: Mohammad Saljooque, President of the Political Department of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan, a resistance group; David Isby, a specialist in Soviet military affairs and U.S. defense policies; Barnett Rubin, a Peace Fellow at the U.S. Institute for Peace and Afghan human rights expert; and Khalid Sekander, an Afghan-American.

### *East-West Trade*

Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher testified before the Commission on June 12, 1990. The topics of the meeting were East-West trade and the Helsinki process, the recent Bonn CSCE economic meeting and prospects for U.S. businesses in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Also testifying were: Dr. Richard Ericson, an economics professor at Columbia University and expert on the Soviet economy; Barry Hart, an attorney specializing in international tax and corporate law; and Wendall Ward, a vice-president of Marriott Hotels and Resorts responsible for the corporation's international development program.

### *Copenhagen CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension*

On July 18, 1990, the Commission convened to examine the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension, which concluded in June. The Copenhagen document was the first CSCE text to establish guidelines for democratic institutions and significantly advance CSCE human rights commitments. The Commission heard testimony from: Ambassador Max Kampelman, the Head of the U.S. Delegation to the Copenhagen meeting; Professor Thomas Buergenthal, a public member of the U.S. Delegation and international human rights law expert; and Professor Hurst Hannum, a public member of the U.S. Delegation and expert on self-determination and sovereignty issues.

## VI. MONITORING COMPLIANCE

### *Election Observation*

Whereas 1989 was the year of revolutionary change and movement toward political pluralism, 1990 was the year of elections in what used to be called the Soviet bloc. The process of building democratic institutions had now begun, with the holding of multi-party parliamentary elections in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the three Baltic States and 12 republics in the Soviet Union.

The commitment to free and fair elections is now an established principle of the Helsinki process, and provisions for observers to monitor elections in CSCE participating States are contained in the Concluding Document of the Copenhagen Meeting on the Human Dimension (June 1990). In fulfillment of its mandate to monitor and encourage compliance with Helsinki commitments, the Commission undertook a major, year-long program of election observation, sending both congressional and staff delegations to observe and prepare reports on elections in the former German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Romania, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, as well as Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia and the Soviet republics of Moldavia, Russia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Georgia.

#### *Central and Eastern Europe*

The U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, in accordance with its mandate to monitor and encourage implementation of the Helsinki Final Act and subsequent CSCE documents, sent observer teams to elections in six Central and Eastern European countries in 1990. Our goal was to witness the evolution of political forces in newly pluralized societies as observers of the election process, and to provide "snapshots" of the political developments surrounding the elections.

Commissioner Bill Richardson led a Commission delegation with staff from March 16-19 to observe the first free, multi-party elections in the German Democratic Republic. He was accompanied by Senator Paul Sarbanes and Representatives John Bryant, David Skaggs and Jack Buechner. The delegation met with representatives of several political parties, election officials, candidates, political experts and voters. Election activities were observed on March 18 East Berlin, Potsdam and five other East German cities.

Commission staff member Judith Ingram visited Hungary from March 22-27 to observe the first free, multi-party elections to be held in that country in over 40 years. She met with representatives from various political parties, electoral officials, journalists, pollsters and voters. She observed the March 25 elections in Budapest and Miskolc.

From May 16-25 Ms. Ingram visited Romania to observe the first multi-party elections there in over 40 years. She met with a variety of electoral officials, party representatives and representatives of "non-political" action groups, as well as with candidates, journalists and voters and observed the May 20 elections in the cities of Bucharest and Timisoara and in two counties.

Commission Staff Director Sam Wise and staff member Erika Schlager visited the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic from June 6-11 to observe the country's first free and open elections since 1946. They met with representatives of several political parties and movements and electoral commission officials, and observed the June 8-9 elections in Prague and surrounding localities.

Commission Staff Director Sam Wise and staff member Orest Deychakiwsky visited Bulgaria from June 8-12 to observe that country's first free and contested elections in over 40 years. They met with a wide range of electoral officials, political party and movement representatives, candidates, journalists, voters and ob-

servers of the Bulgarian political scene. Mr. Deychakiwsky observed the June 10 voting at 29 polling stations in Sofia and the Kurdzhali, Khaskovo and Kyustendil regions, and the counting of ballots in three polling stations. Mr. Wise met with American Ambassador Sol Polansky and members of the official U.S. elections observation delegation.

Yugoslavia held its first free parliamentary elections since World War II in its six constituent republics in two rounds during 1990: Slovenia and Croatia in April-May; Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro in November-December.

For the first round, Commission Chairman Dennis DeConcini led a congressional delegation to the Republic of Slovenia from April 7-8, meeting with the President of the Presidency of Slovenia, the President of the Slovenian Assembly, the republic electoral commission and representatives of the three major political parties. The delegation also observed the voting at polling stations in Ljubljana and nearby villages on April 8. Commission Senior Advisor David M. Evans and staff member Robert A. Hand then visited Croatia from April 20-23 to observe the April 22-23 elections in that republic and the run-off elections in Slovenia.

Mr. Evans and Mr. Hand returned from November 8-20, this time to observe the elections in Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina on November 11 and November 18, respectively. They returned once more to Yugoslavia from December 2-11 to observe the concluding republic elections in Serbia and Montenegro held on December 9. In all six republics, a wide range of meetings were held with political party representatives, candidates, electoral officials, journalists and voters. At least 15 polling stations were visited on election day in the capital and surrounding towns and villages in each republic, where both voting and the counting of ballots were observed.

#### *The Baltic States and Soviet Republics*

In 1990, the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe embarked on a new enterprise. The unraveling of communist rule in the Baltic States and in parts of the Soviet Union led the Commission to expand its focus beyond the traditional human rights concerns enshrined in early CSCE documents. With Marxism-Leninism having been discredited in the entire region as a source of legitimacy, and the spread among the masses—and often elite—of notions of popular sovereignty, new yardsticks became possible and necessary for measuring “progress.” As human rights violations had produced human rights monitors in the early 1970s, so now did elections—symbol, goal, vehicle, cause and effect of change—generate election observers.

The first multi-party elections ever to take place under Soviet power were held in Lithuania on February 24. Commission staff member Ann Banchoff visited Vilnius from February 21-26 to observe the Supreme Soviet elections and the political process taking shape around them. She interviewed representatives of the major political parties, various other organizations and minority groups, electoral officials, candidates and voters.

Commission Chairman Dennis DeConcini planned to lead a congressional delegation to observe the elections to the Supreme Sovi-

ets of Estonia and Latvia held on March 18, but was effectively denied entry permission by Soviet authorities to there. However, Commission staff members Ann Banchoff and Michael Ochs succeeded in visiting Tallin from March 15-19 to observe the Estonian elections. They also visited Riga from March 17-21 for the elections in Latvia. In both Baltic States, they met with a wide range of representatives from political parties and movements, minority groups and other organizations, electoral officials, candidates and voters.

Observation of parliamentary elections in the Soviet republics began with the February 25 elections to the Supreme Soviet of Moldavia. Commission staff member Judith Ingram visited Kishinev from February 23-27 to observe this election and to meet with representatives of political parties and movements, minority groups and other organizations, journalists and cultural figures, candidates and voters.

Commission staff member John Finerty visited the Russian republic to observe the March 4 elections to the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies. He interviewed candidates, political activists, and party and election officials in both Moscow and Krasnodar, and observed the voting itself and interviewed voters in Krasnodar.

The Soviet Union denied visas to members of a planned Commission delegation to be led by Commissioner Don Ritter (R-PA) to observe the March 4 Supreme Soviet elections in Ukraine. However, Commission staff members Orest Deychakiwsky and Heather Hurlburt succeeded in visiting Kiev from March 15-20 to observe the run-off elections held on March 18. They also interviewed representatives of the Ukrainian Popular Movement Rukh, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, independent groups, electoral officials, journalists, candidates and voters.

Commission staff member Michael Ochs visited Baku from September 27 - October 2 to observe the September 30 elections to the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan. He also interviewed representatives of the republic's Communist Party, spokesmen for opposition parties and independent candidates, and parliamentary, foreign ministry and electoral commission officials.

From October 25-30 Mr. Ochs visited Tbilisi to observe the October 28 Supreme Soviet elections in Georgia. He also interviewed members of various opposition political parties participating in the elections, spokesmen of parties which boycotted the elections, electoral officials and journalists.

#### *Human Rights Casework*

Part of the Commission's daily work focused on individual cases falling under the Final Act's human contacts provisions, including family reunification and travel cases. Such cases are handled jointly by a caseworker with the assistance of country/area officers and student interns.

The staff maintains files on human contacts cases and coordinates information with the State Department, the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and, where necessary, U.S. Embassies throughout Eastern Europe. Most of the incoming casework correspondence comes from individuals and organizations attempting to facilitate the emigration or travel of their family, friends or colleagues from the Soviet

Union, as well as from Members of Congress seeking the Commission's assistance on behalf of their constituents.

The Commission staff also spends time counseling and advising family members, concerned individuals, representatives of private groups, congressional staffs and other governmental agencies on possible strategies to resolve human rights cases.

The Commission compiles and updates human contacts caselists for the Soviet Union and provides background information on individual cases to Members of Congress, congressional delegations visiting the Soviet Union, delegations to various CSCE meetings, and the State Department.

The Commission continues to work closely with the State Department to maintain the joint State Department-Commission U.S. Government consolidated list of unresolved human contacts cases. This consolidated list was presented to Soviet officials on several occasions throughout the year by various ranking State Department officials. The list was also presented to the head of the Soviet delegation to the Copenhagen CDH in June by Cochairman Steny H. Hoyer.

Due to the dramatic opening in human contacts in Central and Eastern Europe over the last year, the Commission received only a handful of inquiries and does not maintain human contacts caselists for those signatory states.

The Commission continues to maintain contacts with concerned NGOs, individuals and the State Department and other government agencies on the issue of entry into the United States by Soviet and East European refugees.

In addition to human contacts cases, the Commission continues to monitor cases where Soviet citizens are suspected of having been arrested, jailed or incarcerated in psychiatric facilities under suspicious (i.e. political) circumstances. The overwhelming majority of clearly political cases have been resolved in the last two years, but reports of illegal detentions and violations of civil liberties continue.

#### *Domestic Compliance*

In November 1979, the Commission published its first comprehensive domestic compliance review entitled, "Fulfilling Our Promises: The United States and the Helsinki Final Act". This report was updated in 1981 and hearings were held to examine various domestic issues. The Commission undertakes domestic compliance reviews for numerous reasons. First, it believes that the U.S. should work with other CSCE states to identify and acknowledge problems within our respective societies and attempt to find solutions to those problems. Second, as the Helsinki process encourages multi-lateral scrutiny of each nation's compliance, self-examination enables the Commission to raise more credibly concerns regarding non-compliance by other CSCE nations. Finally, the U.S. is often called upon to respond to charges of non-compliance, and the Commission's ongoing review of domestic compliance issues has served as a useful data base.

The Commission maintains materials on a wide range of civil and political rights issues including minority issues, immigration, prison conditions, capital punishment, and First Amendment



rights. Social, economic and cultural issues treated within Helsinki documents such as housing, welfare, employment, education and health are also followed. The Commission maintains contacts with foreign and domestic non-governmental agencies that follow developments in each of the above areas.

In August 1990, the Commission published a comprehensive staff report entitled "Homelessness in the United States". This report responds to repeated criticism voiced by the East regarding homelessness in America. Assistance was provided by Department of Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, a former Helsinki Commissioner. The report examines the issue of homelessness in America, its origins, dimensions and the responses to the growing problem. It concludes that much more needs to be done by the U.S. to address homelessness and the larger crisis of poverty.

#### *Staff Delegations*

In January, Deputy Staff Director, Jane Fisher attended a conference on The Status of Human Rights under the Helsinki Accords: an Agenda for the Future, in Strasbourg, sponsored by the Center for Democracy.

In July, Senior Advisor David Evans, represented the Commission at the Andrei Sakharov Memorial Conference on Human Rights, held in connection with the 1990 Goodwill Games in Seattle.

In September, Commission staff member John Finerty accompanied a delegation of Soviet psychiatrists to San Diego and Los Angeles as part of a visit organized by the Department of State and the National Institute of Mental Health. Mr. Finerty had served as one of six Department of State interpreters for the visit by U.S. psychiatrists and forensic specialists to the Soviet Union in February-March 1989.

From September 1-4, Commission Deputy Staff Director and General Counsel, Mary Sue Hafner, participated in the Congressional Human Rights Foundation's Second International Human Rights Conference, held in Leningrad. Workshops addressed a variety of human rights issues including ethnic/minority rights and self-determination.

From September 26-29, Commission Deputy Staff Director and General Counsel, Mary Sue Hafner, participated in the Conference on New Security Arrangements in Europe: Developing the CSCE Framework, sponsored by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, in Helsinki, Finland. The conference included discussions on: institutionalization of the CSCE process; institutions for human rights, law and cultural cooperation; and institutions for security, among others.

#### VII. HEARINGS, REPORTS, AND PRINTED DOCUMENTS

The following hearings, reports, and publications were produced by the Commission in 1990:

##### **HEARINGS**

*Status Report on Soviet Jewry (March 1990)*

*German Unification and the CSCE Process (April 1990)*

*Soviet Involvement in Afghanistan (May 1990)*

*Meeting with Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene of Lithuania (May 1990)*

*East-West Trade and the Helsinki Process (June 1990)*

*The Copenhagen CSCE Meeting on the Human Dimension (July 1990)*

#### REPORTS

Annual Report of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe for the Period Covering January 1, 1988 through December 31, 1989, an overview of the activities of CSCE Commissioners and Staff.

Report on the Supreme Soviet Elections in Lithuania (March 1990)

Report on the Supreme Soviet Elections in Ukraine (March 1990)

Report on the Supreme Soviet Elections in the Moldavian Republic (March 1990)

Report on the Congress of People's Deputies Election in the Russian Republic (March 1990)

Report on Parliamentary Elections in the German Democratic Republic (April 1990)

Report on Parliamentary Elections in Hungary (April 1990)

Report on the Supreme Soviet Elections in Estonia (April 1990)

Staff Report on the Bonn CSCE Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe (April 1990)

Report on the Supreme Soviet Election in Latvia (April 1990)

Document of the Bonn Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (April 1990)

Report of the Congressional Delegation Visit to Yugoslavia, Romania, and Bulgaria (May 1990)

Report on the Elections in the Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia and Croatia (May 1990)

Report on the Parliamentary and Presidential Elections in Romania (May 1990)

Report on Codel DeConcini Trip to Helsinki and Estonia (June 1990)

Report on the Parliamentary Elections in Bulgaria (June 1990)

Report on the Elections in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic (June 1990)

Document on the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (June 1990)

Elections in Central and Eastern Europe: A Compendium of Reports on the Elections Held from March through June 1990 (July 1990)

Staff Report on Homelessness in the United States (August 1990)

Staff Report on the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (August 1990)

Report of the Helsinki Commission on the U.S. Congressional Delegation Visit to Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Berlin (September 1990)

Report on the Supreme Soviet Elections in Azerbaijan (October 1990)

Document of the Meeting on the Mediterranean of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (October 1990)

Report on the Supreme Soviet Elections in Georgia (November 1990)

Staff Report on the CSCE Meeting on the Mediterranean (December 1990)

Compendium on Parliamentary Elections in the Baltic States and Soviet Republics (December 1990)

### VIII. OTHER PUBLICATIONS

*CSCE Digest*—The Digest is a monthly publication of the Commission which offers current information on East-West issues, Commission activities, and CSCE follow-up activities. It is disseminated to all Members of Congress, interested governmental and non-governmental organizations, press and the general public in the United States and abroad. The Digest has a circulation of over 7,000.

A new CSCE brochure describing the work of the Commission and the Helsinki process was printed.

A brief history of the CSCE process, periodically updated and distributed at hearings, for use by members of congressional delegations, and for use by the general public, was produced.

### IX. WORKING WITH THE PUBLIC

The Commission maintains close contacts with representatives of numerous and varied human rights, ethnic, religious and civic groups in the United States and abroad who are interested in the CSCE process. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are a major source of information for the Commission which serves as a point of contact and information for NGOs on CSCE matters. The Commission also brings CSCE-related concerns of private groups to the attention of governmental policymakers. In turn, the Commission attempts to make governmental policies and activities pertaining

Through hearings and briefings, the Commission provides a forum for NGOs to express their views. During 1990, Commissioners and staff frequently met, both on a formal and informal basis, with representatives of private organizations, including numerous nationality, ethnic, human and religious rights organizations.

To a markedly greater extent than in the past, the Commissioners and Commission staff met in 1990 with a wide variety of activists from the Soviet Union, the Baltic States and Central and Eastern Europe, including with a significant number of governmental officials and parliamentarians on federal, republic and local levels. Commission staff met with visitors from abroad on virtually a daily basis. Meetings were held with activists from Yugoslavia, Poland, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Bulgaria, Romania, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine and Russia.

Traditionally, Commission staff members of U.S. delegations to CSCE meetings serve as the key liaisons to NGOs. This liaison work includes briefing NGOs on developments taking place, attending and supporting NGO efforts relating to various conferences, including listening to and integrating their substantive concerns, facilitating NGO access to conference sites, and arranging appoint-

ments with United States and, where necessary, other delegations. During and after CSCE meetings, the Commission publicizes the proceedings, briefing lectures to NGO groups, holds interviews with NGO media and distributes Commission reports. During 1990, substantial Commission staff-time was devoted to NGO liaison efforts at the Copenhagen Conference on the Human Dimension, the Bonn Economic Meeting, the New York Ministerial Meeting, and the Paris Heads of State Summit. In February, Chairman DeConcini spoke at a State Department sponsored NGO briefing on the Bonn Meeting and in May, both Chairman DeConcini and CoChairman Hoyer spoke at a State Department briefing on the Copenhagen Meeting.

Chairman DeConcini's participation at public forums included: National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council Annual Meeting speech on Soviet emigration reform in February, a speech to the Phoenix Holocaust Association in April, a joint Commission-Atlantic Council Forum on CSCE in May, the inauguration of the Estonian-American Chamber of Commerce in Tallin in June, and a group of visiting Soviet youth sponsored by "Up With People". The Chairman's many meetings with the public on CSCE-related matters included: a Commission sponsored briefing with leading Bulgarian environmental activist Dimitrina Petrova in February, and a meeting with Mykhailo Horyn, Chairman of the Secretariat of the Popular Movement of Ukraine Rukh.

In early March Chairman DeConcini met with representatives of the Council of Europe to discuss the future of the CSCE process and cooperation in Europe.

CoChairman Hoyer's participation in public activities included: a speech at a Wilson Center Conference entitled "CSCE and the Future of Europe" in April; introduction and presentation of the International Human Rights Law Group Human Rights Award to Dr. Yelena Bonner; meeting with NGOs present at the June Copenhagen CDH and November Paris Summit. CoChairman Hoyer also joined representatives of the International Childhood Leukemia Association in announcing the shipment of medical equipment to Soviet Belorussia to aid possible victims of the Chernobyl nuclear meltdown.

In May, Chairman DeConcini and Commissioner Representative Edward Markey (D-MA) met with a group of visiting Soviet judges to discuss the American judicial system.

During 1990, the Commission participated in various conferences, seminars and meetings hosted by professional associations, academic institutions and private organizations.

In October, the Commission sponsored an NGO briefing on the Paris Summit in which Commission Staff Director Sam Wise, French Ambassador to the U.S. Jacques Andreani, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Raymond Seitz, and Philip Zelikow, Director of European Security Affairs, NSC.

The wide variety of Commission staff activities included: co-sponsorship with the Congressional Human Rights Foundation of a breakfast featuring then-opposition leader and current Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev and other Bulgarian opposition figures; speaking to visiting groups of NATO parliamentarians in Vienna; participating in a seminar on "New Security Arrangements

in Europe: Developing the CSCE Framework" sponsored by the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Finnish Institute of International Affairs;

Other activities included addressing a meeting of U.S. and European investment bankers in Boston on prospects for East-West trade; participating in meetings and roundtables sponsored by The Atlantic Council, the National Endowment of Democracy, the Congressional Human Rights Foundation, the International Business-Government Counsellors, Inc. and the Heritage Foundation; addressing a visiting delegation of the West German CDU; lecturing to George Washington University students on CSCE; addressing a group of visiting Dutch students from the University of Lieden; participation in a panel on CSCE at a Lithuanian-American Conference; speaking to the Chicago Action for Soviet Jewry; addressing Ukrainian-Americans in Binghamton, New York on Ukrainian Independence Day; speaking to a group of Washington Ukrainian-Americans on the March republic elections in Ukraine; addressing a Dallas conference on "Soviet Evangelical Strategies".

Other activities included: attending a "Special International Tribunal on Political Prisoners/POWs in the United States" in New York City which focused on questions of political prisoners, minorities, self-determination, prison conditions and other domestic civil liberties issues; presentation of a paper on Constitutional Reform in Czechoslovakia, before the American Bar Association and the International Human Rights Law Group; speaking on Eastern Europe as part of an Amnesty International Workshop; speaking to a visiting group of students from Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School for International Affairs; addressing National Forum Foundation Interns from Poland, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and Hungary; briefing the 1990 Yugoslav Delegation Association of the New York City Bar's Committee on International Human Rights.

In addition, the Commission maintains close contact with representatives of a wide variety of human rights, ethnic, religious and civic groups in the United States and abroad who are actively interested in the Helsinki process. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are an important source of information for the Commission which serves as a point of contact and information for NGOs on CSCE issues. The Commission also brings CSCE-related concerns of private groups to the attention of government policymakers. In turn, the Commission endeavors to make government policies and activities regarding CSCE more accessible to NGOs.

Through hearings and briefings, the Commission provides a forum for NGOs to express their views. During 1990, Commissioners and staff frequently met, both on a formal and informal basis, with representatives of private organizations, including numerous nationality, human and religious rights organizations.

Traditionally, Commission staff members of U.S. delegations to CSCE meetings serve as the key liaisons to NGOs. This liaison work includes briefing NGOs on developments taking place, attending and supporting NGO efforts relating to various conferences, including listening to and integrating their substantive concerns, facilitating NGO access to conference sites, and arranging appointments with United States and other delegations. During and after

CSCE meetings, the Commission publicizes the proceedings, lectures to NGO groups, holds interviews with NGO media and distributes staff reports. During 1990, substantial Commission staff-time was devoted to NGO liaison efforts at the Bonn Economic Conference, the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension, the Palma Meeting on the Mediterranean, the Vienna Preparatory Committee and the Paris CSCE Summit Meeting. Prior to these meetings, Commission staffers were in contact with NGO representatives to discuss the meetings and receive their input.

#### X. CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

Although the Commission is an independent agency with representatives from the executive branch Departments of Commerce, Defense, and State, 18 of the 21 Commissioners are Members of Congress, divided evenly between the House and the Senate. In this connection, the Commission works very closely with individual Members of Congress, Congressional committees, subcommittees, and the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress.

During the year the Commission brought together Members of Congress, Congressional and Committee staff with speakers from government, universities, non-governmental organizations, and research institutes as well as political and human rights activists from the Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe to discuss the dramatic changes in those countries and the issues facing the Members of Congress, Helsinki Commissioners and their staff. The Commission staff also prepared and provided many Members of Congress with background information, talking points and other substantive materials on the changes in Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

##### *Hill and Commissioner Briefings*

Following the dramatic events of 1989 and as Congress was preparing to reconvene in early January, the Commission hosted two Congressional staff briefings which updated the rapidly changing conditions in the Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe. Attended by more than 200 Congressional and Committee staff, the Helsinki Commission staff outlined the political arrangements in those countries and discussed the implications for reform in human rights spheres. Commission staff prepared extensive briefing materials for each country which also included information on the new political players.

Representatives and Commissioners joined members of the Raoul Wallenberg Alumni Scholars at a luncheon on January 24 and discussed the new emerging social order in Central and Eastern Europe.

On February 5, the Commission welcomed Martin Wenick, Executive Director of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, Karl Zuckerman, Executive Vice President of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society and Ellen Witman, Associate Director of the Washington Action Office of the Council of Jewish Federations for a Congressional staff briefing which updated the issues facing Soviet Jews. The discussion focussed on emigration from the Soviet Union

and the Jackson-Vanik trade amendment, as well as the immigration status of Soviet Jews seeking admission into the United States and the funding problems which faced the Congress as a result of the large numbers of individuals seeking to enter our country.

At a March 20 breakfast, the Commission joined the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews in welcoming Natasha Stonova, the wife of now former refusenik Leonid Stonov. Leonid Stonov had been denied permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union for 11 years and was the principal representative of the refuseniks to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and was chair of the Moscow Legal Seminar and the Public Committee to Monitor OVIR. Mrs. Stonova, who was visiting the United States on behalf of her husband helped to prepare the monthly refusenik list for the U.S. State Department, and also chaired the group, Jewish Women for Emigration and Survival in Refusal. We are pleased to note that the Stonov family received permission to emigrate and now reside in Chicago.

In April, the Commission hosted an informal get-together with about 25 young people from Kiev and Odessa, who were in the United States participating in an "Up with People" youth-exchange program. This group was part of the first contingent of Soviet young people to participate in "Up with People" programs in the United States.

On May 15, the Congressional Human Rights Foundation and the Commission held a joint breakfast program which featured the leaders of the Union of Democratic Forces, a coalition of the major opposition groups in Bulgaria. The UDF leadership included R. Zhelyu Zhelev (now President of Bulgaria), Petar Beron and Stephan Taffrov and discussion focussed on the June 10 elections in Bulgaria.

CoChairman Hoyer joined Senate Republican Leader Robert Dole on May 15 in hosting a breakfast which welcomed a Soviet delegation of persons with disabilities to the Capitol. The Soviet delegation was also joined by representatives of the American disability community.

Also on May 15, the Commission and The Atlantic Council of the United States co-hosted a Capitol Hill panel discussion entitled "CSCE: The Diplomacy of Europe Whole and Free," George Vest, former U.S. Ambassador to the European Community, James Goodby, former head of the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Disarmament in Europe, and Commission Chairman DeConcini were panelists.

On July 13 Commission Chairman presented testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations on the "Pace of Democratic Reforms and Status on Human Rights in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union."

July 11 the National Endowment for Democracy joined the Commission and representatives from the U.S. disability community in welcoming Ilya Zaslavsky, a disabled Soviet citizen who had recently been elected to the Congress of People's Deputies. Mr. Zaslavsky, a textile research scientist lost both legs in childhood. Nominated for the Congress of People's Deputies position by the Moscow Society of Invalids, Mr. Zaslavsky not only highlighted the lack of atten-

tion to the needs of Soviet invalids, but also talked of the need for broad Soviet political and economic reform.

Also in July, the Commission hosted a breakfast meeting with Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis and Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans, the first by representatives of the new government of the Republic of Latvia. The visit sought to raise awareness of the continuing struggle to renew Latvia's independence, and gain support for Baltic membership in the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe.

On September 25, the Helsinki Commission hosted a luncheon honoring Dr. Franjo Tudjman, the recently elected President of Croatia, Yugoslavia's second largest republic. Attended by more than 30 members of Congress, Dr. Tudjman talked of the pressing political, economic and social crises facing Yugoslavia's six republics, as well as the deteriorating human rights conditions in Kosovo and other areas of Yugoslavia.

On October 3, CoChairman Hoyer was joined by Commerce Commissioner William Fritts and Congresswoman Helen Bentley (R-MD) at a meeting with Dr. Jovan Raskovic, the President of the Serbian Democratic Party of Croatia. The Armenian Assembly of America and the Commission on October 3 joined in hosting a Congressional reception welcoming Levon Ter-Petrosian, who on August 4 was elected President of the Armenian Supreme Council. Issues discussed included the extremely tense situation in Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan.

Prior to the Paris CSCE summit, the Honorable Jacques Andreani, Ambassador of France to the United States, Ambassador Sam Wise, Staff Director of the Helsinki Commission, Philip Zelikow, Director of European Security Affairs at the National Security Council, and Raymond Seitz, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs briefed more than 150 Congressional staff and representatives from non-governmental organizations on expectations for the Paris CSCE summit.

CoChairman Hoyer joined members of the Congressional Arts Caucus at a luncheon meeting with Soviet Minister of Culture Nikolai Gubenko.

#### *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 continued to handle congressional requests for information on the status of individual cases. In addition, with the Copenhagen Meeting, and the increase in contacts between Commissioners and Soviet officials, congressional offices were provided with regular updates on the deliberations, as well as the outcomes of those discussions.

With the dramatic changes occurring in Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the Commission staff were inundated with requests from Congressional offices to provide them with their most up-to-date information on these changes. Since the Commission maintains such close contact with non-governmental organizations, as well as contact with individuals abroad, they were looked upon as having the most recent information on the Hill. In this regard, they provided information, talking points and other sub-



stantive materials to Members of Congress who were travelling to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. In several instances, Commission staff conducted briefings for Congressional delegations prior to their departure. Commission staff also continued their activities in drafting statements for the Congressional Record as well as letters and statements for the Member's use.

In addition, with members of the Commission staff travelling to Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Republics to monitor elections, they were able to provide members of Congress and their staff with current knowledge of situations there and to attest to the freeness and fairness of those election processes.

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, legislation introduced, and Commission related functions. Commission staff also provided information on the process and procedures for individuals seeking admission into the United States. Many Congressional offices relied upon the expertise of the Commission staff to help them follow the proper avenues to help constituents seeking help for their relatives or friends as they sought to enter this country.

Finally, the Commission maintained its close working relationship with, and provided information to, the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, the Congressional Arts Caucus, the Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus, the Congressional Coalition on Soviet Jewry, the Ad-Hoc Committee on the Baltics and Ukraine, and the Energy and Environmental Study Conference.

#### XI. MEDIA ACTIVITIES

The Helsinki Commission has maintained close contact with members of the media through press briefings and commissioner and staff interviews, including numerous interviews with Voice of America and RFE/RL. Press releases which addressed important CSCE topics were also issued throughout the year.

In March CSCE Commissioners held a press conference after being denied visas to observe elections in the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and the Soviet Republic of Ukraine.

Prior to the CSCE Summit in Paris, Staff Director Sam Wise conducted a briefing for members of the national and ethnic media.

In April and again in November-December, Senior Advisor David Evans, conducted several press briefings while monitoring elections throughout Yugoslavia.

Newspaper articles dealing with CSCE issues were written by the Chairman and Cochairman, as well as other Commissioners, and appeared in major daily newspapers, including The International Herald Tribune, The Christian Science Monitor and The Chicago Tribune.

The CSCE Digest remains an important element of the Commission's efforts to inform the public of important East-West issues. The newsletter, which contains stories written by Commission staff, and a column written by the Chairman and Cochairman, is sent to

approximately 7,000 readers throughout the U.S. and abroad each month.

**Press Briefings:**

Commission staff also provided background information and maintained contacts with the media, including the ethnic press.

# APPENDIX I

## (AUTHORIZING LEGISLATION)



Public Law 94-304  
94th Congress, S. 2679  
June 3, 1976

### An Act

To establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That there is established the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Commission").

Sec. 2. The Commission is authorized and directed 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 Cooperation in Humanitarian Fields. The Commission is further authorized and directed to monitor and encourage the development of programs and activities of the United States 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.

Sec. 3. The Commission shall be composed of fifteen members as follows:

(1) Six Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Four members shall be selected from the majority party and two shall be selected, after consultation with the minority leader of the House, from the minority party. The Speaker shall designate one of the House Members as chairman.

(2) Six Members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate. Four members shall be selected from the majority party and two shall be selected, after consultation with the minority leader of the Senate, from the minority party.

(3) One member of the Department of State appointed by the President of the United States.

(4) One member of the Defense Department appointed by the President of the United States.

(5) One member of the Commerce Department appointed by the President of the United States.

Sec. 4. In carrying out this Act, the Commission may require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and documents as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued over the signature of the Chairman of the Commission or any member designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by the Chairman or such member. The Chairman of the Commission, or any member designated by him, may administer oaths to any witness.

Sec. 5. In order to assist the Commission in carrying out its duties, the President shall submit to the Commission a semiannual report, the first one to be submitted six months after the date of enactment of this Act, which shall include (1) a detailed survey of actions by the signatories of the Final Act reflecting compliance with or violation of the provisions of the Final Act, and (2) a listing and description of

Commission on  
Security and  
Cooperation in  
Europe.  
Establishment.  
22 USC 3001.  
Functions.  
22 USC 3002.

Membership.  
22 USC 3003.

Powers.  
22 USC 3004.

Presidential  
report to Com-  
mission.  
22 USC 3005.

present or planned programs and activities of the appropriate agencies of the executive branch and private organizations aimed at taking advantage of the provisions of the Final Act to expand East-West economic cooperation and to promote a greater interchange of people and ideas between East and West.

Report to Congress.  
22 USC 3006.

SEC. 6. The Commission is authorized and directed to report to the House of Representatives and the Senate with respect to the matters covered by this Act on a periodic basis and to provide information to Members of the House and Senate as requested. For each fiscal year for which an appropriation is made the Commission shall submit to Congress a report on its expenditures under such appropriation.

Appropriation.  
22 USC 3007.

SEC. 7. There is authorized to be appropriated to the Commission for each fiscal year and to remain available until expended \$350,000 to assist in meeting the expenses of the Commission for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act, such appropriation to be disbursed on voucher to be approved by the Chairman of the Commission.

22 USC 3008.

SEC. 8. The Commission may appoint and fix the pay of such staff personnel as it deems desirable, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and general schedule pay rates.

5 USC 5101, 5331.

Approved June 3, 1976.

**LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:**

HOUSE REPORT No. 94-1149 (Comm. on International Relations);  
SENATE REPORT No. 94-756 (Comm. on Foreign Relations);  
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 122 (1976):  
May 5, considered and passed Senate.  
May 17, considered and passed House, amended.  
May 21, Senate concurred in House amendment.

90 STAT. 662

99 STAT. 18

PUBLIC LAW 99-7—MAR. 27, 1985

Public Law 99-7  
99th Congress

## An Act

Mar. 27, 1985  
[S. 592]

To provide that the chairmanship of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe shall rotate between members appointed from the House of Representatives and members appointed from the Senate, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

MEMBERSHIP OF COMMISSION AND APPOINTMENT OF CHAIRMAN AND  
COCHAIRMAN

SECTION 1. (a) Section 3 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3003), is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 3. (a) The Commission shall be composed of twenty-one members as follows:

"(1) Nine Members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Five Members shall be selected from the majority party and four Members shall be selected, after consultation with the minority leader of the House, from the minority party.

"(2) Nine Members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate. Five Members shall be selected from the majority party of the Senate, after consultation with the majority leader, and four Members shall be selected, after consultation with the minority leader of the Senate, from the minority party.

"(3) One member of the Department of State appointed by the President of the United States.

"(4) One member of the Department of Defense appointed by the President of the United States.

"(5) One member of the Department of Commerce appointed by the President of the United States.

"(b) There shall be a Chairman and a Cochairman of the Commission.

(b) Section 3 of such Act, as amended by subsection (a) of this section, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(c) At the beginning of each odd-numbered Congress, the President of the Senate, on the recommendation of the majority leader, shall designate one of the Senate Members as Chairman of the Commission. At the beginning of each even-numbered Congress, the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall designate one of the House Members as Chairman of the Commission.

"(d) At the beginning of each odd-numbered Congress, the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall designate one of the House Members as Cochairman of the Commission. At the beginning of each even-numbered Congress, the President of the Senate, on the recommendation of the majority leader, shall designate one of the Senate Members as Cochairman of the Commission."

(c) On the effective date of this subsection, the President of the Senate, on the recommendation of the majority leader, shall designate one of the Senate Members to serve as Chairman of the Commission for the duration of the Ninety-ninth Congress, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall designate one of the House Members to serve as Cochairman of the Commission for the duration of the Ninety-ninth Congress.

22 USC 3003  
note.

#### FUNCTIONS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 2. Section 2 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3002), is amended by inserting "human rights and" after "relating to" in the first sentence.

#### APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE COMMISSION

SEC. 3. Section 7(a) of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3007(a)), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 7. (a)(1) There are authorized to be appropriated to the Commission for each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary to enable it to carry out its duties and functions. Appropriations to the Commission are authorized to remain available until expended.

"(2) Appropriations to the Commission shall be disbursed on vouchers approved—

"(A) jointly by the Chairman and the Cochairman, or  
"(B) by a majority of the members of the personnel and administration committee established pursuant to section 8(a)." *Infra.*

#### FOREIGN TRAVEL FOR OFFICIAL PURPOSES

SEC. 4. Section 7 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3007), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) Foreign travel for official purposes by Commission members and staff may be authorized by either the Chairman or the Cochairman."

#### STAFF OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 5. Section 8 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (22 U.S.C. 3008), is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 8. (a) The Commission shall have a personnel and administration committee composed of the Chairman, the Cochairman, the senior Commission member from the minority party in the House of Representatives, and the senior Commission member from the minority party in the Senate.

"(b) All decisions pertaining to the hiring, firing, and fixing of pay of Commission staff personnel shall be by a majority vote of the personnel and administration committee, except that—

"(1) the Chairman shall be entitled to appoint and fix the pay of the staff director, and the Cochairman shall be entitled to appoint and fix the pay of his senior staff person; and

"(2) the Chairman and Cochairman each shall have the authority to appoint, with the approval of the personnel and

99 STAT. 20

PUBLIC LAW 99-7—MAR. 27, 1985

administration committee, at least four professional staff members who shall be responsible to the Chairman or the Cochairman (as the case may be) who appointed them.

The personnel and administration committee may appoint and fix the pay of such other staff personnel as it deems desirable.

5 USC 5101 et  
seq., 5331.

"(c) All staff appointments shall be made without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and general schedule pay rates.

"(d)(1) For purposes of pay and other employment benefits, rights, and privileges and for all other purposes, any employee of the Commission shall be considered to be a congressional employee as defined in section 2107 of title 5, United States Code.

"(2) For purposes of section 3304(c)(1) of title 5, United States Code, staff personnel of the Commission shall be considered as if they are in positions in which they are paid by the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Effective date.

"(3) The provisions of paragraphs (1) and (2) of this subsection shall be effective as of June 3, 1976."

**EFFECTIVE DATE**

22 USC 3002  
note.

Sec. 6. (a) Except as provided in subsection (b), this Act and the amendments made by this Act shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act or April 15, 1985, whichever is later.

(b)(1) The amendment made by subsection (b) of the first section shall take effect on the first day of the One Hundredth Congress.

(2) Subsection (d) of section 8 of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe", approved June 3, 1976 (as added by section 5 of this Act), shall be effective as of June 3, 1976.

Approved March 27, 1985.

**LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—S. 592:**

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 131 (1985):  
Mar. 6, considered and passed Senate.  
Mar. 19, considered and passed House.

○





S. RES. 353

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

**SEC. 23. (a) It is the sense of the Senate that the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (hereafter in this section known as the "Commission") should—**

**(1) conduct an investigation to determine—**

**(A) whether any officer or employee of the United States violated any law of the United States or any State or local law, including any statute, regulation, ordinance, or procedure promulgated pursuant to law, in connection with the defection attempt of Miroslav Medvid;**

**(B) the instances in which an individual (other than the individual referred to in clause (A)), who was a national of the Soviet Union or a Soviet-bloc Eastern European country, requested political asylum in the United States and was returned to the authorities of his country in violation of any United States, State, or local law, including any statute, regulation, ordinance, or procedure promulgated pursuant to law; and**

**(C) whether the treatment accorded to individuals described in clauses (A) and (B) requires changes in the laws of the United States; and**

(2) submit a report, not later than one year after the date of adoption of this resolution, to the House of Representatives and the Senate on the findings of such investigation, including any recommendations for changes in the laws of the United States.

(b) Salaries and expenses in connection with the implementation of this section shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate out of the Account for Miscellaneous Items, subject to the following terms and conditions:

(1) The aggregate amount of salaries and expenses payable under this section shall not exceed \$200,000.

(2) Such salaries shall be payable only for not more than five individuals at any time—

(A) who shall be employees of the Senate and shall be under the policy direction of the Chairman and Cochairman of the Commission; and

(B) who shall be appointed to perform services in the conduct of activities under this section, on or after the date of adoption of this resolution, and who shall have their compensation fixed at an annual rate, by the Secretary of the Senate, upon the joint recommendation of the Chairman and Cochairman of the Commission.

(3) Payment of expenses shall be disbursed upon vouchers approved jointly by the Chairman and Co-chairman of the Commission, and no voucher shall be required for the disbursement of a salary of an individual appointed under paragraph (2).

(4) For purposes of determining whether and to what extent any travel or other official expense incurred by the Commission in carrying out any activity under this section is payable from the contingent fund of the Senate, such expense shall be treated as if it has been incurred by a standing committee of the Senate and as if the Commission and its staff were members and staff, respectively, of such a committee.

(5) Any expense under this section may be payable only if—

(A) the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate approves;

(B) such expense is of the type for which payment may be made if incurred by a standing committee of the Senate;

(C) such expense is not attributable to the detailing of employees; and

(D) the payment of such expense is otherwise in accordance with all laws, rules, and regulations governing expenses of standing committees of the Senate.

(6) Not more than \$20,000 of the funds made available by this subsection shall be available for the procurement by the Secretary of the Senate, upon the joint recommendation of the Chairman and Cochairman of the Commission, of services, on a temporary basis, of individual consultants, or organizations thereof, with the prior consent of the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate. Such services may be procured by contract with the providers acting as independent contractors or, in the case of individuals, by employment at daily rates of compensation not in excess of the per diem equivalent of the highest gross rate of annual compensation which may be paid to employees of a standing committee of the Senate. Any such contract shall not be subject to the provisions of section 5 of title 41, United States Code, or any other provision of law requiring advertising.

(c) None of the funds may be obligated from the contingent fund of the Senate to carry out any provision of this section on or after a date 30 days after—

(1) the date on which the report described in subsection (a)(2) is submitted, or

(2) a date one year after the date of adoption of this resolution,

whichever comes first.

(d) For purposes of this section, the term "Soviet-bloc Eastern European country" includes Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Romania.

Public Law 101-246  
101st Congress

An Act

To authorize appropriations for fiscal years 1990 and 1991 for the Department of State, and for other purposes. Feb. 16, 1990  
[H.R. 3792]

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

SEC. 102. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES.

(a) ASSESSED CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.—

(1) There are authorized to be appropriated for "Contributions to International Organizations", \$714,927,000 for the fiscal year 1990 and \$817,000,000 for the fiscal year 1991 for the Department of State to carry out the authorities, functions, duties, and responsibilities in the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States with respect to international organizations and for other purposes authorized by law.

(2) Of the amounts authorized to be appropriated by paragraph (1), \$1,249,000 for the fiscal year 1990 shall be available only for the South Pacific Commission.

(b) CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES.—

There are authorized to be appropriated for "Contributions to International Peacekeeping Activities", \$111,184,000 for the fiscal year 1990 and \$115,000,000 for the fiscal year 1991 for the Department of State to carry out the authorities, functions, duties, and responsibilities in the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States with respect to international peacekeeping activities and for other purposes authorized by law.

(c) INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND CONTINGENCIES.—(1) There are authorized to be appropriated for "International Conferences and Contingencies", \$6,340,000 for the fiscal year 1990 and \$7,300,000 for the fiscal year 1991 for the Department of State to carry out the authorities, functions, duties, and responsibilities in the conduct of the foreign affairs of the United States with respect to international conferences and contingencies and for other purposes authorized by law.

(2) None of the funds authorized to be appropriated under paragraph (1), may be obligated or expended for any United States delegation to any meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) or meetings within the framework of the CSCE unless the United States delegation to any such meeting includes individuals representing the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

## APPENDIX II

### COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

**Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ)** *Chairman*

**Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD)** *Cochairman*

#### SENATE COMMISSIONERS

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

#### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMISSIONERS

<b>Dante B. Fascell (D-FL)</b>	<b>Don Ritter (R-PA)</b>
<b>Edward J. Markey (D-MA)</b>	<b>Chris Smith (R-NJ)</b>
<b>Bill Richardson (D-NM)</b>	<b>John Porter (R-IL)</b>
<b>Edward Feighan (D-OH)</b>	<b>Frank Wolf (R-VA)</b>

#### EXECUTIVE BRANCH COMMISSIONERS

##### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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

##### DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

**William D. Fritts, Jr.**, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Security and Cooperation in Europe

##### DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

**Stephen J. Hadley**, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy

## APPENDIX III

### STAFF

of the

### COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

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SAMUEL G. WISE, *Staff Director*  
MARY SUE HAFNER, *Deputy Staff Director and General Counsel*  
JANE S. FISHER, *Deputy Staff Director*  
DAVID EVANS, *Senior Advisor Soviet & East European Affairs*  
R. SPENCER OLIVER, *Consultant*  
MIKE P. AMITAY, *Staff Assistant*  
ANN BANCHOFF, *Staff Assistant*  
BRENDA COLLIER, *Receptionist/Secretary*  
DANA L. CROSBY, *Administrative Assistant*  
OREST S. DEYCHAKIWSKY, *Staff Assistant*  
JOHN J. FINERTY, *Staff Assistant*  
ROBERT A. HAND, *Staff Assistant*  
GINA M. HARNER, *Administrative Assistant*  
HEATHER F. HURLBURT, *Staff Assistant*  
JUDITH INGRAM, *Staff Assistant*  
JESSE JACOBS, *Staff Assistant*  
RONALD J. MCNAMARA, *Staff Assistant*  
JEANNE A. MCNAUGHTON, *Staff Assistant*  
FREDERICK T. MERRIL, *Consultant*  
TOM MURPHY, *Technical Editor*  
MICHAEL J. OCHS, *Staff Assistant*  
JAMES S. RIDGE, *Press Secretary*  
ERIKA B. SCHLAGER, *Staff Assistant*  
TOM WARNER, *Printing Clerk*  
CORINNE R. ZACCAGNINI, *Administrative Assistant*



## APPENDIX IV

### FORMER CSCE MEMBERS

#### SENATE

<i>James Buckley</i> (1976-1977)	<i>Robert Dole</i> (1977-1985)
<i>Clifford Case</i> (1976-1979)	<i>Jacob Javits</i> (1979-1981)
<i>Dick Clark</i> (1976-1979)	<i>George McGovern</i> (1979-1981)
<i>Patrick Leahy</i> (1976-1987)	<i>Orrin Hatch</i> (1980-1985)
<i>Claiborne Pell</i> (1976-1980)	<i>Gordon Humphrey</i> (1985-1987)
<i>Richard Stone</i> (1976-1981)	<i>Russell Long</i> (1985-1987)

#### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

<i>Jonathan Bingham</i> (1976-1983)	<i>Sidney Yates</i> (1976-1987)
<i>John Buchanan</i> (1976-1981)	<i>Timothy Wirth</i> (1981-1987)
<i>Millicent Fenwick</i> (1976-1981)	<i>Jack Kemp</i> (1985-1988)
<i>Paul Simon</i> (1976-1981)	

(Democrats in roman; Republicans in italic)

#### EXECUTIVE BRANCH

##### DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

**Mansfield D. Sprague**, Counsellor to the Secretary of Commerce for Congressional Affairs (1976-1977)  
**Frank A. Weil**, Assistant Secretary of Commerce (1977-1979)  
**Herta Seidman** (1981)  
**William H. Morris, Jr.**, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Trade Development (1981-1982)  
**Louis Laun** (1988-1989), Assistant Secretary of Commerce

##### DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

**James G. Poor**, Principal Deputy Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (1976-1977)  
**David E. McGiffert**, Assistant Secretary of Defense (1977-1980)  
**Richard N. Perle**, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Planning (1981-1989)

##### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**Monroe Leigh**, Legal Adviser (1976-1977)  
**Patricia Derian**, Coordinator for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs (1977-1981)  
**Stephen Palmer, Jr.**, Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary for Human Rights (1981-1982)  
**Elliott Abrams**, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs (1982-1985)

## APPENDIX V

### List of Post-Vienna Follow-up Activities

#### 1989

Negotiations on Confidence-  
and Security-Building Measures

Vienna

9 March -

Negotiations on Conventional  
Armed Forces in Europe (CFE)

Vienna

9 March -

Information Forum

London

18 April - 12 May

First Meeting of the Conference  
on the Human Dimension (CHD)

Paris

30 May - 23 June

Meeting on the Protection  
of the Environment

Sofia

16 October - 3 November

#### 1990

Economic Conference

Bonn

19 March - 11 April

Second Meeting of the Conference  
on the Human Dimension (CHD)

Copenhagen

5 June - 29 June

Meeting on the Mediterranean

Palma de  
Mallorca

24 September - 19 October

Preparatory Committee for a  
CSCE Summit Meeting

Vienna

10 July - 17 November

Meeting of Foreign Ministers

New York

1 October - 2 October

Summit of CSCE States

Paris

19 November - 21 November

Consultative Committee Meeting

Vienna

3 December

1991

Meeting of Experts on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes	Valletta	15 January - 8 February
Committee of Senior Officials	Vienna	28 January - 29 January
Consultative Committee Meeting	Vienna	25 February
Committee of Senior Officials	Prague	23 May - 24 May
Symposium on Cultural Heritage	Krakow	28 May - 7 June
Committee of Senior Officials	Berlin	16 June - 17 June
Meeting of Foreign Ministers	Berlin	18 June - 19 June
Meeting of Experts on National Minorities	Geneva	1 July - 19 July
Third Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension (CHD)	Moscow	10 September - 4 October
Seminar of Experts on Democratic Institutions	Oslo	4 November - 15 November

1992

Preparatory Meeting for the Fourth CSCE Follow-Up Meeting	Helsinki	10 March (two-week duration)
Fourth CSCE Follow-Up Meeting	Helsinki	24 March -