

**COMMISSION ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE**

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CSCE MISSIONS

*A Summary Prepared by the Staff of
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe
, 1 September 1992*

CSCE MISSIONS

Since the Vienna Follow-up Meeting concluded in January 1989, the participating States of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe have strived to create a network of mechanisms, consultative processes, and experts that could be utilized to diffuse a variety of potentially explosive problems both within and among States. This network, in theory if not in practice, covers the full range of issues covered by the CSCE, from military security concerns to economic and environmental issues to the human dimension.

Nevertheless, these procedures were barely in place when the new world order began to slip into disorder in the aftermath of the Cold War. Indeed, the Valletta Mechanism for the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, agreed in February 1991, only became operational in the fall of 1992; procedures agreed in Moscow in November 1991 that provide for human dimension missions only became operational after the Helsinki Follow-up Meeting opened in March 1992. And although there is no shortage of potential test cases, no country has yet invoked either mechanism. In the meantime, the participating States have relied on a series of ad hoc responses, initiated and executed by the Committee of Senior Officials (CSO), to address the emerging political developments and crises around them.

The most significant of these ad hoc responses to date has come in the form of the missions that, within a one-year period, have involved all three CSCE institutions (the Prague Secretariat, the Vienna-based Conflict Prevention Center, and the Warsaw Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights), more than eighty officials¹ representing some 18 countries and 3 international organizations, and have gone to over a dozen countries. Their total cost is unknown² and, in political terms, they have a somewhat mixed record.

The missions designed to respond to the escalating violence in the former Yugoslavia--representing CSCE's most far-reaching responses to any crisis so far--may illustrate this record. Two of these were "rapporteur missions" mandated by the CSO, organized the Chair-in-Office and tasked with going to each of the six republics. A "fact-finding" mission to Kosovo was also mandated by the CSO but was organized by the

¹Thus far, only one woman has served as a member of a mission. Selection of mission members, like the missions themselves, has been ad hoc, following no specific set of rules. Generally, members are selected by the CSCE Chair-in-Office or the director of the CSCE institution tasked with organizing a mission, or are recommended by the countries or international organizations tapped to participate in a mission.

²Costs have been covered by individual participating States or organizations which supply personnel or goods (e.g., planes). A decision taken at the Helsinki Follow-up Meeting makes future mission expenses payable according to the CSCE scale of distribution for costs.

international framework in which "transparency" and access are demanded from those countries which seek to be integrated into the community of nations. Although somewhat predictable problems in gaining access for missions have already cropped up in the case of Yugoslavia, the emerging standard of openness suggests a significant evolution, at least within the CSCE community, regarding sovereignty, human rights, and international accountability.

It has been little more than a year since the CSCE authorized its first mission. And although its record in this area is mixed, the potential to improve the organization, follow-up and, perhaps, impact is there. To facilitate a wider understanding of the CSCE's experience in this area thus far, this paper summarizes the CSCE missions completed through August 1992. The information, largely culled from the reports themselves, includes the dates of the mission, the source and scope of its mandate, and a list of participants.

I. Reports to the CSCE
by the EC Monitor Missions to Yugoslavia⁵

The missions to Yugoslavia were organized by the European Community under the auspices of the CSCE Committee of Senior Officials, according to a decision taken in Prague on 4 July 1991. Initially, only EC member-states were included in the missions; on 31 July 1991, agreement was reached to include non-EC member-states in these missions. Inconsistencies in the dating and numbering of the reports reflects the evolving record keeping by the CSCE Secretariat in Prague. These reports were discussed at meetings of the Committee of Senior Officials following their submission.

First Progress Report

- o dated Prague, 18 July 1991
- o covers 15-17 July 1991
- o circulated at the request of the Netherlands

Second Progress Report

- o dated Prague, 25 July 1991
- o covers 15-23 July 1991
- o circulated at the request of the Netherlands

Fourth Progress Report

- o dated Prague, 31 July 1991
- o covers 25-27 July 1991
- o circulated at the request of the Netherlands
- o reflects agreement to add Canadian, Swedish, Polish, and Czechoslovak participation to mission

EC Troika Mission to Yugoslavia

- o dated Prague, 5 August 1991
- o circulated at the request of the Netherlands; includes:
 - "Decision on the immediate and absolute cease-fire in the Republic of Croatia" (adopted by the Federal Presidency of Yugoslavia on 2 August 1991; Slovene and Croat representatives did not agree to this text)
 - Draft "Agreement on cease-fire and on the commencement of negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia"
 - "First Assessment of Implementation of the Brioni Agreement"
 - "Fifth Consolidated report from the EC Presidency to other CSCE States" dated 5 August 1991; covers 28 July-2 August 1991

⁵The Third, Fifth and Eleventh Progress Reports were unavailable at the time of this drafting.

Sixth Progress Report

Communication No. 102/1991

Prague, 8 August 1991

- o covers 3-5 August 1991
- o circulated at the request of the Netherlands

Seventh Progress Report

Communication No. 104/1991

Prague, 15 August 1991

- o covers 6-12 August 1991
- o circulated at the request of the Netherlands

EC Monitor Mission to Yugoslavia

Communication No. 108

Prague, 26 August 1991

- o includes:
 - Declaration on Yugoslavia of the European Community and its member States on 20 August 1991
 - Report on Ambassador Wijnaendts' Third Mission to Yugoslavia
 - 8th Progress Report of the Monitoring Activities
- o covers 13-20 August 1991
- o circulated at the request of the Netherlands

Ninth Progress Report

Communication No. 134

Prague, 4 October 1991

- o also includes Memorandum of Understanding on Monitoring Activities in Bosnia-Herzegovina signed in Sarajevo on 1 October 1991
- o covers 27 August-10 September 1991
- o circulated at the request of the Netherlands

Tenth Progress Report

Communication No. 143

Prague, 10 October 1991

- o covers 11 September-5 October 1991
- o circulated at the request of the Netherlands

Twelfth Progress Report

CSCE Communication No. 4

Prague, 3 January 1992

- o covers 18 October-31 December 1991
- o circulated at the request of the Netherlands

Thirteenth Progress Report

CSCE Communication No. 74

Prague, 17 February 1991

- o covers January-February 1992
- o circulated at the request of Portugal

Fourteenth Progress Report

CSCE Communication No. 113

Prague, 19 March 1992

- o covers period 12 - 16 February 1992
- o circulated at the request of Portugal

II. Rapporteur Missions Sent to Recently Admitted CSCE Participating States

During the Helsinki Follow-up Meeting, one of the meetings of Working Group III (the human dimension group) was set aside for discussion of these reports. Subsequently, the reports were designated as "CSCE documents" by the Committee of Senior Officials at their meeting on 8 June 1992. As such, the documents are available to the public from CSCE Secretariat in Prague.

1. Report of the Rapporteur Mission to Albania

- o **dates:** 16-19 September 1991
- o **authority:** "carried out in accordance with the wishes expressed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Albania in his letter of 18 June 1991 to the Chairman-in-Office of the CSCE Council of Ministers (Annex 1 to Journal No 3 of the first meeting of the CSCE Council of Ministers, held in Berlin on 19-20 June 1991)" upon Albania's admission to the CSCE as a participating State
- o organized by the CSCE Warsaw Office for Free Elections (subsequently renamed "the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights")
- o has section entitled "conclusions" which includes notes "points raised [by the mission], which might be essential for the good reputation of Albania," i.e., recommendations for Albania to implement
- o **participants:**
 1. Amb. Wilhelm HOEYNCK, Chairman of the CSO, Bonn
 2. Mr. Luchino CORTESE, Director of the OFE, Warsaw
 3. Mr. Bent ROSENTHAL, Director of the CPC, Vienna
 4. Mr. Nils ELIASSON, Director of the CSCE Secretariat, Prague
 5. Mr. Hans-Peter FURRER, Council of Europe, Strasbourg
 6. Mr. John MASLEN, Commission of the European Community, Brussels
 7. Prof. Christian TOMUSCHAT, University of Bonn
 8. Prof. Emmanuel ROUCOUNAS, University of Athens
 9. Dr. Pavel HRADECNY, Institute of Eastern European History, Prague
 10. Dr. Heinrich-Wilhelm BEUTH, MFA, Bonn
 11. Mr. Jack ZETKULIC, Deputy Director of the OFE, Warsaw

2. Reports of the CSCE Rapporteur Mission on Armenia and Azerbaijan
CSCE Communication No. 119
Prague, 27 March 1992
- o dates: 12 February-18 February 1992
 - o authority: "established by the Chairman-in-Office of the CSCE Council of Ministers following the decision of the Council of Ministers meeting in Prague on 30 and 31 January" to admit Armenia and Azerbaijan as participating States
 - o the mission was also "charged to submit a separate interim report on the situation in Nagorno Karabakh" (described below in part III)
 - o includes for both sections "conclusions" which sum up the mission's view of the situation
 - o participants:
 1. Karel SCHWARZENBERG, CSFR, Leader of Mission
 2. John J. MARESCA, USA
 3. Laurence O'KEEFE, UK
 4. Asbjorn EIDE, Norway
 5. Arie BLOED, Netherlands
 6. Luchino CORTESE, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
 7. Bent ROSENTHAL, Conflict Prevention Center
 8. Brig. Gen. William B. DAVITTE, USA
 9. Roman HRONEK, CSFR
 10. Scott N. THAYER, USA
 11. Vladimir LOMEN, CSFR
 12. Lucia BRABENCOVA, CSFR
3. Report of the CSCE Rapporteur Mission to Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus
CSCE Communication No. 126
Prague, 7 April 1992
- o dates: 8-16 March 1992
 - o authority: "organized by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the CSCE in response to the invitations extended by the Governments of Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus, contained in their letters of Accession to the CSCE"
 - o includes one section of "conclusions" summing up the situation in the three Republics; there is also a section with "recommendations" for each of the three Republics to implement
 - o participants:
 1. Mr. Jan LUNDAVIK, Head of Mission, Ambassador, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Stockholm
 2. Mr. Andrej CIMA, Counsellor, European Security and Cooperation

3. Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Prague, Czechoslovakia
Mr. Marcos GOMEZ, Counsellor for Foreign Affairs, Madrid, Spain
4. Prof. Dr. Wolfram KARL, Head Institute of International Law at the University of Salzburg, Deputy Director, Human Rights Institute, Salzburg, Austria
5. Mr. Hans-Christian KRUGER, Secretary to the European Commission for Human Rights, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, France
6. Mr. Hans OLSSON, Counsellor, Swedish Embassy, Prague, Czechoslovakia
7. Mr. Bent ROSENTHAL, Director, CSCE Conflict Prevention Center, Vienna, Austria
8. Mr. Maxwell YALDEN, Chief Commissioner of the Canadian Human Rights Commission, Ottawa, Canada

4. Report of the CSCE Rapporteur Mission to Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan

CSCE Communication No. 127

Prague, 7 April 1992

- o dates: 10-18 March 1992
- o authority: "established by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in his capacity as Chairman-in-Office of the Council of Ministers" -- pursuant to admission of those three countries to CSCE
- o contains a single set of "conclusions" which sum up the mission's views regarding the situation the three Republics (watered down in subsequent revision, issued 9 April 1992 as CSCE Communication No. 127/Rev. 1); there is also a single set of "recommendations" for the CSCE participating States to implement
- o participants:
 1. Mr. Jan KUBIS, Director General, Foreign Ministry of CSFR, Chairman-in-Office of the CSO, Chairman, Prague
 2. Mr. Riza TURMAN, Ambassador, Director General, Foreign Ministry of Turkey, Ankara
 3. Mr. Luchino CORTESE, Ambassador, Director of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
 4. Mr. Svend MADSEN, Minister-Counsellor, Danish Embassy, Moscow
 5. Mr. Antti KOISTINEN, Counsellor for Refugee matters, Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, Helsinki

6. Mr. Oguz DEMIRALP, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, Ankara
 7. Mr. Claude ALTERMATT, CSCE Secretariat, Prague
5. Reports of the CSCE Rapporteur Mission to Kazakhstan and Kyrgystan
 CSCE Communication No. 149
 Prague, 24 April 1992
- o dates: 31 March-6 April 1992
 - o authority: pursuant to letters of invitation to the CSCE Chair-in-Office, who subsequently organized the mission
 - o contains a set "conclusions/recommendations" for both the two Republics and CSCE to implement
 - o participants:
 1. Ambassador Klaus-Peter KLAIBER, Head of Mission, MFA, Bonn
 2. Ambassador Selcuk KORKUD, MFA, Ankara
 3. Mrs. Jana HYBASKOVA, Head of Department, MFA, Prague
 4. Mr. Maurice GUYADER, Commission of the European Community, Brussels
 5. Stathis LOZOS, Head of Division, MFA, Athens
 6. Mr. Jack ZETKULIC, Deputy Director of the ODIHR, Warsaw
 7. Mr. Piotr ZOCHOWSKI, MFA, Warsaw
 - o assistants to the Mission:
 8. Mr. Rolf-Barnim FOTH, MFA, Bonn
 9. Mrs. LITTERST-GABELA, MFA, Bonn
 10. Mr. Alan PARFITT, FCO, London
 11. Mr. Christian PAULS, MFA, Bonn
6. Report of the CSCE Rapporteur Mission to Georgia
 CSCE Communication No. 186
 Prague, 29 May 1992
- o dates: 17-22 May 1992
 - o authority: "established pursuant to the general mandate adopted by the CSCE Council of Ministers on 30 and 31 January 1992 relating to the admission of new members of the CSCE and the decision by the CSCE Council of Ministers to admit Georgia on 24 March 1992"
 - o includes a section on "conclusions and recommendations" noted for the benefit of the Georgian authorities as well as "the parties."
 - o participants:
 1. Mr. Mark EYSKENS, Head of Mission, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Brussels
 2. Mr. Conrad BRUCH, Secretary for Planning, Western European

Union, London

3. Mr. Asbjorn EIDE, Director, Royal Norwegian Institute for Human Rights, Oslo
4. Mr. Erik HARRYMOES, Council of Europe, Strasbourg
5. Mr. Luc LIEBAUT, Embassy of Belgium, Prague

The Mission was accompanied by Mr. Milan TOKAR, Counsellor, Czechoslovak Embassy in Moscow, who organized the program.

III. Extraordinary Rapporteur Missions

1. Report of the CSCE Human Rights Rapporteur Mission to Yugoslavia

CSCE Communication No. 41

Prague, 24 January 1992

- o dates: 12-20 December 1991; 7-10 January 1992
- o authority: established pursuant to the fourth meeting of the Committee of Senior Officials in Prague on 22 October 1991, "recalling the Moscow Concluding Document"
- o led by a representative of the Chair-in-Office
- o includes a section of "conclusions" which make recommendations for Yugoslavia to implement as well as recommendations for the CSCE
- o like the missions sent to recently admitted participating States, these reports were discussed during the Helsinki Follow-up Meeting at a special meeting of Working Group III
- o participants:
 1. Prof. Dr. Thomas FLEINER-GERSTER, Director of the Institute of Federalism, University of Fribourg (designated by the Chair-in-Office of the CSCE)
 2. Amb. Luchino CORTESE, Director of the CSCE Office for Free Elections, Warsaw
 3. Prof. Dr. Pieter Hendrik KOOIJMANS, Faculty of Law, University of Leiden (designated by the Presidency of the European Community)
 4. Amb. Geert AHRENS, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bonn (designated by the Chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia)
 5. Prof. Dr. Roman WIERUSZEWSKI, Polish Academy of Science, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Human Right Promotion Foundation, Poznan
 6. Dr. Paul WIDMER, Head of the CSCE Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bern

2. Interim report on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh

CSCE Communication No. 79

Prague, 26 February 1992

- o dates: 12-18 February 1992
- o authority: the mission established by the Chairman-in-Office of the CSCE Council of Ministers, following the decision of the Council of Ministers meeting in Prague on 30 and 31 January to admit Armenia and Azerbaijan as CSCE participating States, organized a mission to those countries; that mission was also "charged to submit a separate interim

- o report on the situation in Nagorno Karabakh" within 21 days issued in advance of the Seventh Meeting of the Committee of Senior Officials held on 27-28 February 1992
- o includes both "conclusions" (which included recommendations, such as suggesting the parties use the Valletta Mechanism) as well as "recommendations" for the CSO to implement
- o participants:
 1. Karel SCHWARZENBERG, CSFR, Leader of Mission
 2. John J. MARESCA, USA
 3. Laurence O'KEEFE, UK
 4. Asbjorn EIDE, Norway
 5. Arie BLOED, Netherlands
 6. Luchino CORTESE, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
 7. Bent ROSENTHAL, Conflict Prevention Center
 8. Brig. Gen. William B. DAVITTE, USA
 9. Roman HRONEK, CSFR
 10. Scott N. THAYER, USA
 11. Vladimir LOMEN, CSFR
 12. Lucia BRABENCOVA, CSFR

3. Report of the Second CSCE Mission on Nagorno Karabakh
 CSCE Communication No. 117
 Prague, p.t. Helsinki
 24 March 1991

- o dates: 19-23 March 1992
- o authority: established according to the 8th meeting of the Committee of Senior Officials
- o the mission was tasked with, i.a., examining the modalities for the negotiation of a cease-fire and for the deployment of observers to monitor a cease-fire
- o includes "conclusions" regarding the activities of the parties in N-K as well as "recommendations" for the Chairman-in-Office/CSCE to implement
- o participants:
 1. Jan KUBIS, Chairman, CSCE Committee of Senior Officials (Head of Mission)
 2. Stephen BARRETT, UK
 3. Andrej CIMA, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic
 4. Col. Lewis EVANS, CANADA
 5. Rudolf V. PERINA, USA
 6. Japp RAMAKER, Netherlands
 7. Scott N. THAYER, USA
 8. Gen. Martin VADSET, Norway

4. CSCE Advance Team to Nagorno Karabakh -- Final Report
Moscow, May 13, 1992
- o dates: 30 March-3 April 1992; 22 April-12 May 1992
 - o authority: "established by the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in his capacity as Chairman-in-Office of the Ministers"; "this followed the decision of the Council of Ministers at their additional meeting in Helsinki on March 24, 1992 to mandate the Chairman-in-Office to visit the region in order to contribute, in particular, to the establishment and maintenance of an effective cease-fire as well as to the establishment of a framework for an overall political settlement"
 - o participants:
 1. Ambassador Mathias MOSSBERG, Sweden
 2. BGen. G.H. ELEVELD, NL
 3. Dr. Claude Robert ELLNER, FRG
 4. Lt. Col. J. KASAL, CSFR
 5. Jon R. PURNELL, USA
 6. Maj. Gen. A. RADAUER, Austria
 7. M.A. SCHOLTEN, NL
5. Report of the CSCE Fact-Finding Mission regarding the 31 May 1992 elections to the new Federal Assembly in Belgrade
CSCE Communications No. 185
Prague, 26 May 1992
- o report does not give dates of mission
 - o authority: conducted "at the direction of CSCE Council of Ministers Chairman Jiri Dienstbier and with the agreement of the federal Foreign Ministry in Belgrade"
 - o organized by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights; this is the only mission that was not authorized by the Committee of Senior Officials
 - o includes "recommendations" and "conclusions"
 - o participants:
 1. Jack Zetkolic, ODIHR
 2. John Hartland, CoE

6. Follow-up Mission to the Human Rights Rapporteur Mission to Yugoslavia
CSCE Communication No. 189
Prague p.t. Helsinki
2 June 1992
- o dates: 3-9 May 1992
 - o authority: mandated by the seventh meeting of the Committee of Senior Officials in Prague, held on 28 February 1992
 - o contains "conclusions" which includes the mission's view of the situation as well as recommendations for the CSCE to implement
 - o participants:
 1. Prof. Dr. Thomas FLEINER-GERSTER, Director of the Institute of Federalism, University of Fribourg (designated by the Chairman-in-Office of the CSCE)
 2. Amb. Luchino CORTESE, Director of the CSCE Office for Free Elections, Warsaw
 3. Mr. Cipriano Rodrigues MARTINS, Member of Parliament, designated by the Presidency of the European Community
 4. Amb. Geert AHRENS, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bonn (designated by the Chairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia)
 5. Prof. Dr. Roman WIERUSZEWSKI, Polish Academy of Science, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Human Right Promotion Foundation, Poznan
 6. Dr. Paul WIDMER, Head of the CSCE Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bern
7. Report of the Conflict Prevention Center Fact-Finding Mission to Kosovo
CSCE Communication No. 194
Prague, p.t. Helsinki 8 June 1992
(Vienna, 5 June 1992)
- o authority: pursuant to a decision of the CSCE Committee of Senior Officials on 20 May 1992 at its eleventh meeting, requesting the Consultative Committee of the Conflict Prevention Center to dispatch a fact-finding mission to determine the military situation in Kosovo
 - o organized and supervised by the Chairman of the Consultative Committee
 - o includes several sets of "conclusions" regarding the purpose of the military in Kosovo and its threat to civilian Kosovars
 - o participants:
 1. Amb. David PEEL, Canada
 2. Brigadier Richard F. BALY, UK
 3. Mr. Javier COLLAR, Spain, CPC Secretariat
 4. Sergeant-Major Roelof R. W. FROM, Netherlands
 5. Colonel George FEDFUIL, France

6. Ambassador Miroslav POLREICH, CSFR
7. Brigadier-General Joseph SCHAEERLI, Switzerland
8. Colonel Falk Rye VADMAND, Denmark
9. Mr. Peter TAKSOE-JENSEN, Denmark (Liaison)
10. Mr. Alexander PAVICIC, Serbo-Croat Interpreter
11. Mr. Mohammed Zakaria KHAN, Albania Interpreter

8. Report of the CSCE Exploratory Mission to Kosovo, Vojvodina and Sanjak
CSCE Communication No. 236

Prague, 13 August 1992

- o dates: 2- 8 August 1992
- o authority: mandated at by the CSO at the 12th meeting, 8-10 June 1992, in order to prepare recommendations on the rule that further CSCE missions, of either long or short duration, might play in promoting peace, averting violence and restoring respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in Kosovo, Vojvodina and Sanjak and in support of the efforts of the EC Peace Conference; initially, "Yugoslav" (Serbian-Montenegrin) officials declined to accept the mission; the mission mandate was reiterated by the CSO on 8 July 1992 at the 13th meeting; on 22 July 1992, Vladislav Jovanovic, Foreign Minister of "Yugoslavia," accepted the missions
- o participants:
 1. Ambassador Jan af SILLEN, Head of the Mission and Ambassador of Sweden to the Netherlands
 2. Professor Thomas FLEINER-GERSTER, Professor for Public and International and Constitutional Law at the University of Fribourg and Director of the Swiss Institute for Federalism in Fribourg
 3. Mr. Wolf von dem HAGEN, Deputy Head of the Planning Staff, Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs for Germany
 4. Mr. Josef HEJSEK, First Secretary of the Embassy of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in Belgrade
 5. Mr. Lars-Gunnar WIGEMARK, Acted as secretary of the Mission
 6. Mr. Jan LUNDIN, Acted as interpreter for the Mission

