



HUMAN RIGHTS  
BEHIND  
THE IRON CURTAIN

First Report  
of the  
Standing Committee on Human Rights

REGINALD STACKHOUSE, M.P.  
CHAIRMAN

June 1988

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HOUSE OF COMMONS

Issue No. 29

Monday, May 16, 1988

Tuesday, May 31, 1988

Chairman: Reginald Stackhouse

CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES

Fascicule n° 35

Le lundi 16 mai 1988

Le mardi 31 mai 1988

Président: Reginald Stackhouse

Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Human Rights

Procès-verbaux et témoignages du Comité permanent des Droits de la personne

Human Rights

Droits de la personne

**HUMAN RIGHTS**

**BEHIND**

**THE IRON CURTAIN**

RESPECTING:

Consideration of a revised draft report

Étude de l'ébauche révisée d'un rapport

INCLUDING:

The First Report to the House

Y COMPRIS:

Le premier rapport à la Chambre

First Report  
of the  
Standing Committee on Human Rights



REGINALD STACKHOUSE, M.P.  
CHAIRMAN

June 1988

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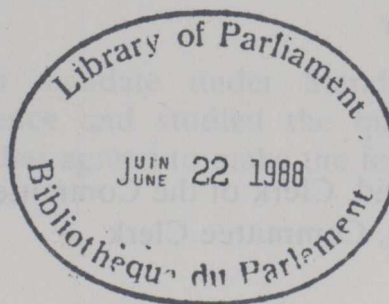
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Y COMPRIS:

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Second Session of the Thirty-third Parliament,  
1986-87-88

Deuxième session de la trente-troisième législature,  
1986-1987-1988

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HUMAN RIGHTS**

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In accordance with its mandate under Standing Order 96(3), your Committee has heard evidence and studied the question of human rights behind the Iron Curtain and has agreed to make the following report:

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Queen's Printer of Canada

Philip Rosen, Research Co-ordinator  
Jack Simpson, Research Officer

From the Library of Parliament

They (the witnesses) furnished to the committee all the information in their possession in  
regard to the subject and to the persons named in the following list and to the  
persons named in the following list and to the persons named in the following list

Bill East  
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Gordon Towers

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OTHER MEMBERS AND PARTICIPANTS

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Roland de Cordoba  
Howard de Cordoba - in memory of whom this  
Maurice Tremblay - (?)  
Walter McLean

STANDING COMMITTEE

NO SETTLING ORIGINALS ARE

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STANDING COMMITTEE ON  
HUMAN RIGHTS



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## HUMAN RIGHTS BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

### INTRODUCTION

International human rights law imposes both domestic and international obligations on states. The development of these obligations constitutes a major departure from the general principles of international relations whereby states are not to intervene in one another's affairs in violation of national sovereignty over internal matters. Under the post-World War II international human rights legal régime, states are entitled to address human rights abuses in other states.

The 1975 Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe was signed by 33 European states, including the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia and East Germany, among others, as well as by the United States and Canada. Although dealing primarily with military and strategic affairs, as well as economic and trade relations, it also makes provision for the protection of human rights. The human rights situation behind the Iron Curtain has come under close examination by governments and legislators in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom, among others, since the 1975 signature of the Final Act.

Not being a treaty, the Final Act is not legally enforceable and hence has no enforcement mechanism. There is, however, provision for follow-up meetings at which participating states can address one another's compliance with the Final Act. Thus far, there have been three follow-up meetings held at Belgrade, Madrid and Vienna (still in progress) where human rights issues, among others, have been discussed.

It is within this context that the Committee undertook this study. Because of the ongoing follow-up meeting in Vienna and political developments behind the Iron Curtain, which will be addressed in the next section of this Report, the Committee first solicited briefs and then held hearings in Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal. Information and opinions were presented to the Committee by groups and individuals knowledgeable in the issues being addressed. Human rights concerns were dealt with vigorously and often put into appropriate socio-economic and political contexts.



Many issues were brought to the Committee's attention. This Report addresses those matters which appear to require the most urgent resolution. The Committee's deliberations and this Report come at an important time in countries behind the Iron Curtain. There are signs of change in that part of the world. The question which nearly everyone who appeared before the Committee addressed was the genuineness of this change. The situation is clearly in flux. This has made it difficult to arrive at hard and fast findings. Despite this state of affairs, the Committee has addressed concrete human rights issues in this Report.

### **GLASNOST/PERESTROIKA**

The 1985 coming to power of Mikhail S. Gorbachev in the Soviet Union appears to have had a dramatic impact on that country and on its allies. Mr. Gorbachev inherited a country whose leadership was aging, whose social development was stultified and whose economy was in a shambles. Consequently, he adopted a reform program characterized by the words *glasnost* (translated by some to mean publicity and by others to mean openness) and *perestroika* (economic restructuring). He is said to be attempting to reduce the degree of central economic planning that characterizes the highly centralized Soviet economy and to bring some elements of market forces into play at the local and plant levels. His economic restructuring program is said to have been combined with an encouragement of attacks on corruption and inefficiency. It is unclear how successful *perestroika* has been thus far. It is believed by many to be a long-term economic program which will undoubtedly be frustrated by bureaucrats whose power is being undermined, by workers whose jobs may be in jeopardy and by consumers who may have to pay higher prices.

*Glasnost* is believed by many to be one of the elements that have led to a proliferation of books, films and journals. Some authors and historical figures who have long been lost in the silence of time have either been belatedly published or hurriedly resurrected. It appears thus far to have been primarily artists and intellectuals who have benefited from *glasnost*. It is unclear what the long-term impact of *glasnost* will be.

Although *perestroika* and *glasnost* are said to represent important developments in the Soviet Union, it would be naive to believe that a liberal democratic society as we know it, committed to openness and pluralism, will be the final outcome. These new policy thrusts are intended to strengthen the communist nature of Soviet society. They do not challenge the hegemony



of the Communist Party, the entrenchment of the state security apparatus or the monopoly of the established Marxist-Leninist ideology. Notwithstanding *perestroika* and *glasnost*, people are still suffering deprivation of their fundamental human rights in the Soviet Union.

In recent months, Mr. Gorbachev has visited such countries as East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland and Hungary to urge them to adopt the principles of *perestroika* and *glasnost*. Each of these countries has unique problems with its political structure, its economy and its national minorities. Interestingly, it has been reported that Poland has been receptive to Mr. Gorbachev's entreaties and has begun to take some hesitant steps in the direction of economic restructuring. It has been reported that least receptive to Mr. Gorbachev's approaches have been Czechoslovakia (*glasnost* has been compared to the 1968 Prague Spring) and Romania (which has been subject to the personal rule of Nicolae Ceausescu for many years). East Germany is believed to see little need for Gorbachev-style reforms, while Hungary has severe debt problems. Bulgaria is reported to have fallen into step with Mr. Gorbachev's initiatives.

Many witnesses who appeared before the Committee expressed a concern that *glasnost* was merely a surface phenomenon which would be mistaken for genuine socio-political change. Some said it was merely an exercise in public relations that has no genuine content of any substance. Others saw these developments as representing an opportunity that could have profound importance within the context of East-West relations. Still others expressed the view that Mr. Gorbachev would have great difficulty in promoting his approach both within the Soviet Union and among its allies, and expressed a concern that he could lose power in a relatively short time.

The Committee recognizes that the countries behind the Iron Curtain are at an important stage of their evolution. They are beset by economic difficulties and by the challenges of national minorities. Their current socio-economic structures are proving to be inadequate to meet late twentieth century problems. Mr. Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost* policy thrusts are said by many to represent an attempt to adapt Eastern European communism to the realities of the late twentieth century.

The state of flux and the lack of full access to information make it difficult to draw any final conclusions. The Committee expresses the hope that *perestroika* and *glasnost* are more than a public relations ploy but believes that they in themselves do not foretell the imminent effective



securing of human rights behind the Iron Curtain. The genuineness and depth of social change behind the Iron Curtain will be indicated by the degree to which these countries accept and respect international human rights norms to which they have committed themselves by signing various international human rights agreements.

The protection and promotion of individual and minority rights are the litmus tests by which Canadians and therefore this Committee, as it monitors developments, will judge events in Iron Curtain countries. The individual and minority rights set out in the Helsinki Final Act and other international human rights documents may be used as a series of verification measures against which state actions and omissions may be measured. Thus far, in the Committee's view as will be seen in the rest of this Report, the test results have been negative. The countries behind the Iron Curtain have not lived up to the international human rights obligations to which they have subscribed—they have failed to secure the effective recognition, respect and encouragement of individual and minority rights.

## **FREEDOM OF RELIGION**

One of the issues about which the Committee heard the most was the exercise of the freedom of religion. Principle VII of the Helsinki Final Act enunciates the freedom of religion in the following terms:

“The participating states will respect ... the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, for all ....

“Within this framework the participating states will recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to profess and practice, alone or in community with others, religion or belief acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience.”

As dictated by Marxist-Leninist ideology, the countries behind the Iron Curtain are atheistic—the promotion of atheism is officially encouraged while the exercise of religious belief is tightly controlled, where it is permitted. Religious groups must be registered to be able to function legally. Not all religious groups are permitted to register. Those that are not registered are forced to function outside the law and consequently are subject to harassment and penalties. There are also severe restrictions, and indeed in the Soviet Union prohibitions, on the religious education that can be imparted to children under eighteen years of age.



A number of religious groups have not been permitted to register by authorities in the Soviet Union. These include the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Jehovah's Witnesses, Hare Krishna adherents and some Pentecostal and Baptist groups.

The Ukrainian Catholic or Uniate Church has not been recognized in the Soviet Union since 1946. Because it is not recognized, the activities of the Church are illegal and many of its adherents have been subjected to severe punishment. The Church's property has been either destroyed or expropriated for other uses in the Soviet Union. At the present time, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has been forced to operate clandestinely.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church has existed in various forms for hundreds of years. It was repressed during the 1930's and has ceased to exist as an organized religious entity since that time. It appears, however, that Ukrainian Orthodoxy lives on as a tradition or preference that would flourish if allowed to function openly.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church are being denied the right to celebrate the Millenium of the Baptism of Ukraine into the Christian faith.

Jehovah's Witnesses and Hare Krishna adherents have not been allowed to register and have had to function illegally. They have consequently been harassed, arrested and some of them have been sent to psychiatric hospitals. The members of some unregistered Pentecostal and Baptist groups have been imprisoned for their activities. Believers in the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are subject to constant harassment whether the religion to which they belong is registered or not. Some of them have been imprisoned or interned in psychiatric hospitals. It has been reported that some members of the Lutheran clergy have been prevented from exercising their ministry.

The plight of Soviet Jews, who have been allowed to register by Soviet authorities, has received special attention in recent years. There are very few synagogues and rabbis, and no rabbinical colleges in the Soviet Union. Religious books and objects, as well as Kosher foods, are difficult to obtain. There has grown up a number of religious groupings which are forced to meet in clandestine conditions in members' apartments and other places. A number of these groups have been broken up and their members arrested.



In Romania, state control over salaries of clergy, building permits, seminary admissions and the publication of religious materials is used to influence the activities of the 15 officially recognized religious groups. Among the religious groups not recognized that have to operate clandestinely are Jehovah's Witnesses, Christian Scientists, Eastern Rite Catholics (Uniate) and the Nazarenes.

In Czechoslovakia, a number of lay religious activists have been arrested. The Committee has been told that religious observance can have a deleterious impact on job and career prospects. In response to questions on freedom of religion, Karel Zoubek, Counsellor at the Embassy of Czechoslovakia, indicated that there was freedom of religion only for registered religious groups allowed to function under the Constitution (28:12 and 28:17). In Bulgaria, according to an August 1987 U.S. State Department report on the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, there are severe restrictions on the exercise of the Muslim religion—mosques remain closed, rites such as circumcision, weddings and funerals are restricted or forbidden, the Koran is not published locally and cannot be imported, and the annual pilgrimage to Mecca is made impossible by restrictions on travel outside of Bulgaria. It is forbidden to import Bibles into Bulgaria and none have been published in that country since 1982.

Despite claims to the contrary by officials of Iron Curtain countries, freedom of religion behind the Iron Curtain, a basic human right, is so severely restricted as to be often non-existent. In Poland, because of strong popular adherence to the faith, the Roman Catholic Church seems to enjoy considerable security. Generally speaking, religious observance is discouraged by Iron Curtain countries and where permitted, it is restricted. In fact, atheism is promoted to the detriment of religious observance. A number of relatively small religious groups or the religions of particular national minorities are not recognized at all and have to conduct their activities clandestinely.

## **RIGHTS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES**

The Committee heard much testimony and amassed much evidence about the treatment of national minorities behind the Iron Curtain. Principle VII of the Helsinki Final Act enunciates the treatment to be accorded to national minorities in the following terms:



"The participating states on whose territory national minorities exist will respect the rights of persons belonging to such minorities to equality before the law, will afford them the full opportunity for the actual enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms and will, in this manner, protect their legitimate interests in this sphere."

It is furthermore provided in Basket III of the Helsinki Final Act that:

"The participating states, recognizing the contribution that national minorities or regional cultures can make to co-operation among them in various fields of education, intend, when such minorities or cultures exist within their territory, to facilitate this contribution, taking into account the legitimate interests of their members."

The Committee heard a great deal about the treatment accorded to Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians by the Soviet Union. In Ukraine, long-time efforts at "Russification" continue. Ukrainians are expected to learn the Russian language—Ukrainian history and culture have long been repressed and any efforts to encourage or revive them are dealt with severely. A number of Ukrainian nationalists have been imprisoned for these activities. Some of them have been imprisoned in Perm Camp 36, well-known for its harsh conditions—none of the Ukrainian nationalists held in this camp was released during the February, 1987 amnesty decreed by the Soviet government, although several were subsequently set free.

Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia were forcibly annexed by the Soviet Union during World War II. Neither Canada nor any other Western country has recognized the legality of this forced occupation. Nationalist activity continues in these areas of the Soviet Union to this day. The Soviet government has long engaged in a "Russification" program in these areas—the local languages and cultures are discouraged. The best jobs and housing go to Russian nationals or to those who speak Russian. Russian nationals have been moved to these areas to tip the population balance against local nationals. Nationalist activities are not tolerated — nationalist demonstrations have been disrupted and nationalist activists have been imprisoned or expelled from the country.

It has been estimated in evidence presented to the Committee that the Polish minority in the Soviet Union exceeds 2.5 million people. The Soviet policy of "Russification" over the last 50 years has meant that the Polish language has been almost completely eliminated. There are virtually no

Polish language educational or cultural institutions in the various republics in which the Polish minorities are to be found.

In Czechoslovakia, the Hungarian minority has long been the subject of government assimilationist policies. Many Hungarian language schools and cultural institutions have been closed over the years. The use of the Hungarian language in public has led to harassment.

The government of Romania has sought to belittle its minorities and forcibly assimilate them into the majority language and culture. This is especially so in relation to its Hungarian minority. There are few Hungarian-language educational and cultural institutions. There has been resettling of Romanian-language individuals in Hungarian-language towns and villages in the province of Transylvania. Finally, Hungarian-language professionals and tradespeople have been forced to resettle in Romanian-language towns and villages.

In Bulgaria, the government has implemented policies meant to repress the identity of its Turkish minority. In 1984-85, it engaged in a "name-change" campaign by forcible and at times violent means intended to eliminate all traces of Turkish family names. Many members of the Turkish minority have been forced to resettle in non-Turkish areas of Bulgaria. It appears that the public use of the Turkish language is prohibited.

It is clear that the rights of national minorities are not properly respected. It appears to be government policy in a number of Iron Curtain countries to deny the existence of unique national communities and to attempt to forcibly assimilate them into the dominant majority culture. Canada has made a proposal at the Vienna C.S.C.E. follow-up meeting to strengthen the Final Act provisions dealing with national minorities. Although such measures are desirable, they will only be as effective as the commitment of Iron Curtain countries to fully respect them. Canada has in the past supported, and should continue to support, the efforts of national minorities to have their rights fully respected.

One concrete step that Canada can take in this direction is to continue its refusal to recognize *de jure* the Soviet annexation of the Baltic states and to list all three Acting Honorary Consuls of the Baltic states in the Department of External Affairs publication entitled *Diplomatic, Consular, and other Representatives in Canada*.



## EMIGRATION/FAMILY REUNIFICATION

The right to leave a country is enunciated in both the U.N.'s Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. It has been identified by some as one of the most basic of all human rights. It is provided in Basket III of the Helsinki Final Act that:

"The participating states will deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family, with special attention being given to requests of an urgent character—such as requests submitted by persons who are ill or old."

There have been serious difficulties in this area for persons wishing to leave the Soviet Union. It has been most prominently a problem for Soviet Jews, but it has affected other nationalities in that country as well. Although there have been more Soviet Jews leaving that country in recent months than in recent years, the numbers have not yet attained the levels reached in the late 1970's. Virtually no Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians or Ukrainians have been allowed to leave the Soviet Union. In addition, members of the Polish minority have had great difficulties in being permitted to emigrate.

The Soviet regulations under which a person may emigrate for purposes of family reunification are very restrictive. The invitation to emigrate must come from a first degree relative abroad, the family in the Soviet Union must consent to the emigration, and the person to emigrate must not have been exposed in any way to matters which may fall within a wide-ranging definition of state security. The procedures to be followed for emigration are complex and expensive. Many of those who attempt to exercise their right to emigrate are subjected to harassment and loss of employment or academic credentials. The emigration process itself is a lengthy one in which permission to emigrate is accorded in an arbitrary rather than a predictable fashion.

Most troubling of all are the situations where only part of a family is allowed to emigrate and those where cancer patients or their families are not permitted to go abroad in circumstances where medical treatment in the Soviet Union is inadequate.

The Romanian government officially discourages emigration but does allow some to occur after lengthy delays. Many Canadians with family members in Czechoslovakia are seriously concerned about family



reunification. That country uses a restrictive definition of the family and a lengthy administrative process meant to discourage applications to leave the country. When he appeared before the Committee, Rudolf Hromadka, Czechoslovakia's Consul General in Montreal, stated that there were "national security" and economic reasons for restrictions on emigration. He indicated in a moment of frankness that his government would like to keep people in Czechoslovakia (28:16).

Family reunification and emigration cases illustrate in graphic human terms the tragic and saddening consequences of human rights denial. Freedom of movement is one of the basic principles underlying a civilized social order. It is to be expected that there will be rules and procedures for exercising such a right. The use of these requirements as stratagems to frustrate, and indeed prevent, emigration and family reunification is unacceptable. Canada and other countries have raised emigration issues in a number of international fora, including at the various Helsinki Final Act follow-up and experts meetings. These efforts must be continued.

## **HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS**

The exercise of human rights is often fraught with risks and, at times, danger. This is certainly the case behind the Iron Curtain. The Helsinki Final Act provides that individuals are to be made aware of their rights and permitted to exercise them. Since the mid-1970's, many individuals in Iron Curtain countries have taken up the challenge and suffered the consequences—harassment, imprisonment, exile. Very few of the Helsinki monitoring groups established since the mid and late-1970's are still functioning and those that are must do so clandestinely. Their members have been either imprisoned, sent to psychiatric hospitals or exiled. This is unacceptable in light of the international human rights legal norms to which all countries have subscribed. Human rights must not only be recognized, but they must also be exercised. If the exercise of human rights is not encouraged, they will wither away and die.

## **QUIET DIPLOMACY/GOING PUBLIC**

Both quiet diplomacy and going public in relation to human rights violations are possible approaches to achieving their satisfactory resolution. On some occasions, quiet diplomacy will work. On other occasions, going public about human rights violations will lead to a positive response and effective results.



## HUMAN RIGHTS VERIFICATION MEASURES

Professor Irwin Cotler of McGill University has proposed the adoption of what he has called "human rights verification measures". He describes these as criteria by which Iron Curtain countries' human rights performances may be measured. They would assist in determining whether international human rights norms have been respected.

In general terms, verification measures are criteria against which actions and omissions are evaluated. Insofar as human rights are concerned, these criteria are set out in the international human rights documents to which Canada and the Iron Curtain countries are signatories. These documents enunciate civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms which states subscribing to them undertake to effectively secure and protect. A country's human rights record is to be measured by determining the effectiveness with which it has secured the human rights of individuals and minorities.

In relation to the issues addressed in this Report, Professor Cotler set out human rights verification measures, such as:

"... will there be a general release of prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union, those who, in a word, took Principle VII of the Helsinki Final Act seriously?..."

"... will there be a resolution of the thousands of cases of family reunification?"

"... will there be a serious and consequential abatement of religious and cultural repression?"

"... will there be a facilitating of human contacts between Soviet citizens and their co-religionists or others abroad...?" (20:62-63)

Such human rights verification measures can and should be applied to Iron Curtain countries. The application of human rights verification measures to the situation in the countries behind the Iron Curtain is as important now as it has ever been, despite *perestroika* and *glasnost*. As the Committee has said throughout this Report, the human rights performance of the Iron Curtain countries in relation to freedom of religion, rights of national minorities and emigration/family reunification is not satisfactory. These countries have yet to live up to international human rights norms to which they have subscribed or to human rights verification measures which grow out of these norms.

The Committee believes that the adoption and application of human rights verification measures will assist in evaluating the degree to which individual and minority rights have been adequately secured. Human rights verification measures, tailored to address specific situations, provide a means by which human rights performance may be measured. Real progress in human rights promotion and protection can be determined by the application of such verification measures to a particular situation.

#### **RECOMMENDATION**

The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada develop human rights verification measures, based upon international human rights norms, by which real progress in human rights promotion and protection can be evaluated.

#### **PROPOSED MOSCOW CONFERENCE**

In November, 1986, the Soviet Union proposed during the Vienna follow-up meeting on the Helsinki Final Act that a C.S.C.E. conference on "humanitarian co-operation" be convened in Moscow. This proposal has yet to be accepted or rejected by the states represented at the follow-up meeting. Witnesses appearing before the Committee expressed serious skepticism about such a meeting being held before there was a marked improvement in the human rights record of the Soviet Union. When appearing before the Committee, A.A. Choupin, First Secretary of the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics urged Canada to support and attend such a conference in Moscow. He indicated that the conference would be an open one and would be widely covered in both the foreign and Soviet press (24:19).

The Government of Canada has not yet taken a position on the Moscow conference. Such a conference should only be supported and attended if Helsinki monitoring groups are given legal status and their members are released from prison. Such a conference should also only be approved as part of a concluding document satisfactory to all participants in the Helsinki follow-up process.

If such a conference on humanitarian co-operation is held, Canada should only participate in it if the traditions of openness exemplified at the human rights experts meeting in Ottawa in 1985 are continued. This means that there must be provision for non-governmental organizations to have



access to delegations and host-country nationals, and that there must be the widest media coverage possible of the conference and surrounding events.

#### **RECOMMENDATION**

The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada support the proposal of the Soviet Union for a conference in Moscow on humanitarian co-operation only if:

1. the imprisoned members of Helsinki monitoring groups are released, and the groups are given full legal status and allowed to function without interference by the authorities;
2. the calling of such a conference is part of a concluding document satisfactory to all participants in the Vienna follow-up meeting; and
3. the conference is held in the tradition of complete openness established by the 1985 human rights experts meeting in Ottawa.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Human rights have been on the international agenda for a number of years. The effective securing and protection of individual and minority rights is one of the important elements in the peace and justice necessary to the development of friendly and co-operative relations among countries. The Iron Curtain countries, in signing many international human rights documents, have assumed obligations to encourage, respect and secure individual and minority rights. They have not complied with their obligations.

The Committee believes that the Government of Canada has over the years played an effective role in pursuing human rights issues in Iron Curtain countries at C.S.C.E. follow-up meetings as well as in other contexts. This vigorous stance must be maintained.

#### **RECOMMENDATION**

The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada continue its vigorous policy of advocacy of human rights issues and individual cases in its contacts with Iron Curtain countries so long as there is not full respect for and securing of individual and minority rights in those countries.

The effective protection and development of individual and minority rights is dependent upon a long-term, continuing commitment to ensuring that they are properly secured. The Committee's Report on human rights behind the Iron Curtain marks the starting point, not the culmination, of its

concerns and commitment to the issues it addresses. The Committee will monitor human rights developments behind the Iron Curtain, as it will such developments generally in other parts of the world, and will hold such further hearings or take such appropriate steps as circumstances dictate.

The Committee recognizes that the Government of Canada supports the general principle of human rights and is committed to the promotion of human rights in all parts of the world. It is particularly concerned with the situation of human rights in the countries behind the Iron Curtain. The Committee has held a number of public hearings on human rights in these countries and has received many reports from individuals and groups in these countries. The Committee has also received reports from human rights organizations in these countries. The Committee has held a number of public hearings on human rights in these countries and has received many reports from individuals and groups in these countries. The Committee has also received reports from human rights organizations in these countries.

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## CONCLUSION

The Committee has held a number of public hearings on human rights in these countries and has received many reports from individuals and groups in these countries. The Committee has also received reports from human rights organizations in these countries. The Committee has held a number of public hearings on human rights in these countries and has received many reports from individuals and groups in these countries. The Committee has also received reports from human rights organizations in these countries.

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## TABLE OF RECOMMENDATIONS

### RECOMMENDATION

The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada develop human rights verification measures, based upon international human rights norms, by which real progress in human rights promotion and protection can be evaluated.

### RECOMMENDATION

The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada support the proposal of the Soviet Union for a conference in Moscow on humanitarian co-operation only if:

1. the imprisoned members of Helsinki monitoring groups are released, and the groups are given full legal status and allowed to function without interference by the authorities;
2. the calling of such a conference is part of a concluding document satisfactory to all participants in the Vienna follow-up meeting; and
3. the conference is held in the tradition of complete openness established by the 1985 human rights experts meeting in Ottawa.

### RECOMMENDATION

The Committee recommends that the Government of Canada continue its vigorous policy of advocacy of human rights issues and individual cases in its contacts with Iron Curtain countries so long as there is not full respect for and securing of individual and minority rights in those countries.

## APPENDIX I

The following is a list of the dates of meetings held in the course of this study, together with the number of meeting and of the issue of Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence in which details of each meeting are recorded.

DATE	MEETING NO.	ISSUE NO.
Thursday, June 4, 1987	18, 19	13
Thursday, June 11, 1987	20	14
Tuesday, June 23, 1987	21	15
Tuesday, October 6, 1987	24	17
Wednesday, October 7, 1987	26	18
Wednesday, October 21, 1987	28	19
Thursday, October 22, 1987	30	20
Wednesday, October 28, 1987	31	21
Tuesday, December 1, 1987	33	23
Tuesday, December 15, 1987	34	24
Tuesday, January 26, 1988	38	28
Tuesday, February 2, 1988	39	29
Tuesday, February 9, 1988	41	29
Monday, May 16, 1988	49	35
Tuesday, May 31, 1988	50	35

Page references within the text of the report are to the printed issues, cited by issue number and page within the issue. For example, page 26 of issue no. 20 is cited as 20:26.

## APPENDIX II

The following organizations and individuals testified before the Committee on issues relating to human rights behind the Iron Curtain.

### Thursday, June 4, 1987 (Issue No. 13)

*From the St. Sophia Religious Association of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada:*

Reverend Myroslaw Tataryn.

*From the Inter-Religious Task Force for Human Rights in the Soviet Union:*

Genya Intrator, Chairman.

*From the Ukrainian Canadian Committee:*

Christina Isajiw, Executive Director.

*From the Lithuanian Canadian Committee:*

Joana Kuras, Vice-President of the National Executive.

*From the Ukrainian National Federation of Canada and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee:*

Stephen Jaworsky.

*From the Canadian Hungarian Federation:*

Domoros Gyallay-Pap, Past President;

Stephen Magas, Chairman;

Gabor Takach, Executive Vice-President.



**Thursday, June 11, 1987 (Issue No. 14)**

*From the Committee for Democratic Dissidents in Yugoslavia:*

Nicholas Pasic, Canadian Member.

*From the Estonian Central Council:*

Roy Paluoja, Member.

*From the Canadian Polish Congress:*

S.T. Orlowski, President;

Marek Malicki, Vice-President;

Piotr Staniszkis, Member;

A. Garlicki, Member;

George Korwin, Chairman of the Polish National Fund.

**Tuesday, June 23, 1987 (Issue No. 15)**

*Individual:*

Mr. Danylo Shumuk.

**Tuesday, October 6, 1987 (Edmonton) (Issue No. 17)**

*From the Institute for International Affairs for B'nai B'rith:*

Paul Marantz, Member;

Farrel Shadlyn, Vice-President, B'nai B'rith Edmonton Lodge;

Alan Shefman, National Director, League for Human Rights.

*From the Edmonton Branch, Czechoslovak Association of Canada:*

Jaromir Stribrny, President.

*From the Ukrainian Canadian Committee:*

Ihor Broda, Vice-President, National Executive and President,  
Edmonton Freedom Council.

*From the Edmonton Committee for Soviet Jewry:*

Mark Keil, Chairman.

**Wednesday, October 7, 1987 (Winnipeg) (Issue No. 18)**

*From the Ukrainian Canadian Committee:*

Evhen Danylo Dzwonyk, Representative for Human Rights (acting).

*From the Winnipeg Jewish Community Council, Soviet Jewry Committee:*

Martin J. Pollock;

Naida Rubin.

*From the Czechoslovak Association of Canada:*

Milton Nemecek, President.

Joe Dobrovolny, Vice-President.

*From the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada:*

Rev. Dr. Alexander Baran;

Michael Woroby.

*From Amnesty International:*

Ellen Wood, U.S.S.R. Country Coordinator;

Cornelia Johnson, Coordinator of Refugees.



**Wednesday, October 21, 1987 (Toronto) (Issue No. 19)**

*From the Czechoslovak Association of Canada:*

Professor Gordon Skilling, University of Toronto.

*From the Latvian National Federation in Canada:*

Syvia Tint, Executive Secretary;

Ruta Silins, Special Assistant to the Vice-President;

Edite Lynch, President, Baltic Women's Council.

*From the Institute for International Affairs of B'nai B'rith Canada:*

Ellen Kachuck Rosenbluth, National Director;

Professor David Goldberg, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, York University;

Professor Aurel Braun, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto.

**Thursday, October 22, 1987 (Montreal) (Issue No. 20)**

*From the Estonian Central Council in Canada:*

Professor Martin Puhvel;

Tiit Madisson.

*Individual:*

Professor Irwin Cotler, Faculty of Law, McGill University.

*From Amnistie Internationale (Section canadienne francophone):*

Gabriel Regallet, President;

Norbert Schlomiuk, U.S.S.R. Coordinator.

*From the Canadian Committee on Soviet Jewry of the Canadian Jewish Congress:*

Barbara Stern, National Chairman;

Allen Rose, National Vice-President of the Canadian Jewish Congress.

**Wednesday, October 28, 1987 (Issue No. 21)**

*Individuals:*

Josyp Terelya;

Fr. Myroslaw Tataryn.

**Tuesday, December 1, 1987 (Issue No. 23)**

*From Keston College Canada:*

Maureen Giroux, Chairman and Director;

Linars Lukss, Director.

*Individual:*

Rolands Silaraups.

**Tuesday, December 15, 1987 (Issue No. 24)**

*From the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:*

Alexei P. Makarov, Minister Counsellor;

A.A. Choupin, First Secretary;

I.P. Lobanov, Press Attaché.

**Tuesday, January 26, 1988 (Issue No. 28)**

*From the Embassy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic:*



Karel Zoubek, Counsellor;  
Rudolf Hromadka, Consul-General (Montreal).

*From the Ukrainian Orthodox Church:*

Very Rev. Dr. Ihor Kutash;  
Rev. Roman Bozyk.

*From the Canadian Council of Churches:*

Paula Butler, Staff;  
Dr. Bonnie Green, Chair, Helsinki Working Group, United Church of  
Canada.

*Thursday, October 22, 1987 (Montreal) (Issue No. 20)*

*From the Russian Council in Canada:*

Professor Maria Fedotina

*Tuesday, December 15, 1987 (Issue No. 24)*

The Mission

*from the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*

Individual

Alexei F. Makarov, Minister Counsellor;

A. A. Choupin, First Secretary;

*From the International Section (Section Internationale)*

Gabriel Regaller, President;

*Tuesday, January 26, 1988 (Issue No. 28)*

*from the Embassy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic*

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS  
MONDAY, MAY 16, 1988  
(19)

**REQUEST FOR GOVERNMENT RESPONSE**

In accordance with the provisions of Standing Order 99(2), your Committee requests that the government table a comprehensive response to this report.

A copy of the relevant Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Standing Committee on Human Rights (*Issues No. 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 28, 29 and 35, which includes this Report*) is tabled.

Respectfully submitted,

**REGINALD STACKHOUSE,**

*Chairman*



## MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

MONDAY, MAY 16, 1988

(49)

[Text]

The Standing Committee on Human Rights met *in camera*, at Meech Lake at 4:00 o'clock p.m. this day, the Chairman, Reginald Stackhouse, presiding.

*Members of the Committee present:* Roland de Corneille, Howard McCurdy, Reginald Stackhouse, Maurice Tremblay and Andrew Witer.

*In Attendance: From the Research Branch of the Library of Parliament:* Philip Rosen and Jack Stilborn, Research Officers.

The Committee resumed consideration of a draft report to the House of Commons.

*ORDERED*,—That the Committee authorize the expenses for overtime of personnel required for a dinner meeting at Meech Lake on Monday, May 16, 1988, as well as costs associated with a catered dinner to be arranged through the Canadian Government Conference Centre for the members of the Committee and the necessary staff of the Committee.

At 9:15 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

TUESDAY, MAY 31, 1988

(50)

The Standing Committee on Human Rights met *in camera* in Room 112-N at 3:46 o'clock p.m. this day, the Chairman, Reginald Stackhouse, presiding.

*Members of the Committee present:* Roland de Corneille, Howard McCurdy, Reginald Stackhouse, Maurice Tremblay and Andrew Witer.

*Acting Members present:* David Kilgour for Bill Attewell and John Oostrom for Walter McLean.

*In Attendance: From the Research Branch of the Library of Parliament:* Philip Rosen and Jack Stilborn, Research Officers.

The Committee took under consideration a revised draft of a report on human rights behind the Iron Curtain.

*ORDERED*,—That the draft report, as amended, be the report of this Committee to the House of Commons on its examination of human rights behind the Iron Curtain;

—That the Clerk be instructed to prepare Appendices to the report listing:

- a) the meetings held on this subject;
- b) the witnesses heard, with dates and issue numbers;
- c) briefs received;

—That the Chairman be authorized to supervise the final preparation of the report as adopted, with appendices, and present it to the House when it is completed.

*ORDERED*,—That the Committee request, under Standing Order 99(2), a comprehensive response from the government to this report.

*ORDERED*,—That the report be printed in an authorized tumbled report format with a special blue cover and that, in addition to the 550 copies authorized by the Board of Internal Economy, fifteen hundred copies be printed at the Committee's expense.

*ORDERED*,—That, once the report has been printed, the Chairman arrange a media conference at which representatives of all parties may be present to present the report to the media following its presentation in the House.



At 5:18 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

Donald G. Reid

Clerk of the Committee





At 5:15 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the  
Chair.

Donald G. Reid  
Clerk of the Committee

IT EST ORDONNE—Que le rapport intitulé "Le rôle de la Commission de la Santé Publique" soit imprimé et distribué.

IT EST ORDONNE—Que le rapport intitulé "Le rôle de la Commission de la Santé Publique" soit imprimé et distribué.

IT EST ORDONNE—Que le Comité demande au Gouvernement, aux termes du paragraphe 3(a) du Règlement, de déposer une réponse écrite au rapport en question.

IT EST ORDONNE—Que le président du Comité soit autorisé à suspendre la disposition dérivée du rapport tel qu'adopté, à condition que le Comité soit avisé à l'avance.

- a) les réponses reçues
- b) les projets amendés, la date de leur adoption et les amendes des amendes
- c) les projets amendés à cette date

IT EST ORDONNE—Que le rapport intitulé "Le rôle de la Commission de la Santé Publique" soit imprimé et distribué.

IT EST ORDONNE—Que le projet de rapport, sous sa forme révisée, soit imprimé et distribué.

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