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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 Soviet crackdown in the Baltic States; independence movements in the Baltic States; crisis in the USSR; developments in Albania; the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA); the Geneva CSCE Meeting on National Minorities; the Moscow Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension; the crisis in Nagorno-Karabakh; and the conflict in Yugoslavia.

In addition, the Commission sponsored a variety of other activities designed to advance CSCE goals. The Commission cosponsored a seminar in Budapest on "The Parliaments Responsibility for Economic Development" which brought together parliamentarians from the emerging European democracies with western experts. The Commission organized informational briefings for Members of Congress with leading political figures such as Eduard Shevardnadze and Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Finally, the Commission sponsored a Business Roundtable with representatives of the business community to explore ways of enhancing opportunities for American businesses interested in trading with Europe.

The Commission staff continues to compile and disseminate information on human rights cases and advise family members, Congressional offices and interested non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on steps to resolve them.

During 1991 the Commission devoted considerable staff time to observing and reporting on referenda and political developments throughout Albania, Latvia, Estonia, Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Armenia, Turkmenistan, Moldova, and Uzbekistan. 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 1991 the Commission continued to emphasize the importance of the military security sphere of CSCE and participated in the work of the U.S. delegation at the Negotiations on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (CSBMs) in Vienna. The Commission also monitored 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. During 1991 the Commission held a special meeting with NGO representatives to consider ways of enhancing their role in the CSCE process.

The Commission is integrally involved in the development 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 Valletta Experts Meeting on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, the Madrid Meeting of CSCE Parliamentarians, the Krakow Symposium on Cultural Heritage, the Geneva Meeting of Experts on National Minorities, the Moscow Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension, the Oslo Seminar of Experts on Democratic Institutions and meetings of the CSCE Council of Ministers and the CSCE Committee of Senior Officials, as well as the on-going security talks in Vienna.

## II. THE HELSINKI PROCESS

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—also known as the CSCE or Helsinki process—is an on-going, multilateral forum involving 50 Eurasian countries, the United States and Canada. Membership has expanded considerably in recent years from the original 35 participating States.

Although rooted in Soviet proposals for an all-European security conference in the early 1950s, CSCE began in earnest in the early 1970s, during the period of "detente" in East-West relations. The Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin; bilateral treaties between West Germany and the Soviet Union, Poland, and East Germany; and agreement to begin Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction

opened in 1973. It culminated two years later with the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, also known as the Helsinki Accords, on August 1, 1975. The document is not a legally binding treaty but is politically binding on each of the signatory States, which, on the basis of the rule of consensus, agreed to its provisions. Divided into "Baskets", these provisions cover the following areas:

Basket I: A declaration of 10 Principles Guiding Relations Between Participating States, including respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, equal rights and self-determination of peoples, territorial integrity of states, peaceful settlement of disputes, and inviolability of frontiers. A section on military security includes a series of confidence-building measures, such as notification of troop maneuvers, designed to lessen the risk of surprise military attack in Europe;

Basket II: provisions concerning economic, scientific and environmental cooperation, as well as cooperation in the related fields of transport, tourism, migrant workers in Europe, and personnel training; and

Basket III: provisions concerning human contacts, including family reunification, visits, and other humanitarian matters, as well as the free flow of information, and cooperation in the fields of culture and education.

The signing of the Final Act initiated a process consisting of a series of follow-up meetings to review implementation of Helsinki provisions and elaborate upon these provisions as necessary. It also served as the impetus for human rights activity by private citizens and groups. Helsinki monitoring groups formed in the Soviet Union, the Baltic States, and elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe. Private Helsinki human rights organizations were organized in the West as well.

The first follow-up meeting was held in Belgrade in 1977-78. Eastern violations of human rights provisions made this a highly confrontational meeting in which the participants could only agree to meet again. They did so in Madrid, from 1980-83, where the participating States were able to adopt a substantive concluding document containing new commitments, although a deterioration in East-West relations—beginning with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and exacerbated by the declaration of martial law in Poland, the imprisonment of human rights activists, and declining emigration rates—drew out the negotiations considerably.

In addition to setting the date and place for the third follow-up meeting, the Madrid document mandated the convening of several intersessional or subsidiary meetings to focus on selected topics. This built upon the practice which began between the Belgrade and Madrid meetings, when three such experts meetings were held: a meeting on peaceful settlement of disputes in Montreux in 1978, a meeting on Mediterranean cooperation in Valletta in 1979, and a scientific forum in Hamburg in 1980. Following the Madrid meeting, a second meeting on the peaceful settlement of disputes was held in Athens in 1984, and a seminar on Mediterranean cooperation was held in Venice that year. In addition, the Madrid meeting mandated the convening of a conference to build upon the confidence-building measures contained in the Final Act. The Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarma-

ment in Europe (CDE) opened in Stockholm in 1984 and concluded in 1986 with the adoption of a document which significantly advanced the confidence-building process. The Madrid meeting also provided for the commemoration, in Helsinki, of the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Final Act.

In an effort to balance the enhanced military security aspects of the process, three 6-week meetings focusing on human rights and humanitarian concerns were held: the Ottawa Human Rights Meeting in 1985, the Budapest Cultural Forum in 1985, and the Bern Human Contacts Meeting in 1986. Eastern intransigence at these meetings, all of which ended without concluding documents but with continuing violations of CSCE provisions on human rights and human contacts, led to calls in the West, particularly in the United States, for abandoning the CSCE as it ended its first decade.

Beginning at the Bern Human Contacts Meeting, where the Soviet Union announced that a number of outstanding human contacts cases were going to be resolved, there were signs that the worsening human rights situation, which led some to question the credibility of the CSCE process into question, might be reversed. The third main follow-up meeting, which convened in Vienna in 1986, witnessed much of this reversal. In the Soviet Union, where Mikhail Gorbachev was gaining strength vis-a-vis the remaining hard-liners of the Brezhnev era, a series of reforms were initiated leading to greatly improved implementation of CSCE commitments. Hundreds of political prisoners were released, and many long divided families were finally reunited during the course of the Vienna meeting. Improvements also took place in a number of East-Central European countries, although Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and the German Democratic Republic strongly resisted reformist trends while Romania actually took steps backwards.

As a result of improved implementation, as well as increased Western resolve to obtain significant results in human rights, the Vienna meeting ended in January 1989 with a document which elevated Helsinki commitments to a much higher level of ambition. It also mandated a number of subsidiary activities leading up to the fourth main follow-up meeting, to be held in Helsinki in 1992. In the military security field, the Vienna document called for additional work on confidence-building measures, to build upon the results of the Stockholm conference. It also contained a mandate for negotiations to be held within the framework of the CSCE between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries on conventional armed forces in Europe. The Negotiations on Confidence and Security-Building Measures (CSBM) and the Negotiation on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) opened in Vienna in March 1989.

Balancing the security talks, the Vienna document also established the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE (CDH), combining discussion of human rights, human contacts and other humanitarian issues into three four-week meetings in Paris in 1989, Copenhagen in 1990, and Moscow in 1991. The proposal to convene such a meeting in Moscow was the subject of considerable controversy, potentially being both a great propaganda boon for the Soviets and a lever to press for further reforms in the USSR. Other experts meetings were mandated to focus on the free flow of information in London in 1989 protection of the environment, in Sofia

in 1989, economic cooperation in Bonn in 1990, on Mediterranean ecosystems in Palma in 1990, the peaceful settlement of disputes in Valletta in 1991, and cultural heritage in Krakow in 1991.

Following the Vienna meeting, and in light of rapid changes occurring in Europe, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev suggested the convening of a summit of the leaders from the CSCE participating States. 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 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 heads of state or government assembled in Paris from November 19-21, 1990, 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 participating States, including human rights, the rule of law, trade, the environment, and military security. In addition, the leaders of the 22 NATO and Warsaw Pact countries signed the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) providing for significant reductions in certain conventional forces.

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 located in Prague was established. A Conflict Prevention Center is now based in Vienna. An Office of Free Elections is located in Warsaw. The summit participants also agreed to hold the following additional experts meetings: a Meeting on National Minorities, in Geneva, and a Seminar on Democratic Institutions, in Oslo, both to be held in 1991.

### III. CSCE FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES

#### *Valletta Experts Meeting on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes*

Representatives from the participating States gathered in Valletta, Malta from January 15 to February 8 for the third CSCE meeting on peaceful settlement of disputes, a subject covered under Principle V of the Helsinki Final Act. High expectations for progress in this field were dashed with the Soviet crackdown in the Baltic States on the eve of the opening of the meeting. More than a dozen unarmed civilians were killed in the violence, which was condemned by many of the participating States in their opening statements in Valletta. The tragic events in the Baltics underscored the importance of seeking peaceful solutions to various forms of disputes.

Considerable differences among the participating States were evident. Nevertheless, agreement was reached on the establishment of a CSCE Dispute Settlement Mechanism. This mechanism requires the participating States, should they be unable to resolve peacefully a dispute between them, to seek the assistance of a third party

or parties. These parties are not expected to resolve the dispute but to provide advice and comments to the disputing parties regarding an appropriate and acceptable method for resolving their dispute.

It was envisioned that the Mechanism would be housed in some form of institution which would also be responsible for overseeing the process of selecting the third party or parties. In addition, certain exceptions were included regarding the scope of the Mechanism. It may not, for example, be utilized if either party considers the dispute to raise issues concerning its territorial integrity, or national defense, or title to sovereignty over land territory.

#### *Madrid Meeting of CSCE Parliamentarians*

Parliamentarians from the participating States met in Madrid from April 2-3 to consider creation of a Parliamentary Assembly within the framework of the CSCE. The idea for a parliamentary wing to complement other CSCE structures was reflected in the 1990 Charter of Paris for a New Europe. American parliamentarians had insisted that the assembly should be an independent body not based upon existing institutions such as the Council of Europe.

Former Commission Chairman Dante Fascell served as head of the U.S. delegation to the Madrid meeting. Chairman Steny Hoyer played an active role in the discussions. Commissioners Wyche Fowler and Edward Feighan were among the participants.

The Assembly will utilize the resources of a number of other parliamentary institutions, including the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Western European Union, the North Atlantic Assembly and the European Parliament. It will include members from each CSCE State based on population. The United States will have 17 members. A Committee of Heads of Delegation responsible for administrative and procedural matters will operate on the basis of consensus. Decisions of the Assembly will be made on the basis of majority voting. The first meeting is scheduled to convene in Budapest in July, 1992.

#### *Krakow Symposium on Cultural Heritage*

Government officials and experts gathered in Krakow, Poland from May 28 to June 7 for the CSCE Symposium on the Cultural Heritage. The Symposium provided an opportunity to combine formal sessions with a host of cultural events to underscore the importance of preserving the diverse cultural legacies of the participating States.

A number of Central and East European delegations presented frank assessments of the disastrous impact of communism on culture in their countries. The formal closed sessions of the Symposium focused on intangible aspects of cultural heritage such as ways of life and language as well as tangible aspects such as structures, objects and sites. The U.S. delegation, headed by Nancy Clark Reynolds, included public members and representatives from a variety of government agencies, including the Helsinki Commission.

Considerable time was devoted to the elaboration of a concluding document of the Symposium which covered a wide-range of issues, including culture and freedom, culture and heritage as well as preservation and cooperation.

#### *Geneva Meeting of Experts on National Minorities*

From July 1-19, representatives of the participating States met in Geneva to discuss questions relating to national minorities. The meeting, mandated at the CSCE Paris Summit, was held in response to growing ethnic tensions throughout Europe, especially in the developing democracies of East-Central Europe and the USSR. Most delegations were reluctant to engage in a meaningful discussion of implementation. The U.S. delegation, headed by Ambassador Max Kampelman, focused on positive developments as well as continued problems. Among concerns raised by the U.S. were anti-Semitism, violence and discrimination directed against Roma, the right of an individual to choose his or her ethnic identity and of association.

Major differences surfaced among delegations as work began on a concluding document. Problem areas included the definition of national minority, individual rights of persons belonging to national minorities, and the extent to which governments should help protect the ethnic identity of groups within society.

#### *Moscow Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension*

The CSCE foreign ministers, meeting in Moscow on September 10, agreed to admit Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania as participating States. The action came in time for their participation in the Moscow meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension. Ambassador Max Kampelman served as head of the U.S. delegation. Commission Chairman Steny H. Hoyer and Co-Chairman Dennis DeConcini led a delegation to Moscow for the opening of the meeting.

A number of participating States, including the United States, pointed out shortcomings as well as progress in fulfillment of CSCE human rights commitments. Notably, perhaps the single most critical statement was presented by the co-head of the Soviet delegation, a former political prisoner who heads the Human Rights Committee of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Ironically, his criticisms were not directed against another participating State, but against Soviet human rights policies and practices.

The Moscow document categorically and irrevocably declares that CSCE human dimension commitments are matters of direct and legitimate concern to all participating States, and not solely the internal affairs of the State concerned, as the East had maintained for many years. The participants also reached agreement on expanding the human dimension mechanism adopted at the Vienna Follow-up Meeting in 1989.

Building upon earlier provisions, the Moscow mechanism introduces the idea of CSCE playing a mediating or advisory role in helping a participating State to resolve disputes or deal with potential problems before they reach the point of serious confrontation. Under this mechanism, any participating State may, on a voluntary basis, invite a panel—drawn from a CSCE roster—of experienced, skilled experts to enter its territory in order to encourage a mediation or good offices process directly with the parties concerned. If these voluntary measures are not taken, or prove inconclusive, a mandatory fact-finding function may be invoked even

when the State involved is unwilling. Other commitments adopted in Moscow cover rule of law, the role of an independent judiciary, civilian control over the military, the role of independent media, and the rights of persons with disabilities, among others.

#### *Oslo Seminar on Democratic Institutions*

From November 4-15 representatives from the participating States gathered in Oslo for the CSCE Seminar of Experts on Democratic Institutions as mandated by the Charter of Paris for a New Europe. The seminar brought together experts on constitutional reform, judicial systems, the role of non-governmental organizations, political parties, trade unions and the media. Ambassador Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs and a CSCE Commissioner, served as head of the U.S. delegation. Commission Chairman Steny H. Hoyer led a delegation to Oslo where he delivered a plenary address.

Much of the discussion focused on the U.S. proposal to expand the CSCE Office of Free Elections into a clearinghouse for information and activities designed to promote the democratic institution-building process in Europe. The proposal received wide support.

Study groups examined the following: constitutional reforms, the rule of law and independent courts, and the division of power between the three branches of government; the organization of elections, political parties and non-governmental organizations; and comparative aspects of legislating in the area of human rights and fundamental freedoms. A rich program of parallel activities complemented the work of the seminar.

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

During 1991 representatives of the participating States continued work on the elaboration of confidence- and security-building measures designed to enhance transparency with respect to military activities in Europe with the aim of reducing the likelihood of surprise attack. The negotiations are expected to produce a package of measures which will the exchange of more information, stricter limits on the size and frequency of military exercises, creation of multi-national inspection teams, and a voluntary program of helicopter overflights of tense or disputed areas. The CSBMs negotiations held a seminar on military doctrine from October 8-18 which brought together Chiefs of Staff and other high-level military personnel from the participating States. CSBMs are also closely tied to the work of the Vienna-based Conflict Prevention Center which plays a key role in the implementation of existing measures.

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

The CFE negotiation, a successor to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks (MBFR), was brought into the CSCE framework by the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting. The CFE treaty signed at the Paris Summit in November 1990 provided for significant cuts in certain categories of conventional weapons, including main artillery, battle tanks, and combat aircraft. The CFE treaty was ratified by the United States Senate on November 25, 1991. The dissolution

of the Soviet Union before it could ratify has prevented the treaty from taking effect.

Meanwhile, negotiations on a follow-on to CFE have focused on limiting military personnel within the European zone of application. Currently, only Germany has limits on its personnel levels, the result of a politically binding declaration made in the context of unification and the signing of the CFE treaty in November 1990.

The Commission also participated in sessions of the CSCE political consultative mechanisms: the CSCE Council, consisting of Foreign Ministers from the participating States, and the Committee of Senior Officials.

### IV. COMMISSION DELEGATIONS

#### *Latvia/Lithuania/Estonia/Soviet Union*

From February 11-15 Commission Chairman Steny H. Hoyer led the first U.S. delegation to visit the Baltics following the Soviet crackdown in January which resulted in the killing of unarmed civilians in Lithuania and Latvia. While in Latvia, members of the delegation met with Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs and Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis as well as Latvian Communist Party First Secretary Alfred Rubiks. Chairman Hoyer expressed U.S. Congressional support for the Baltics in an address before the Latvian Supreme Council.

In Lithuania, the delegation conferred with Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis and Prime Minister Gedyminas Vagnoris on recent developments there. Members of the delegation visited the TV and radio tower in Vilnius which remained occupied by Soviet military forces.

Travelling to Estonia, the delegation met with Estonian President Arnold Ruutel and other Estonian government and parliamentary officials.

In Moscow, the delegation members met with Russian President Boris Yeltsin to discuss political and economic developments in Russia and the Soviet Union. They also met with Rafik Nishanov, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of Nationalities.

Commissioners Alfonse D'Amato, Don Ritter, and Christopher Smith participated in the delegation together with the following members of Congress: Albert Bustamante, Ben Cardin, Christopher Cox, Richard Durbin, Dennis Hertel, Tom Lantos, Louise Slaughter and Craig Thomas.

#### *Hungary/Yugoslavia/Albania*

From March 22-28, Commission Co-Chairman Dennis DeConcini led a delegation to Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Albania. In Hungary, the delegation attended sessions of the Seminar on The Parliament's Responsibility for Economic Development, which focused on economic and trade issues confronting the emerging democracies in Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The Seminar, which brought together parliamentarians from throughout the region and experts from the West was cosponsored by the Helsinki Commission the Hungarian Parliament, the Library of Congress and the International Foundation. Delegation members also met with members of the Alliance of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), repre-



sentatives of the Roma community, and American business representatives pursuing ventures in Hungary.

In Yugoslavia, the delegation held meetings with federal and Serbian republic leaders as well as with ethnic Serbian, Albanian, and Hungarian opposition figures. The delegation traveled to the Croatian capital of Zagreb and Sarajevo, the capital of the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where it met with government leaders, representatives of opposition parties and members of various ethnic communities.

In Albania, the delegation met with Albanian President Ramiz Alia, leaders of opposition parties, and human rights groups. The delegation was the first to visit Albania following the restoration of diplomatic relations with the United States.

Commissioners Bill Richardson and William Fritts, Jr. participated in the delegation together with the following members of Congress: E. Clay Shaw, Bob McEwen, Helen Bentley and Robert Dornan.

#### *Austria/Latvia/Estonia/Lithuania/Georgia/Armenia/Russia*

Commission Chairman Steny H. Hoyer and Co-Chairman Dennis DeConcini led a delegation to Austria, the newly independent Baltics, Georgia, Armenia and Moscow from September 3-10. In Vienna, members of the delegation attended the opening plenary of the Negotiations on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (CSBMs) at which Chairman Hoyer delivered a statement underscoring the Commission's interests in the security arena and calling for transparency with respect to arms transfers. Participants paid a visit to the Vienna-based CSCE Conflict Prevention Center. Before leaving the Austrian capital members were briefed on the state of play at the Negotiation on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE).

It was the first congressional delegation to visit the Baltic countries since U.S. diplomatic relations were restored. Members of the delegation met with President Gorbunovs and Prime Minister Godmanis of Latvia who expressed appreciation for support from the Commission and the U.S. Congress. Both officials underscored the importance of technical assistance in the process of economic reform and the urgent need for medical supplies. In Estonia the delegation was briefed on developments by President Ruutel and Deputy Speaker Lauristin. The delegation wrapped up its tour of the Baltics with a visit to Lithuania where members met with Deputy Prime Minister Pakalniskas and long-term prisoner of conscience, Baylis Cajasuskas.

In Georgia, the delegation met with president Gamsakhurdia, government ministers, members of parliament and several opposition groups to discuss the Republic's for independence, its transition to democracy, constitutional issues and human rights concerns.

During the Commission's first visit to Armenia, the delegation met with President Ter-Petrosyan. Among the topics discussed were the referendum on independence and elections. The delegation also met with leaders of opposition political parties.

The delegation concluded with a visit to Moscow in conjunction with the opening of the Moscow Meeting of the Conference on the

Human Dimension. While in Moscow members of the delegation met with a number of key officials including Soviet Defense Minister Shaposhnikov, Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Petrovsky, and Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev.

Commissioners Edward Feighan and William D. Fritts, Jr. participated in the delegation together with the following members of Congress: Benjamin Gilman, Dan Glickman, Sander Levin, Jan Meyers, Thomas Sawyer, David Skaggs, Louise Slaughter, Curt Weldon, Ben Jones, and Greg Laughlin.

#### *Norway*

From November 8-12 Commission Chairman Steny H. Hoyer led a delegation to Oslo to attend the CSCE Seminar of Experts on Democratic Institutions. The Chairman addressed a plenary session at which he underscored the immediate and essential need to create and nurture democratic institutions in the aftermath of discredited political and economic systems. The Commission delegation held extensive talks with the Yugoslav and Turkish delegations on human rights. Commissioner William Fritts, Jr. participated in the delegation together with the following members of Congress: Glenn Anderson, Martin Sabo, Helen Bentley, Ben Jones, and Collin Peterson.

### V. PUBLIC HEARINGS

#### *Soviet Crackdown in the Baltics*

The Commission held two days of hearings in the aftermath of the Soviet crackdown in the Baltic States. The hearings focused on the implications of the Soviet attempt to crush Baltic independence for future U.S.-Soviet relations. Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, Raymond Seitz, presented testimony before the Commission on January 17. Latvian Vice President Daynis Ivans and Lithuanian Vice President Bronius Kuzmickas represented their respective governments at the January 22 hearing.

#### *The USSR in Crisis: State of the Union*

The Commission convened a hearing on February 6 to assess political, economic, and security developments in the Soviet Union. Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, Counselor at the Johns Hopkins University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, discussed growing political polarization in the Soviet Union and the implications for U.S. policymakers. Professor Marshal Goldman, Director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, provided an assessment of the ailing Soviet economy. Lieutenant General William Odom, Director for National Security Studies at the Hudson Institute concentrated on security concerns amid political change and ethnic tensions in the USSR.

#### *Baltic Leadership on the Status of Independence Movements*

Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis, Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis and Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar appeared before the Commission on May 7 to describe attempts by



the central Soviet government to thwart Baltic independence, including through the ongoing use of violence.

#### *Democratic Developments in Albania*

On May 22, the Commission examined recent political developments in Albania, including the first free elections to be held in over 60 years. Testifying before the Commission were: Sali Berisha, Chairman of the Democratic Party of Albania and Ismail Kadare, a leading intellectual and noted Albanian novelist. Conference on Security, Stability, Development, and Cooperation in Africa

The Commission held a joint hearing with the House Subcommittee on Africa on July 30 to explore developments surrounding the Conference on Security, Stability, Development, and Cooperation in Africa. Testifying at the hearing were: Chester Crocker, Landegger Distinguished Research Professor of International Affairs, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University; Felix G.N. Mosha, Director, African Leadership Forum; and Vivian Lowery Derryck, President, The African-American Institute.

#### *Geneva Meeting on National Minorities and Moscow Meeting on the Human Dimension*

Ambassador Max Kampelman appeared before the Commission on July 31 to outline U.S. objectives at the Geneva CSCE Meeting on National Minorities and the Moscow Meeting on the Human Dimension.

#### *The Crisis in Nagorno-Karabakh*

On October 23 the Commission held a hearing on the ongoing conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. Testifying before the Commission were: Baroness Caroline Cox, Deputy Speaker of the British House of Lords; Dr. Yelena Bonner, a noted Soviet human rights activist; Fyodor Shilov-Kovydyayev and Anatoly Shabad, Deputies of the Russian Supreme Soviet; Alexander Arzoumanian, Armenian Permanent Representative to the United States and Canada; and Nadir Mekhtiyev, Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet.

#### *The Conflict in Yugoslavia*

On October 31, the Helsinki Commission held a hearing on the ongoing conflict in Yugoslavia and the efforts of the United States, the European Community and the CSCE to restore peace in that country. Testifying before the Commission were: Ralph Johnson, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs and John Lampe, Director of the East European Program at the Wilson Center and professor of history at the University of Maryland, College Park.

### VI. OTHER ACTIVITIES

#### *Seminar on The Parliament's Responsibility for Economic Development*

The Commission cosponsored the Seminar, which was held in Budapest from March 22-24, together with The International Foundation for the Survival and Development of Humanity, The Congress-

sional Research Service, and the Hungarian Parliament, which served as host.

The event was inspired, in part, by the work accomplished at the 1990 Bonn CSCE Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe and made possible by the positive changes in Central and Eastern Europe as well as the Soviet Union.

The Seminar provided a unique opportunity for parliamentarians from the region to gather with economists and other experts from the West to explore ways of fostering market-oriented economies following decades of central planning under Communist rule. It served as a stimulating forum for an exchange of views on a wide range of structural and monetary issues vital to this transition. Co-Chairman DeConcini delivered an address on the Helsinki process and the role of CSCE in fostering the transition to free market economies.

#### *"Chernobyl: Five Years After"*

The Commission sponsored a briefing on April 26, the fifth anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster. The principal speaker was Dr. David Marples, Director of the Program for the Study of Contemporary Ukraine, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and Associate Professor of Soviet History at the University of Alberta. Dr. Natalia Preobrazhenska, a leading environmental activist from Kiev and Professor of the Institute of Microbiology at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, also participated. The briefing covered both the medical and political dimensions of the disaster.

#### *Business Roundtable*

The Commission brought together over 50 business representatives in November in an effort to enhance economic cooperation and increase the opportunities for American companies to do business in Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The roundtable was the Commission's first initiative designed to reach out to the U.S. business community with the aim of establishing an on-going dialogue. Much of the roundtable was devoted to an open discussion of the opportunities and obstacles to trade in the region. Several participants addressed the tremendous uncertainties in doing business in the aftermath of the failed Soviet coup. Others discussed the implication of undeveloped banking systems, energy supplies, privatization, repatriation of profits and foreign investment laws as well as U.S. export controls.

### VII. MONITORING COMPLIANCE

#### *Election and Referendum Observation*

The Commission continued to play an active role in election observation during 1991 as part of its commitment to the process of democratic institution building in Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltics and Soviet Republics.

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 program of election and referendum observation in 1991. The CSCE Commissioners, Members of Congress, and Commission staff participated in delegations to observe and report on elections or referendums in Albania, Latvia, Estonia, Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Armenia, Turkmenistan, Moldova, and Uzbekistan. In each case, the Commission was specifically invited to observe the election process by the authorities of these states. In many instances, opposition parties and groups also extended invitations for the Commission to send observers to their countries. The main purpose of these monitoring activities is to assist in the democracy-building process. Typically, Commission staff observe the situation prior, during and after the balloting. They meet with representatives of the election commission and interview representatives of as many contending parties, including the opposition, as possible prior to the actual balloting. On election day, Commission staff visit polling stations throughout the capital and, to the extent possible, surrounding villages and nearby cities, observing the counting of ballots once the polls have closed. The staff often attend press conferences and interview officials and party representatives to assess the outcome, the implications, and future developments. Written reports on each election or referendum are prepared, published, and distributed to Members of Congress, non-governmental organizations, and interested individuals.

In December 1990 Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev renewed his earlier calls for a countrywide referendum on the future of the union. It was intended to give Gorbachev a popular mandate for pressuring the newly elected legislatures of the Baltic States and Soviet republics seeking independence or greater sovereignty. Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia and Moldova boycotted the all-Union vote which was scheduled to take place on March 17, 1991. Several republics held their own plebiscites on independence. Other republics added questions or changed Gorbachev's wording to reflect their striving for sovereignty.

On March 3, Commission staff observed balloting in Estonia and Latvia where the overwhelming majority of the population voted in support of independence. These plebiscites served to consolidate and strengthen a unified Baltic stance vis-a-vis the Kremlin.

On March 17, Commission staff observed the voting on the all-Union referendum in Russia, Ukraine, Latvia, and Kazakhstan, as well as the March 31 referendum on independence in Georgia.

From March 27-28 Commission Co-Chairman DeConcini led a delegation to Albania on the eve of that country's first multi-party elections since the 1920's. Commission staff remained in Albania to observe the actual balloting which occurred on March 31.

On September 21, Commission staff monitored the balloting in Armenia's first referendum in its 4000-year history. The overwhelming vote in support of independence led to the Armenian parliament's unanimous adoption of a declaration of independence on September 23.

On October 16, Commission staff observed the polling in Armenia's presidential elections.

On October 26, Commission staff observed the balloting on the referendum on independence in Turkmenistan. The trip also served to underscore the Commission's interest in Central Asia.

On December 1, Commission staff observed balloting in connection with Ukraine's referendum on independence and presidential election. Three distinct cities were covered as representative sites to monitor the voting, gauge popular and gain different perspectives on the political implications: Kiev, the capital, in central Ukraine; Lviv, the regional capital of Western Ukraine; and Kaniv, a small city on the Dnipro river.

On December 8, Commission staff observed balloting in Moldova's presidential election.

On December 29, Commission staff observed the referendum on independence and the first direct, contested presidential election in Uzbekistan.

### *Human Rights Casework*

Part of the Commission's work during 1991 focused on outstanding human contacts cases involving family reunification and travel. Though significantly fewer in number, these cases involve individuals who have often been waiting for more than a decade to exercise their right to leave the former Soviet Union but are, for the most part, prevented from doing so because of alleged access to "state secrets." The Commission continues to raise these cases with appropriate foreign officials, pressing for the resolution of all outstanding cases.

### *Domestic Compliance*

The CSCE has adopted far-reaching commitments on the rights of migrant workers in participating States. Pursuant to the Commission's mandate to monitor compliance in all CSCE nations, including the United States, the Commission initiated a detailed examination of the situation of migrant farmworkers in America. Among the issues being examined are: conditions of employment and work; social security; living and housing conditions; access to education, including supplementary teaching in one's mother tongue; and to health care.

## VIII. REPORTS AND PRINTED DOCUMENTS

The following reports and publications were produced by the Commission in 1991:

*Annual Report of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe for the Period Covering January 1, 1990 through December 31, 1990*, an overview of the activities of CSCE Commissioners and Staff.

Congressional Delegation Visit to Stockholm, Latvia, Estonia, and Moscow

The Elections in Albania: A Report Prepared by the Staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Congressional Delegation Visit to Hungary, Yugoslavia and Albania

Referendum in the Soviet Union: A Compilation of Reports on the March 17, 1991 Referendum on the Future of the USSR

The Parliament's Responsibility for Economic Development  
 The Geneva CSCE Experts Meeting on National Minorities: A Report Prepared by the Staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Chernobyl: Five Years Later

Peaceful Settlements of Disputes in the CSCE Process: A Report Prepared by the Staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Report on the Armenian Referendum on Independence: A Report Prepared by the Staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Minority Rights: Problems, Parameters, and Patterns in the CSCE Context: Compiled by the Staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Report on the Armenian Presidential Elections: A Report Prepared by the Staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Trip Report on South Africa, Namibia, Kenya, and Nigeria

The Krakow Symposium on the Cultural Heritage of the CSCE Participating States: A Report Prepared by the Staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Congressional Delegation Visit to Vienna, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia and Moscow

CSCE Commission Examines: "Africa's Helsinki," The Conference on Security, Stability, Development, and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA)

The Moscow Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: A Report Prepared by the Staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

The Oslo Seminar of Experts on Democratic Institutions: A Report Prepared by the Staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Report on Ukraine's Referendum on Independence and Presidential Election: A Report Prepared by the Staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

Report on the Moldovan Presidential Election: A Report Prepared by the Staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

## IX. OTHER PUBLICATIONS

The Charter of Paris for a New Europe

Report of the Meeting on the Protection of the Environment

Final Resolution Concerning the Establishment of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly

Document of the Bonn Conference on Economic Cooperation in Europe (Reprint)

Report of the CSCE Meeting of Experts on Peaceful Settlements of Disputes, Valletta 1991

Report of the CSCE Meeting of Experts on National Minorities, Geneva 1991

Document of the Krakow Symposium on the Cultural Heritage of the CSCE Participating States

Document of the Moscow Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe: An Overview. Provides a short 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.

*CSCE Digest*—The Digest is a monthly publication of the Commission which offers current information on CSCE developments and Commission 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 7,100.

Helsinki Commission brochure. Provides a brief description of the CSCE process, the origins of the Commission, and its current membership.

## X. 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 to CSCE more accessible to NGOs.

Through hearings and briefings, the Commission provides a forum for NGOs to express their views. During 1991, 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 1991 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.

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, where necessary, other delegations. During and after CSCE meetings, the Commission publicizes the proceedings briefs to NGO groups, holds interviews with media and distributes Commission reports.

During 1991, substantial Commission staff-time was devoted to NGO liaison efforts at the Valletta Experts Meeting on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, the Krakow Symposium on Cultural Herit-

age, the Geneva Meeting of Experts on National Minorities, the Moscow Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension, and the Oslo Seminar of Experts on Democratic Institutions.

During 1991, Commission Chairman Hoyer and Co-Chairman DeConcini as well as staff participated in various conferences, seminars and meetings hosted by professional associations, academic institutions and private organizations.

## XI. CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

The Commission is an independent agency with Executive Branch representatives from the Departments of Commerce, Defense, and State. Eighteen of the 21 Commissioners are Members of Congress, divided evenly between the U.S. House of Representatives and the United States 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 for briefings by representatives from government, the academic community, 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.

### *Congressional Inquiries*

With the dramatic changes occurring in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the Commission staff were inundated with requests from Congressional offices to provide them with their most up-to-date information on changes in the participating States. 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 current information on the Hill. In this regard, they provided information, talking points and other substantive materials to Members of Congress who were travelling to Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. 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 and referendums, 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.

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.

## XII. MEDIA ACTIVITIES

The Helsinki Commission has maintained close contact with members of the media through press conferences, briefings, and interviews. Press releases and articles were also issued throughout the year on CSCE-related topics.

# 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. Subpoenas 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.

June 3, 1976

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.

## 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."

## PUBLIC LAW 99-7—MAR. 27, 1985

99 STAT. 19

(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

## PUBLIC LAW 99-7—MAR. 27, 1985

99 STAT. 20

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.

"(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.

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

5 USC 5101 et  
seq. 5331.

Effective date.

22 USC 3002  
note.

## EFFECTIVE DATE

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.



December 19, 1985

H.J. Res. 465

Amendment No. 113: Conforms section number and amends the authorization for the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe to allow printing and binding costs of the Commission to be charged to the Congressional printing and binding appropriation, as proposed by the Senate.

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 Cochairman 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—FEB. 16, 1990

104 STAT. 15

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

Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD) *Chairman*Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) *Co-Chairman*

## SENATE COMMISSIONERS

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

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMISSIONERS

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

## EXECUTIVE BRANCH COMMISSIONERS

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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

## DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

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

## DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

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

## APPENDIX III

### FORMER CSCE MEMBERS

#### SENATE

Clifford Case (1976-1979)	Jacob Javits (1979-1981)
Dick Clark (1976-1979)	Gordon Humphrey (1985-1987)
James Buckley (1976-1977)	Richard Stone (1976-1981)
Robert Dole (1977-1985)	Patrick Leahy (1976-1987)
John Heinz (1981-1991)	Russell Long (1985-1987)
Orrin Hatch (1980-1985)	George McGovern (1979-1981)
	Claiborne Pell (1976-1980)

#### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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

(Democrats in roman; Republicans in italic)

#### EXECUTIVE BRANCH

##### 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)

##### 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 COMMERCE

Mansfield D. Sprague, Counselor 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)

## APPENDIX IV

### 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*  
PATRICIA M. CARLEY, *Staff Assistant*  
BRENDA COLLIER, *Receptionist/Secretary*  
OREST S. DEYCHAKIWSKY, *Staff Assistant*  
JOHN J. FINERTY, *Staff Assistant*  
ROBERT A. HAND, *Staff Assistant*  
HEATHER F. HURLBURT, *Staff Assistant*  
JESSE JACOBS, *Staff Assistant*  
RONALD J. MCNAMARA, *Staff Assistant*  
JEANNE A. MCNAUGHTON, *Staff Assistant*  
THOMAS MURPHY, *Technical Editor*  
MICHAEL J. OCHS, *Staff Assistant*  
JAMES S. RIDGE, JR., *Press Secretary*  
ERIKA B. SCHLAGER, *Staff Assistant*  
VICTORIA A. SHOWALTER, *Staff Assistant*  
TOM WARNER, *Printing Clerk*  
CORINNE R. ZACCAGNINI, *Administrative Assistant*

## APPENDIX V

### List of Post-Vienna Meetings

1989<sup>1</sup>

Negotiations on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures	Vienna	9 March-
Negotiations on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) <sup>2</sup>	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

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<sup>1</sup> Except where otherwise indicated, mandate contained in the Vienna Concluding Document.

<sup>2</sup> A meeting of 22 of the 35 CSCE States held within the framework of the CSCE process. The German Democratic Republic was an original, 23rd participant, until the October 1990 unification of Germany.



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<sup>1</sup> Except where otherwise indicated, mandate contained in the Vienna Concluding Document.

<sup>2</sup> A meeting of 22 of the 35 CSCE States held within the framework of the CSCE process. The German Democratic Republic was an original, 23rd participant, until the October 1990 unification of Germany.

1990<sup>1</sup>

Seminar on Military Doctrine <sup>2</sup>	Vienna	16 January - 5 February
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 <sup>3</sup>	Vienna	10 July - 17 November
Meeting of Foreign Ministers <sup>4</sup>	New York	1 October - 2 October
Summit of CSCE States <sup>5</sup>	Paris	19 November - 21 November

<sup>1</sup> Except where otherwise indicated, mandate contained in the Vienna Concluding Document.

<sup>2</sup> Mandated by the Vienna CSBMs negotiations.

<sup>3</sup> Not mandated by the Vienna Concluding Document. Organized by agreement of the participating States at the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE.

<sup>4</sup> Not mandated by the Vienna Concluding Document. Agenda and modalities for this meeting were arranged by the Vienna Preparatory Committee.

<sup>5</sup> Not mandated by the Vienna Concluding Document. Arrangements made at the Vienna Preparatory Committee, and the New York Meeting of Foreign Ministers set the dates and location.

1991<sup>1</sup>

Meeting of Experts on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes	Valletta	15 January - 8 February
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Vienna	28 January - 29 January
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	23 May - 24 May
Symposium on Cultural Heritage	Krakow	28 May - 7 June
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Berlin	16 June - 17 June
Council of Foreign Ministers <sup>3</sup>	Berlin	19 June - 20 June
Meeting of Experts on National Minorities <sup>4</sup>	Geneva	1 July - 19 July
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>5</sup>	Prague	3 July - 4 July

<sup>1</sup> Except where otherwise indicated, mandate contained in the Vienna Concluding Document.

<sup>2</sup> Provided for by the Paris Charter.

<sup>3</sup> Provided for by the Paris Charter. The Committee of Senior Officials makes necessary preparations.

<sup>4</sup> Mandated by the Paris Charter.

<sup>5</sup> Convened through the Emergency Mechanism.

1990<sup>1</sup>

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Meeting of Foreign Ministers <sup>4</sup>	New York	1 October - 2 October
Summit of CSCE States <sup>5</sup>	Paris	19 November - 21 November

<sup>1</sup> Except where otherwise indicated, mandate contained in the Vienna Concluding Document.

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<sup>4</sup> Mandated by the Paris Charter.

<sup>5</sup> Convened through the Emergency Mechanism.

1991 (continued)<sup>1</sup>

Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	8 August - 9 August
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	3 September - 4 September
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	10 October
Third Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension (CHD)	Moscow	10 September - 4 October
Seminar on Military Doctrine <sup>3</sup>	Vienna	8 October - 18 October
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>4</sup>	Prague	23 October - 24 October
Seminar of Experts on Democratic Institutions <sup>5</sup>	Oslo	4 November - 15 November
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	29 November

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<sup>1</sup> Except where otherwise indicated, mandate contained in the Vienna Concluding Document.

<sup>2</sup> Convened through the Emergency Mechanism.

<sup>3</sup> Organized by the Conflict Prevention Center.

<sup>4</sup> Provided for by the Paris Charter.

<sup>5</sup> Mandated by the Paris Charter.

1992

Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Prague	8 January - 10 January
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Prague	27 January - 29 January
Council of Foreign Ministers <sup>2</sup>	Prague	30 January - 31 January
CPC "Defense Conversion" Seminar <sup>3</sup>	Bratislava	19 February - 21 February
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Prague	27 February - 28 February
CPC "Army in Democratic Societies" Seminar <sup>3</sup>	Vienna	4 March - 6 March
Preparatory Meeting for the Fourth CSCE Follow-Up Meeting <sup>4</sup>	Helsinki	10 March - 20 March
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Helsinki	13 March - 14 March
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Helsinki	23 March - 24 March
Fourth CSCE Follow-Up Meeting <sup>4</sup>	Helsinki	24 March (3 months)

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<sup>1</sup> Provided for by the Paris Charter.

<sup>2</sup> Provided for by the Paris Charter. The Committee of Senior Officials makes necessary preparations.

<sup>3</sup> Organized by the Conflict Prevention Center.

<sup>4</sup> Mandated by the Vienna Concluding Document.

Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Helsinki	29 April 1 May
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>5</sup>	Helsinki	6 May - 12 May
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Helsinki	18 May - 21 May
Summit of CSCE States <sup>6</sup>	Helsinki	9 July (2 days)
Council of Foreign Ministers	Stockholm	14 December - 15 December

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<sup>5</sup> Convened through the Emergency Mechanism.

<sup>6</sup> Tentatively agreed at the January 1992 Council meeting.

1991 (continued)<sup>1</sup>

Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	8 August - 9 August
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	3 September - 4 September
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	10 October
Third Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension (CHD)	Moscow	10 September - 4 October
Seminar on Military Doctrine <sup>3</sup>	Vienna	8 October - 18 October
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>4</sup>	Prague	23 October - 24 October
Seminar of Experts on Democratic Institutions <sup>5</sup>	Oslo	4 November - 15 November
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	29 November

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<sup>1</sup> Except where otherwise indicated, mandate contained in the Vienna Concluding Document.

<sup>2</sup> Convened through the Emergency Mechanism.

<sup>3</sup> Organized by the Conflict Prevention Center.

<sup>4</sup> Provided for by the Paris Charter.

<sup>5</sup> Mandated by the Paris Charter.

1992

Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Prague	8 January - 10 January
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Prague	27 January - 29 January
Council of Foreign Ministers <sup>2</sup>	Prague	30 January - 31 January
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Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Prague	27 February - 28 February
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Preparatory Meeting for the Fourth CSCE Follow-Up Meeting <sup>4</sup>	Helsinki	10 March - 20 March
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Helsinki	13 March - 14 March
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Helsinki	23 March - 24 March
Fourth CSCE Follow-Up Meeting <sup>4</sup>	Helsinki	24 March (3 months)

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<sup>1</sup> Provided for by the Paris Charter.

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Meeting on the Mediterranean	Palma de Mallorca	24 September - 19 October
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Meeting of Foreign Ministers <sup>4</sup>	New York	1 October - 2 October
Summit of CSCE States <sup>5</sup>	Paris	19 November - 21 November

<sup>1</sup> Except where otherwise indicated, mandate contained in the Vienna Concluding Document.

<sup>2</sup> Mandated by the Vienna CSBMs negotiations.

<sup>3</sup> Not mandated by the Vienna Concluding Document. Organized by agreement of the participating States at the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE.

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1991<sup>1</sup>

Meeting of Experts on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes	Valletta	15 January - 8 February
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Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	23 May - 24 May
Symposium on Cultural Heritage	Krakow	28 May - 7 June
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Berlin	16 June - 17 June
Council of Foreign Ministers <sup>3</sup>	Berlin	19 June - 20 June
Meeting of Experts on National Minorities <sup>4</sup>	Geneva	1 July - 19 July
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>5</sup>	Prague	3 July - 4 July

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<sup>4</sup> Mandated by the Paris Charter.

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1991 (continued)<sup>1</sup>

Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	8 August - 9 August
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	3 September - 4 September
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	10 October
Third Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension (CHD)	Moscow	10 September - 4 October
Seminar on Military Doctrine <sup>3</sup>	Vienna	8 October - 18 October
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>4</sup>	Prague	23 October - 24 October
Seminar of Experts on Democratic Institutions <sup>5</sup>	Oslo	4 November - 15 November
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	29 November

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<sup>3</sup> Organized by the Conflict Prevention Center.

<sup>4</sup> Provided for by the Paris Charter.

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1992

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Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Prague	27 January - 29 January
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Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Prague	27 February - 28 February
CPC "Army in Democratic Societies" Seminar <sup>3</sup>	Vienna	4 March - 6 March
Preparatory Meeting for the Fourth CSCE Follow-Up Meeting <sup>4</sup>	Helsinki	10 March - 20 March
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Helsinki	13 March - 14 March
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Helsinki	23 March - 24 March
Fourth CSCE Follow-Up Meeting <sup>4</sup>	Helsinki	24 March (3 months)

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<sup>1</sup> Provided for by the Paris Charter.

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<sup>3</sup> Organized by the Conflict Prevention Center.

<sup>4</sup> Mandated by the Vienna Concluding Document.

Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Helsinki	29 April - 1 May
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>5</sup>	Helsinki	6 May - 12 May
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Helsinki	18 May - 21 May
Summit of CSCE States <sup>6</sup>	Helsinki	9 July (2 days)
Council of Foreign Ministers	Stockholm	14 December - 15 December

<sup>5</sup> Convened through the Emergency Mechanism.

<sup>6</sup> Tentatively agreed at the January 1992 Council meeting.

1991 (continued)<sup>1</sup>

Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	8 August - 9 August
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	3 September - 4 September
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Committee of Senior Officials <sup>4</sup>	Prague	23 October - 24 October
Seminar of Experts on Democratic Institutions <sup>5</sup>	Oslo	4 November - 15 November
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>2</sup>	Prague	29 November

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Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Prague	8 January - 10 January
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Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Helsinki	29 April - 1 May
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>5</sup>	Helsinki	6 May - 12 May
Committee of Senior Officials <sup>1</sup>	Helsinki	18 May - 21 May
Summit of CSCE States <sup>6</sup>	Helsinki	9 July (2 days)
Council of Foreign Ministers	Stockholm	14 December - 15 December

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<sup>6</sup> Tentatively agreed at the January 1992 Council meeting.

