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### Fifth Semiannual Report by the President to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe on the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act June 1—December 1, 1978

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## Chapter One

### Between Belgrade and Madrid

More than three years have now passed since the leaders of 35 states gathered in Helsinki to sign the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The first follow-up conference has been held in Belgrade, and the CSCE process has entered a new phase.

The Belgrade meeting established important benchmarks which should guide the activities of participating states during the next two years. It demonstrated the need for continued contacts among all signatories regarding the problems associated with implementation of the Final Act. It also made clear that considerably more effort will be necessary to fulfill the hopes expressed at Helsinki in 1975. Some progress has been made, but areas of weakness, such as the distressing trials of Soviet citizens interested in furthering the goals of CSCE, are apparent to all. In the two years remaining before the second follow-up conference in Madrid, each participant faces the task of improving its record of implementation in order to realize the promise of Helsinki.

The United States is committed to encouraging full implementation, to developing CSCE as a dynamic process for improving relations among the participating states and to gaining practical improvements in the lives of individuals. The Administration plans to pursue the realization of all sections of the Final Act during the two years leading up to the Madrid meeting. Our aim will be to reconcile differences in view and expand areas of agreement, both with foreign governments and with the many groups and individuals in the United States who are interested in the development of CSCE. In pursuing these goals, we will uphold the democratic ideals and concern for human rights upon which our society is based. We will work hard to record practical achievements which will help build a foundation for further development of CSCE, and will express clearly our views on incomplete implementation of the Final Act.

The CSCE agenda in the months since conclusion of the Belgrade meeting has been busy. Two experts' meetings were held: the preparatory meeting for a Scientific Forum in Bonn, Germany, and discussions on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes in Montreux, Switzerland. The Bonn meeting concluded successfully with a recommendation to hold a "forum" of scientists from signatory states in Hamburg, Germany, in February 1980. The Montreux meeting, which originated with a proposal from the Government of Switzerland, should conclude in mid-December 1978. The United States was fully represented at each meeting by delegations composed of private individuals as well as representatives from the Department of State and the CSCE Commission.

Looking ahead to Madrid, The United States initiated a round of diplomatic contacts with Eastern and neutral participants in CSCE, while continuing regular exchanges of views with our NATO Allies. The visit of Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Nagy to Washington in late June included extensive discussion of CSCE issues. In September, a team of CSCE Commission and State Department representatives, headed by R. Spencer Oliver, Staff Director and General Counsel of the CSCE Commission, visited Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Romania for discussions on CSCE. In Belgrade and Bucharest the group talked with foreign ministry officials responsible for CSCE. Further consultations were conducted in November by a State Department Commission team headed by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State James E. Goodby. This group visited Vienna, East Berlin, and Helsinki for discussions with foreign ministry representatives on CSCE and related issues.

Domestically, the Administration will increase its efforts to involve the broadest spectrum of the American public in development of the CSCE process. The Final Act continues to play a unique role in addressing the practical issues in foreign relations which affect the

lives of individuals in both East and West. The millions of Americans with relatives in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are especially interested in progress under the Final Act. And there are dozens of other areas ranging from science and culture to business and education which are affected by the commitments made at Helsinki. Our hope is to spread interest in development of contacts under the CSCE rubric even further in order to realize the full promise of the Final Act.

Critical to our efforts to encourage the fullest possible implementation by other countries will be attention to our own performance. The American record is good, but we recognize that it could be improved still further. Soviet and Eastern European commentators have been active in criticizing the United States for racial discrimination, unemployment, and what they perceive to be other defects in our socioeconomic system. They are often able to quote American sources for their criticism. The United States has always been proud of its open society, and the Administration welcomes a dialogue with other signatories over American successes and shortcomings in implementing the Final Act.

In this regard, the Administration welcomes the interest both of the CSCE Commission and of private organizations in the implementation record of the United States. We hope that plans for the formation of private committees to monitor American implementation will facilitate the exchange of information on problem areas. The Administration looks forward to cooperation with such groups in efforts to improve further our own record.

The success of the CSCE process will depend on the efforts of all governments to inspect their records of performance and to work continually for realization of the goals contained in the Final Act. These semiannual surveys, mandated by Congress, are intended primarily to help review this record of implementation. Illustrative rather than exhaustive in scope, this report covers the period from June 1 to December 1, 1978.

The record during the past six months is

encouraging in some areas. Spurred on by commitments in the Final Act, many participating states are working to establish contacts across a broad range of fields, including cultural exchange. In the area of human contacts, the emigration of Soviet Jews increased considerably and has approached the record set in 1973. The granting [by the United States] of most-favored-nation tariff treatment to Hungary this year has demonstrated how relations between nations of East and West can be improved to mutual benefit.

But despite the progress recorded, there were a number of extremely negative developments which went to the very heart of the CSCE process. These problems were demonstrated most starkly in the Soviet Union where Anatoliy Shcharanskiy, Aleksandr Ginzburg, and other leading members of Helsinki Monitoring Groups received long prison sentences because they had criticized the government. Aleksandr Slepak and Ida Nudel, who had been refused permission to emigrate to Israel, were also sentenced to several years of internal exile in the U.S.S.R. Oppression of persons whose only offense is to demand rights guaranteed them in the Final Act is wholly inconsistent with the goals of CSCE.

The Administration has made clear its view on the seriousness of these developments and will continue to condemn such flagrant violations of the Helsinki spirit. CSCE is a long-term process, however, and the success of the Final Act, or of the efforts of individual participating states to fulfill their obligations, cannot ultimately be judged over a period of one, two, or even three years. Change is possible in the long run, especially if signatory countries are firmly determined to pursue the fullest possible implementation of all sections of the Final Act. The Final Act has become accepted as a useful framework for expressing international concern over issues such as human rights, and the United States is committed to developing CSCE as a valuable instrument for dealing with the problems of individuals by reducing the barriers between East and West.

## Chapter Two

### Implementation of Basket One: Questions Relating to Security in Europe

Basket One of the Final Act includes a statement of 10 basic principles of international behavior and a document on military confidence-building measures (CBMs). The action on principles reiterates longstanding concepts of interstate relations and human rights which are widely heralded and largely incorporated in the basic documents of the United Nations. The confidence-building measures were designed to increase confidence, stability, and security by removing some of the secrecy surrounding military activities.

#### Declaration of Principles Guiding Relations Between States

The signatories declared their intent to put to practice the following principles: sovereign equality and respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty; refraining from the threat or the use of force; inviolability of frontiers; territorial integrity of states; peaceful settlement of disputes; non-intervention in internal affairs; respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; equal rights and self-determination of peoples; cooperation among states and fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law.

Implementation of Principle Seven concerning human rights continued to be the major problem area in Basket One. Principle Seven is a pledge to respect a wide range of human rights, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international covenants on the subject. The standards of conduct involved are high, and it is doubtful that any nation complies fully with Principle Seven. Practice in the West, however, has conformed to the Principle far more than in the East, where the signatory governments evaded themselves, in effect, to make major improvements in their human rights practices. Unfortunately, progress in this area has been limited, and there has been serious regression in certain countries. The following were the

major developments during the reporting period.

#### *Principle Six: Non-Intervention in Internal Affairs*

The United States strongly supports the non-intervention pledge in Principle Six of the Final Act. It is particularly appropriate to reiterate our commitment to this principle in view of the 10th anniversary of the August 21, 1968, invasion of Czechoslovakia by troops of the Soviet Union and four other Warsaw Pact states. The invasion ended a period of reform led by Communist Party chief Alexander Dubcek.

To mark the occasion, the spokesmen for Czechoslovakia's "Charter 77" civil rights movement issued a statement protesting the continued presence of Soviet troops and calling for a broad-based dialogue with the government. The spokesmen pointed out that the invasion had violated international agreements in force at the time and that its illegality was subsequently confirmed by Principle Six of the Helsinki Final Act.

#### *Principle Seven: Human Rights*

Grave violations of the Final Act occurred in the Soviet Union during the summer, as Soviet courts gave severe sentences to human rights activists and members of Helsinki Monitoring Groups, which Soviet citizens had formed to monitor Soviet Compliance with the Final Act. In Moscow, Anatoliy Shcharanskiy was convicted of treason and sentenced to a total of 13 years of imprisonment and hard labor. Aleksandr Ginzburg, who also headed a fund to aid Soviet political prisoners and their families, received eight years in a labor camp for anti-Soviet activities. Viktoras Pyatkus and Lev Lukyanenko, members of Helsinki Groups in Lithuania and the Ukraine respectively, were both sentenced to 10 years in prison and labor camp plus 5 years of internal exile.

These trials, like earlier ones, were con-

ducted in a manner which prevented the defendants from presenting an effective defense or exercising their full rights under Soviet law. Although in principle trials involving human rights issues are open to the public, in practice foreign journalists and other observers, including close friends of the defendants and in some instances even family members, were prevented from attending.

Deploring the trials of these and other Soviet dissidents, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance said,

These men and women of uncommon courage are being put on trial on a number of pretexts. In truth, they are being tried for asserting fundamental human rights—to speak out and to petition and criticize their governments—rights guaranteed in international agreements entered into by their governments. These trials, with their lack of due process, violate fundamental principles of justice.

After the conviction of Shcharanskiy, President Carter said, "We are all sobered by the reminder that, so late in the 20th century, a person can be sent to jail simply for asserting his basic human rights."

The campaign to repress organized dissent, which had earlier led to prison, exile, or loss of citizenship for Yuriy Orlov, Mstislav Rostropovich, Major General Pyotr Grigorenko, and others, began to abate after the July trials but has not ended. On August 15, the Soviet Government sentenced Alexander Podrabinek to five years' exile in Siberia for writing a book about the use of psychiatric treatment to punish Soviet citizens who come into conflict with the authorities. The offense was "anti-Soviet slander." Podrabinek's conclusions were confirmed by psychiatrist Alexander Voloshanovich, who told a news conference in Moscow that he had investigated the cases of 27 people who charged they had been wrongfully committed to mental institutions and that he had found not one case of authentic mental illness.

Soviet authorities also announced in November that Robert Nazaryan, an Armenian Helsinki Monitor, would soon be brought to trial.

The Soviet Union was not alone in punishing the exercise of free expression. Economist Rudolf Bahro was given an eight-year prison

term in the German Democratic Republic (G.D.R.) for proposing a freer socialist alternative to the G.D.R. system. His book, *The Alternative—Criticism of Real Existing Socialism* had been published only in the West.

Polish and Czechoslovak police detained several leading dissidents in October as they attempted to hold another in a series of meetings. Among those apprehended were Polish civil rights activist Adam Michnik and Czechoslovak Charter '77 spokesman Jaroslav Sabata.

Although there has been some progress, freedom of religion also continues to be restricted in varying degrees in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, particularly in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. The choice of Karol Cardinal Wojtyla of Poland as Pope John Paul II, however, is a sign of the continued vitality of religion in Eastern Europe. Wojtyla's selection produced an outpouring of national pride. For the first time, Polish authorities allowed complete live television and radio coverage of the installation of a new Pope. They also expedited visa applications and arranged special flights for thousands of Poles to attend the ceremonies in Rome.

Church-state relations in Poland have improved since party leader Gierek's unprecedented meeting with Cardinal Wyszynski and his audience with the late Pope Paul VI last fall. The Episcopate of the Catholic Church nevertheless, issued a pastoral letter in September reiterating previous complaints about official censorship of the media and the shortage of religious books and catechisms. The letter said that in 1977 authorities granted permission for the publication of only 300,000 catechisms for some eight million children receiving religious instruction. The Episcopate also complained that the government allows a total of only 190,000 copies of the three independent Catholic papers to be printed.

In the German Democratic Republic, church-state relations have improved somewhat since Protestant (Lutheran) church leaders met with Communist Party chief Erich Honecker on March 6. In September the Annual Synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches, which represents the Protestant two-thirds of the

population, noted that permits for the construction of churches in new urban areas are being granted. The G.D.R. Government has sought to improve its relationship with the church by allowing monthly religious programs and certain masses to be televised, providing administrative support to outdoor rallies, and letting church officials attend meetings in the West. G.D.R. Foreign Minister Fischer was one of the first foreign statesmen to meet with Pope John Paul II.

The main issue now troubling both the Protestant and Catholic churches in the German Democratic Republic is the introduction of compulsory military training in the schools. The Protestant leadership suggested in a pastoral letter that permitting East Germans to travel abroad and increase their understanding of foreign cultures would do more to enhance the country's security than military training which the letter said "will undercut the credibility of the peace policy of the German Democratic Republic."

#### *Principle Nine: Cooperation Among States*

Many examples of concrete cooperation in specific fields such as science and education are contained elsewhere in this report. High-level political contacts also continued during the reporting period, although a number of American officials canceled plans for travel to the Soviet Union in response to human rights violations there.

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) between the United States and the Soviet Union continued at an intense level. Secretary of State Vance and Foreign Minister Gromyko held meetings in Moscow, Geneva, New York, and Washington, and the chief U.S. negotiator, Ambassador Paul Warnke, went to Moscow in September.

Several leading American legislators visited the Soviet Union during this period. Senator Kennedy went in September and a group of 12 senators led by Senators Ribicoff and Bellmon went in November. A number of Senators also visited Budapest, Bucharest, and Prague.

Senior State Department officers consulted with their counterparts from most Eastern European states. The Counselor of the De-

partment, Matthew Nimetz, visited Romania in September. Assistant Secretary of State for Refugee and Humanitarian Affairs Patricia Derian spent three days in East Berlin in October, and Under Secretary for Political Affairs David Newsom met with Polish officials in Warsaw, also in October. American statesman Averell Harriman made unofficial visits to Hungary and Romania in August.

Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Nagy visited Washington in June and Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Tsvetkov, in November for talks with U.S. officials. Romanian Foreign Minister Andrei and Finance Minister Niculescu held discussions with U.S. officials in the fall in connection with their attendance, respectively, at the U.N. General Assembly and World Bank-International Monetary Fund meetings. Bilateral discussions were also held with a number of other Eastern European Foreign Ministers during the General Assembly.

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

In order to facilitate observance of Principle Five regarding the peaceful settlement of disputes, the Final Act called for a meeting of experts to convene after the Belgrade follow-up conference. The meeting was charged with continuing the elaboration of a method to complement existing procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The meeting convened at Montreux, Switzerland, on October 31, 1978. David Filvaroff, professor of law at the University of Texas, and R. Spencer Oliver, of the CSCE Commission, jointly headed the American delegation. The meeting is scheduled to conclude in December with the preparation of a report to the participating governments.

#### **Document on Confidence-Building Measures**

In the Final Act the signatory states commit themselves to prior notification of major military maneuvers, defined as those involving more than 25,000 ground troops. The Final Act also encourages signatories to engage in

other confidence-building measures (CBMs), including the exchange of observers at maneuvers, prior notification of smaller scale maneuvers, and prior notification of major military movements.

Over the past four years it appears that all signatory states have complied with the provision for prior notification of major military maneuvers. Western and neutral/nonaligned states have from the beginning given prior notification of a number of smaller scale maneuvers, but the East, except for one instance of notification by Hungary, has not yet done so. Both the West and neutral/nonaligned states have pursued a forthcoming policy with respect to invitations to observers and the treatment afforded them. Until 1977, Eastern states invited observers only from states in the geographic proximity of the maneuver. More recently, however, the geographic distribution of invitations has been broadened. For example, during 1978 the Soviet Union for the first time invited U.S. observers to a maneuver. Western observers were not invited, however, to the major Soviet maneuvers during this reporting period.

#### ***Prior Notification of Major Military Maneuvers***

NATO members conducted four maneuvers involving more than 25,000 troops during the reporting period. In the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union gave notification of two major maneuvers, one more than during the corresponding period last year. With the exception of a 40,000 troop maneuver by Switzerland in October 1975, no neutral/nonaligned state has held a major exercise since the signing of the Final Act. During the reporting period, notification was given of the following major maneuvers:

NATO States—August 24, 1978, by the Federal Republic of Germany (F.R.G.) of "Blaue Donau," a 46,000 troop maneuver with the participation of two other allies, held September 17–21 in the southern part of the Federal Republic of Germany (F.R.G.).

August 25, 1978, by the United States of "Certain Shield," a 56,000 troop maneuver with the participation of four other allies, held

September 18–28 in the central part of the Federal Republic of Germany.

August 25, 1978, by the Netherlands of "Saxon Drive," a 32,500 troop maneuver with the participation of two other allies, held September 18–29 near Hannover and Bremen in the Federal Republic of Germany.

August 20, 1978, by the Federal Republic of Germany of "Bold Guard," a 65,000 troop maneuver with the participation of three other allies, held September 19–22 in the northern part of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Warsaw Pact States—June 12, 1978, by the U.S.S.R. of "Tarcza," a 30,000 Soviet force maneuver, held July 3–8 in the German Democratic Republic.

August 15, 1978, by the U.S.S.R. of an unnamed maneuver of 25,000 troops held September 5–12 in the Caucasus area.

#### ***Prior Notification of Smaller Scale Maneuvers***

NATO states have continued to support implementation of discretionary CBMs by giving notice of certain smaller scale maneuvers (those involving fewer than 25,000 troops). The only East European state to have given notification of a smaller-scale maneuver in the CSCE context is Hungary, which did so in 1976. Neutral and nonaligned states informed Final Act signatories of one such maneuver during the reporting period. Notification was given to the following smaller scale maneuvers:

NATO States—August 23, 1978, by Norway of "Black Bear," a maneuver involving 8,200 troops in conjunction with one other ally, which took place September 22–26, 1978, in the East Agder region of Norway.

Neutral and Nonaligned States—October 25, 1978, by Austria of a maneuver of the First Mechanized Division involving about 5,000 troops. The maneuver took place from November 13 to 17 in Lower Austria.

#### ***Exchange of Observers***

The NATO states invited CSCE participants to three of their four major maneuvers, while the Soviet Union did not invite observers to either of its two major maneuvers held in the reporting period. As sponsor of "Bla

onau," the Federal Republic of Germany extended invitations to CSCE participants, a procedure which was repeated by the United States in "Certain Shield" and the Netherlands "Saxon Drive." Neither Norway nor Austria invited observers to their smaller scale maneuvers.

#### *Major Notification of Major Military Movements*

No signatory state has given notification of a major military movement apart from a maneuver. The United States and other allies have, however, provided information on movements in the context of certain maneuver notifications. For example, the Norwegian notification of "Arctic Express" in January 1978 mentioned the deployment plans of the main units involved before and after the exercise.

#### *Change of Military Visits*

Signatory states are encouraged by the Final Act to promote exchanges among their military personnel. There were three naval visits during the period of this report. A British naval vessel visited Gdynia, Poland, between September 28 and October 2, 1978; a Soviet naval vessel visited Copenhagen October 1-6, 1978;

and an American warship called at Constanta, Romania, November 22-27, 1978.

#### *Questions Relating to Disarmament*

The Final Act makes no provision for disarmament negotiations but does express the interest of the parties in disarmament and their belief in the necessity for effective arms control. The United States is engaged in several major arms control negotiations affecting Europe. We are continuing efforts to achieve agreement in the SALT talks with the Soviet Union. The mutual and balanced force reduction (MBFR) negotiations between NATO Allies and the Warsaw Pact have continued in Vienna. The United States has also been involved in negotiations and discussions on a comprehensive nuclear test ban, chemical weapons, anti-satellite weapons, the transfer of conventional arms, and other arms control issues. In the spring the United States participated actively in the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, during which we issued a Presidential Declaration concerning the conditions under which the United States will not use nuclear weapons. The United States is now engaged in following up on the various recommendations of the Special Session.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Implementation of Basket Two: Cooperation in the Fields of Economics, of Science and Technology, and of the Environment**

Within the framework of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) numerous preparatory meetings were held in the last six months, clearing the way for follow-up activities dealing with Basket Two subjects. The U.S.-Hungarian Trade Agreement came into force and the U.S.-Romanian Agreement was extended. Overall, the volume and quality of economic and commercial information provided by the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union has still not improved. Scientific and technological exchange agreements remained active.

#### **Bilateral Economic and Commercial Activities**

During the period under review progress has varied considerably on a state-by-state basis, depending on the status of overall bilateral relations.

Soviet Union—The United States and the Soviet Union held business facilitation meetings in Washington in June 1978, hosted by Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Industry and Trade Frank A. Weil. Although the additional business facilitation meetings scheduled

for August were not held, these talks resumed in the fall. A meeting of the Joint Commercial Commission is scheduled for early December in Moscow, and the United States will again request that the Soviet Union provide a more thorough breakdown of foreign trade statistics.

Soviet provision of useful commercial information not only continued to be poor by Western standards but worsened during the review period. The statistical volume "The Soviet National Economy 1977," published in September, follows a trend toward reduced information. Five thousand fewer copies than last year were published. Planning data and some regional data have been eliminated. There are also major decreases in the statistics pertaining to population and industry.

The "Foreign Trade Yearbook" for 1977, also published in September, contains less data than in past years; some items have been dropped, others combined into less useful general categories and quantity figures for some products omitted. Both publications remain in short supply. Information explaining Soviet foreign trade laws and regulations and providing names, addresses, and functions of foreign trading organizations was relatively plentiful, although it remained very difficult to obtain from Soviet sources names, addresses, and identities of appropriate officials at end-user organizations.

Three U.S. firms wishing to do business in Moscow received accreditation from Soviet authorities, and two others had their temporary accreditation made permanent.

During this review period commercial relations were strained by the arrest for alleged currency violations of an International Harvester representative in Moscow, Francis J. Crawford. He was forcibly detained while driving with his fiancée, apparently in retaliation for the arrest in the United States of two Soviet spies. As a result of the Crawford arrest, there was a temporary slowdown in commercial activity. Mr. Crawford has since been released after a trial in which the charges against him were not, in the opinion of seasoned Western observers, proven.

Bulgaria—Much important economic data remains unavailable. Bulgaria's economic es-

tionage laws provide a wide interpretation of what constitutes an economic secret, and data supplied is therefore limited. The guiding principle regarding Bulgarian relations with the West is that assistance and information provided are directly in proportion to Bulgarian interest in a particular product or service. Even then, contacts are restricted to those individuals cleared to deal with foreigners. Foreign trade organizations are used to insulate end users from business representatives, and information regarding the personnel and structure of these organizations is difficult to obtain. Information on Bulgarian industries recently published by the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce is more helpful for tourists than for business representatives, but it is a step in the right direction.

The United States held intensive discussions with Bulgaria during the review period on a possible Agricultural Cooperation Agreement.

Czechoslovakia—In September the U.S. Czechoslovak Economic Council met in Prague. Previously unreported instances of bilateral implementation in the first half of 1978 include the granting of approval to U.S. firms to open offices in Czechoslovakia and the conclusion of a major technical and commercial cooperation agreement between an American and a Czechoslovak firm.

The relatively poor Czechoslovak performance in providing economic and commercial information showed no significant change during the period under review.

German Democratic Republic—Lists of foreign trade organizations and officials were widely available in the German Democratic Republic, as was information concerning foreign trade laws and regulations. Firms with which the German Democratic Republic has an interest in conducting business were usually able to obtain commercial information regarding pertinent projects. However, published statistical material on production continued to be available only in highly aggregated form. Data on foreign trade also remain very sketchy; 1974 was the last year for which country-by-country export figures were published. Information on the German Democra-

public's international accounts was still unavailable.

Agreement was reached between the United States and the German Democratic Republic concerning the reciprocal provision of multiple entry visas for business representatives, and the German Democratic Republic approved the establishment of offices for two more U.S. firms, bringing the total to three. A new 24-hour trade center opened in East Berlin in September, and one American firm has moved offices there.

Hungary—On July 7, 1978, the U.S.-Hungarian Trade Agreement entered into force. The Agreement reciprocally extends most-favored-nation status to each country's products, contains provisions to expand trade and facilitate commercial relations, provides extensive market disruption safeguards, and is a term of three years with provisions for renewal. Hungary has also become eligible for Export-Import Bank and Commodity Credit Corporation Credits, which should make its market more attractive to U.S. business representatives. In August, agreement was reached at the technical level on a proposed income tax treaty. The text now requires appropriate government approval on both sides. In addition, the United States and Hungary held bilateral discussions on tariff and nontariff measures within the framework of the Multilateral Trade Negotiations.

Hungary's general performance regarding the publication of economic and commercial information remained relatively good, although some types of data are still difficult to obtain. Economic projections, general statistics, lists of foreign trade entities, laws, and regulations were available. On the other hand lists of foreign trade officials and organizational charts of entities concerned with foreign trade are not as readily obtainable.

Poland—Throughout this review period there has been an active exchange of high-level visits and economic consultations. For example, in June a delegation from the Polish Ministry of Mining met with U.S. coal research specialists at the Department of Energy for discussions on cooperation in coal gasification and

modernization of Poland's mining industry. In July, Vice Minister of Agriculture Zawodzinski led a delegation to the meeting of the Joint Working Group on Agricultural Trade, held annually under the auspices of the Joint American-Polish Trade Commission. In August, Vice Minister of Finance and President of the Polish National Bank Witold Bien visited the United States at the invitation of Chairman Miller of the Federal Reserve Board.

In September, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce Jenkins traveled to Warsaw. In October, Vice Minister Zylkowski of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy led a delegation of Polish officials to the United States for talks on cooperation in shipbuilding and to discuss other bilateral maritime issues.

In November, Vice Premier Jagielski led the Polish delegation and co-chaired the eighth session of the Joint American-Polish Trade Commission meeting in Washington.

Poland's general performance regarding the publication of commercial information is reasonably good.

Romania—On August 3, 1978, the Trade Agreement between the United States and Romania was renewed for a second three-year term. The two countries have also been conducting bilateral negotiations as part of the Multilateral Trade Negotiations, and the U.S.-Romania Economic Council met in Romania in June.

In the past six months, Romania has made available new information on industrial centers and research and design institutes. However, the overall availability of statistical data, including foreign trade figures, remains poor.

### **Multilateral East-West Trade Activities in the Economic Commission for Europe**

Within the framework of the ECE, several decisions were taken to convene meetings on CSCE-related trade topics. It was agreed to recommend to the Committee on the Development of Trade that a meeting of trade experts be convened in June 1979 to consider the "Trade Aspects of the Overall Economic

Perspective for the ECE Region up to 1990." "Methods and Techniques of Market Entry for Industrial Products in East-West Trade" was chosen as the topic for the Fifth Seminar on East-West Trade Promotion and Business Contacts, to be held in the spring of 1979. In a meeting on the "Inventory of All Kinds of Obstacles to Trade" ECE members agreed to request that the Secretariat produce a final consolidation of the inventory by September 1979. The list will then become a reference for future bilateral discussions. The annual meeting of the Committee on the Development of Trade, which deals with many CSCE-related topics, took place at the close of this review period.

### Science and Technology

Exchanges under the 11 U.S.-U.S.S.R. bilateral scientific cooperation agreements continued during 1978 at about the same level as in the previous year, although there was some interruption when trials of Soviet dissidents in mid-year caused some U.S. scientists to postpone their trips and some higher level official delegations to be delayed. These actions conveyed to the Soviet Government the depth of disapproval of their actions in the U.S. official and scientific communities.

The U.S.-U.S.S.R. Transportation Agreement was renewed in June for only a two-year period, extendable for another three years. A major exchange in maritime affairs under this agreement was dropped altogether following

Soviet reluctance to arrange substantive programs in the field of icebreaking. These actions were taken to encourage the Soviets to be more forthcoming in the various projects under the agreement than they have been so far.

In general, scientific and technical cooperation with the East European States continued to encounter certain problems, including gaining access to individuals and institutions, interest and bureaucratic delays in communications, arrangements, and approvals.

### The Environment

Bilateral environmental programs with the Soviet Union and Poland continued with little change. On October 13 the United States and the Soviet Union exchanged instruments of ratification for a convention to protect 20 species of wild birds which inhabit both countries. Within the ECE, multilateral cooperation increased in several important areas. Preparatory meetings were held in order to pave the way for a possible ECE high-level meeting of environmental officials of the CSCE signatory states. A final decision on whether to hold such a meeting will not be taken until the ECE Primary (March 27-April 7, 1979) at the earliest but two subjects specified at the last plenary session as possible topics for any such meeting—Transboundary Air Pollution and Low- and Non-Waste Technology—are being examined in detail to determine whether they have reached a stage of development to warrant such a meeting.

## Chapter Four

### Questions Relating to Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean

Because of the importance of the Mediterranean area to Europe, the Final Act included a section about cooperation with that region. Before signature of the Final Act in Helsinki and again at Belgrade, nonparticipating states from the Mediterranean littoral were invited to ex-

press their views on cooperation by making an address during the opening phases of each conference.

At the initiative of the delegation from Malta, the Belgrade conference provided for a meeting of experts on the Mediterranean

convene on February 13, 1979, in Valletta, Malta. The meeting will consider the promotion of cooperation between the CSCE participants and non-European Mediterranean states

in the fields of culture, economics, and science and technology. A report to the participating governments will be prepared and will be considered at the Madrid meeting.

## Chapter Five

### Implementation of Basket Three: Cooperation in Humanitarian and Other Fields

Basket Three of the Final Act was negotiated with Western insistence in an attempt to break down the barriers which have divided Europe since the Second World War. It commits the signatories to encourage a freer flow of people, goods, and information. Basket Three calls for specific actions in the areas of human contacts, information, culture, and education.

The degree of implementation of Basket Three varies considerably, although all CSCE participants have made some progress in this area. The most success has been achieved in the area of reunification of families. The provisions of Basket Three concerning information are the least observed.

#### Human Contacts

The human contact section calls for facilitation of family contacts and reunification, marriage between citizens of different states, travel for personal or professional reasons, religious contacts, tourism, meetings among young people, and sports.

#### *Family Reunification and Visits*

During this reporting period there have been encouraging developments in the rate of family reunification and the resolution of some divided family cases. Nevertheless, emigration for whatever reason remains a risky and complicated procedure in most of the Eastern states, which do not recognize the right to emigrate. Application for permission to emigrate can entail loss of employment and related benefits and other

forms of harassment. It is impossible to estimate the extent to which these factors deter people from seeking to emigrate.

Eastern governments continue to withhold exit permits as a means of punishing relatives of individuals whom they consider to have left the country illegally or who reside abroad and criticize their governments. For example, Soviet authorities have refused permission for the family of chess grandmaster Victor Korchnoi to visit him in the West. Similarly, the Czechoslovak Government has not permitted the parents and sister of tennis star Martina Navratilova to visit her.

The U.S. Government has an important interest in reuniting the families of American citizens and frequently intercedes with the responsible governments when permission to emigrate is denied. The accompanying table shows the number of cases involving requests for family reunification through emigration to the United States which had been refused one or more times and which remained pending as of November 1, 1978.

The following is a more detailed discussion of the divided family situation.

Soviet Union—The number of Soviet citizens documented for emigration to the United States fell during the first half of 1978, largely because Soviet authorities employed stricter criteria in issuing passports to Armenians. U.S. consular officials processed 902 Soviet citizens for emigration to the United States in the first six months of 1978, compared to 999 in the same period a year earlier. The number

## Divided Family Cases

	<u>Immediate Families<sup>1</sup></u>		<u>Non-immediate Families<sup>2</sup></u>	
	<u>Cases</u>	<u>Individuals</u>	<u>Cases</u>	<u>Individuals</u>
Bulgaria <sup>3</sup> .....	25	—	—	—
Czechoslovakia .....	12	24	14	28
German Democratic Republic ...	1	1	12	27
Hungary .....	1	1	1	3
Poland .....	228	413	833	2,439
Romania <sup>3</sup> .....	208	666	—	—
U.S.S.R. <sup>3</sup> .....	112	329	—	—

<sup>1</sup> An immediate family is defined as spouses and their minor children.

<sup>2</sup> A divided non-immediate family involves the separation of more distant relatives, such as brothers or sisters.

<sup>3</sup> The totals include both immediate and non-immediate families.

of Armenians fell from 729 to 427. It now requires from 12 to 15 months or more for a Soviet Armenian to receive exit permission.

While the Soviet Union's issuance of permanent exit visas for the United States declined, the rate of emigration of Soviet Jews grew considerably. If the present trend continues, more than 25,000 Soviet Jews will be allowed to emigrate this year—the highest figure since 1973 when 33,500 were permitted to leave. Most of these emigrants settle in Israel or the United States.

While most first-time Jewish applicants appear to receive exit visas, there has been little improvement in the plight of those who have previously been refused permission to emigrate—the so-called “refuseniks.” Indeed, a Soviet court on June 21 sentenced two of the most prominent refuseniks, Vladimir Slepak and Ida Nudel, to five and four years, respectively, of internal exile in remote areas. Both were charged with “malicious hooliganism” for hanging banners from their apartments pleading for permission to emigrate to Israel. Mrs. Slepak, who is ill, was given a suspended sentence on the same charge. Forty-three U.S. Senators wrote Soviet President Brezhnev to protest the sentences.

The American Embassy has repeatedly in-

terceded with Soviet authorities on behalf of Soviet citizens refused permission to emigrate to the United States. Fifteen of these cases were resolved during the first half of the year but even more have arisen subsequently.

During his visit to the U.S.S.R. in September, Senator Edward Kennedy received assurances that permission would be granted for 18 Soviet families to emigrate or travel abroad. Some have been contacted by Soviet authorities to complete processing. The family of Boris Katz is among this group. Katz' infant daughter suffers from a rare digestive disease which he believes can be treated successfully only in the United States. The family had previously been refused exit visas. Senator Kennedy also interceded on behalf of the prominent physicist Benjamin Levich, who had been denied permission to emigrate since 1971. Formerly a professor, Levich had been demoted to researcher when he applied to emigrate.

Although the number of permits for emigration to the United States declined, Soviet authorities permitted more temporary family visits. In the first six months of the year, 79 Soviet citizens received visas to visit relatives in the United States compared to 729 in the first half of 1977.

Bulgaria—The Bulgarian Government appeared to make a concerted effort before the Belgrade follow-up conference to resolve divided family cases. All but two of the 72 cases which the United States had raised before August 1977 have been resolved. In 1978, however, Bulgarian authorities have been less forthcoming. Only three of the 25 cases raised at the American Embassy in April 1978 have been resolved.

Czechoslovakia—Czechoslovakia has been somewhat more forthcoming than before in facilitating family reunification and contacts. The number of divided immediate families who are experiencing difficulty in emigrating to the United States has dropped from 29 in June 1977 and should shortly reach 10.

German Democratic Republic—The G.D.R. Government harasses applicants for emigration; loss of employment or demotion to a penal position is common punishment. One East German was even imprisoned after applying for permission to join his sister in the United States. The German Democratic Republic has, nevertheless, acted favorably to resolve most of the family reunification cases in which the American Embassy has intervened. Pensioners have a relatively easy time obtaining permission to emigrate or travel abroad, because they are no longer productively employed. Some 10,000 East Germans, mostly pensioners, are allowed to emigrate to the West annually. Pensioners also constitute most of the 1.4 million East Germans who visit the West each year. Younger East Germans are allowed to go to the West only for pressing family matters like births, deaths, and weddings.

Hungary—Hungary has continued its relatively forthcoming family reunification policies. The American Embassy is interceding on behalf of only two divided families at present, and other Western countries have had similarly favorable experiences in reuniting divided families this year.

The Hungarian Government does not penalize its citizens who apply for emigration. Difficulties, if any, appear limited to refusal of permission rather than such sanctions as

loss of employment. Hungary refuses about 10 percent of applications for permission to emigrate. Most of the refusals involve relatives of Hungarians who remained abroad illegally after receiving permission only for temporary stays. Refused applicants who persist usually obtain permission eventually.

Hungary apparently liberalized its travel regulations in October. Effective January 1, 1979, the new legislation will provide for Hungarians who emigrated for political reasons to obtain regular Hungarian passports to visit their homeland without special permission and for their relatives still in Hungary to visit them abroad.

Poland—The Polish Government continues to deny exit permission for a large number of divided families. Between April 1 and October 1, the American Embassy interceded on behalf of 90 new cases of divided immediate families to which Polish authorities had refused emigration passports. (This number was approximately 20 percent greater than in the previous six months.) Seventy-two divided family cases in which the American Embassy had earlier interceded were resolved favorably during this six month period. Although this represents some progress, a large number of persons is still waiting for exit permission. The divided family issue is one of the most troubling in U.S.-Polish relations and is a frequent subject of discussion between the two countries.

Romania—Romanian authorities have continued to allow the emigration of many people on whose behalf the American Embassy intercedes. The Embassy presents quarterly representation lists containing the names of Romanians who wish to emigrate to the United States and are qualified for American visas but who have experienced difficulty in obtaining passports. The list presented by our Embassy in March contained 155 cases (384 persons). By the end of June, 61 of these cases had been resolved, and by the end of September only 31 were still pending. The latest list, presented in October, contains 114 cases (279 persons).

In addition to regular immigrant visa is-

suance, the Embassy has assisted a rapidly growing number of Romanians who do not qualify for regular American visas to depart for Rome, where they are processed for entry into the United States as refugees. Approximately 85 percent of these immigrants have relatives in the United States. The following table shows the growth in this category of immigrants.

<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>1978 (9 mos.)</u>
41	172	397	540

Romanian authorities have also allowed ethnic Germans to emigrate at an annual rate of about 10,000, and Jewish emigration has continued at the same level as last year—1,400.

While the Romanian Government has been more forthcoming in permitting emigration to the United States, it has also issued emigration passports to a growing number of applicants who are ineligible to enter the United States under American law. Unable to leave Romania, these people suffer severe hardships because of the penalties, such as loss of employment, which face Romanians who apply for emigration.

### ***Binational Marriages***

The Final Act encourages the approval of marriages between citizens of different countries. Nevertheless, as of November, we are aware of the following cases in which permission had been denied for marriage between American citizens and citizens of Warsaw Pact states or in which the possibility of marriage had been precluded by denial of visas to prospective spouses:

Bulgaria	0
Czechoslovakia	6
G.D.R.	3
Hungary	1
Poland	0
Romania	35
U.S.S.R.	7

Romania continues to place formidable barriers in the way of binational marriages, including the requirement that each marriage be approved at the highest level of the government. Romanian performance improved, how-

ever, after President Ceausescu's visit to the United States in April.

### ***Travel for Personal or Professional Reasons***

In spite of the Final Act's statement that participants intend to facilitate travel by the citizens, the Warsaw Pact states continue restrictive policies which make travel a privilege and not a right. When permission to travel abroad is granted, the traveler must frequently leave behind family members who in effect serve as hostages.

Hungary has relatively lenient travel controls, and it has further liberalized its practice by concluding an agreement with Austria for the mutual elimination of visa requirements which will take effect next January. Hungarians will, however, still need exit permission from their own government in order to travel. The main effect of the agreement is expected to be an increase in the number of Austrians visiting Hungary. Last year roughly 400,000 of the Hungarian population of 10 million traveled to the West.

In contrast to the imprisonment of Shcharanskiy, Orlov, Ginzburg, and others, the Soviet Union dealt with two other dissident intellectuals by granting permission for them to travel to the West. Physicist Sergei Polikanov was allowed to travel with his family to Denmark. Polikanov had joined the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group after the conviction of Anatoliy Shcharanskiy. Because of criticism of the Soviet regime Polikanov had previously been barred from doing research in Switzerland with Western scientists, expelled from the Communist Party, and dismissed from his job as head of a research laboratory.

Soviet authorities also reversed a previous refusal and granted permission for Professor Aleksandr Zinoviev to accept a post at Munksgaard University, accompanied by his family. After publication of his novel *The Yawning Heights* which satirizes Soviet society, Zinoviev had been dismissed from his position at the Soviet Academy of Sciences and lost his chair at Moscow State University.

Czechoslovak authorities have given tourist passports and exit visas to Charter '77 mem-

rel Kohout and his wife for a short trip abroad. Authorities had previously insisted that he would be given exit permission only if he agreed not to return for several years. Kohout arrived in Vienna on October 28 to work as a consultant for a theater. He denied any intention to emigrate.

An increase in the denial of visas to Americans wishing to visit Poland has affected relations with that country. In one case a couple desiring to adopt a child had been invited by a Polish adoption agency to come to Poland to make arrangements, but government authorities denied them visas. In another case an American professor desiring to deliver a scholarly paper was refused a visa. Polish authorities have reconsidered some of these cases when they have been appealed.

Paragraph Three of the Final Act calls not only for freer travel between states but also for freer movement by foreigners within each country. The Soviet Union announced a liberalization of travel restrictions in January, but the change has proved to mean little in practice. Requests by American diplomats to travel to the newly opened areas are generally denied "for reasons of a temporary nature," and large portions of the Soviet Union remain effectively closed to foreigners. The United States maintains reciprocal travel restrictions with Soviet diplomats but favors an end to all such controls.

### *Religious Contacts and Information*

This section of the Final Act confirms the desirability of contacts and the exchange of information among representatives of religious communities. The governments of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have shown varying degrees of toleration of religious activity and international contacts. Since the signature of the Final Act, there has been an encouraging trend toward somewhat greater tolerance, and this has continued during the reporting period. The American evangelist Billy Graham visited Poland in October, paralleling the successful trip he had made in Hungary last year. Rabbi Eliezer Schneier led a delegation from the Appeal of Conscience Foundation to Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and the Soviet

Union in June. The Foundation seeks to increase religious freedom in the world.

His Holiness Maxim, Patriarch of the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church, visited the United States in September to consecrate two new churches and meet with congregations of the Church.

The German Democratic Republic allowed religious leaders from that country to travel to the West to attend the World Council of Churches meeting, the World Mennonite Conference, and the assembly of the Women's Christian Fellowship.

Three leaders of the officially sanctioned Baptist Church in the Soviet Union were allowed to travel to the United States to visit Baptist churches. However, members of the unregistered Baptist Church, which refuses to accept official restrictions on religious expression, are not permitted to travel. Their leader is currently in prison.

Religious persecution in the Soviet Union coupled with restrictive emigration policies caused a large family of Pentecostals to seek refuge in the American Embassy in Moscow. They entered the consulate in June and have refused to leave until Soviet authorities grant them permission to emigrate. Several thousand Pentecostals have applied unsuccessfully to emigrate from the Soviet Union because of religious persecution.

### *Tourism, Meetings Among Young People, and Sports*

In spite of the growth in contacts due to tourism, youth meetings, and sports competitions, travel between East and West continued to be characterized by restrictive practices in the East. Far more Westerners travel to Eastern countries than the reverse. Most Eastern tourists are given permission only to visit other Communist countries, and they are rarely allowed to travel with their entire families to the West. One exception to this traditional pattern, however is the recent Hungarian practice of organizing more group tours to the United States, with the cost payable in forints. In 1975 only two or three such tours were organized each year; now approximately 25 are sent. These tours make trips to the United States

possible for Hungarians who have no relatives or friends abroad to pay the cost in hard currency.

### Information

In this part of Basket Three, the signatories express their intention to improve the circulation and availability of information and to improve working conditions for journalists.

### Dissemination of Information

There has been little change during the reporting period in Eastern practices. Western periodicals are in chronically short supply in Eastern Europe, with technical journals more available than other types. When available at all, Western newspapers and magazines are generally sold only in major hotels and other locations frequented by Western tourists. While substantial numbers of Western books are imported and published in Eastern Europe, they are selected for their compatibility with Marxist ideology or their technical value and are unrepresentative of Western output. Ideological suitability is also necessary for Soviet and East European writers to be published in their homelands, although some countries tolerate the circulation in limited quantities of unofficial publications. Hungary appears to have broken new ground recently in that a number of articles written by Hungarian scholars now living in the West have appeared in Hungarian publications. In general, however, the governments of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe continue to restrict severely the selection of writings and ideas available to their citizens.

In Czechoslovakia, an underground press has flourished despite official censorship. Twenty leading Czechoslovak writers, however, have charged in a letter to the government that the authorities have repudiated the informal understanding which had permitted the unofficial press to publish works which do not challenge "the socialist system." The letter was a reaction to the arrest during the summer of novelist and poet Jiri Grusa, who was charged with "incitement" because of this critical novel, *The Questionnaire*.

Western radio broadcasts provide an alternative source of information for the people of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, but jamming remains a problem. Hungary and Romania have good records in this respect. Hungary does not jam foreign broadcasts. Foreign radio can be received throughout the country and foreign television in the West parts. The German Democratic Republic increased its jamming of the American operated Radio in the American Sector (RI) of Berlin, but most of the country can receive F.R.G. commercial television and radio as well as foreign shortwave broadcasts. The Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and, to some extent, Poland continue to jam Radio Liberty or Radio Free Europe. Such jamming is contrary to pledges made at Helsinki to improve the dissemination of broadcast information.

### Working Conditions for Journalists

Working conditions for journalists deteriorated considerably during the reporting period. Soviet authorities brought slander charges against two American reporters, Craig Whitely of the *New York Times* and Harold Piper of the *Baltimore Sun*, for stories they had filed which quoted unnamed sources as questioning the authenticity of the televised confession of a dissident in Soviet Georgia. Piper and Whitely were accused of slandering the State Television and Radio Committee, which controls Soviet media, and were ordered to retract their stories and pay court costs. Although ultimately dropped, these charges seem designed to intimidate Western reporters covering the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union refused to issue visas to four Norwegian journalists to cover the visit to Moscow of a Norwegian official. In addition, Soviet authorities refused to extend the visa to Austrian journalist Erhard Hutter on grounds that he had engaged in illegal business transactions. The Austrian Foreign Minister characterized the incident as a violation of the Helsinki Final Act.

Soviet authorities also interfered with the practice of journalism on several other occasions. They refused to transmit photos and coverage of Soviet citizen Irina McClellan.

When she attempted to chain herself to a gate of the American Embassy in June to protest denial of permission to join her American husband in the United States. An American correspondent was prevented from filming the departure of businessman Francis Crawford from Portovovo prison, and several journalists were blocked up as they attempted to cover a demonstration by American tourists against nuclear testing.

The G.D.R. Government continues to deny accreditation to American journalists who remain in West Berlin or the Federal Republic of Germany. The German Democratic Republic also excluded an increasing number of U.S. reporters by denying them visas. Journalists who are admitted are required to hire a driver, and escort-interpreter even though they may speak fluent German.

Czechoslovak authorities expelled Belgian journalist Hugo Camps after detaining him for several days in August. Camps had met with Czechoslovak dissidents. An F.R.G. television correspondent, Helmut Clemens, had been expelled for the same reason in July.

Polish authorities denied visas for travel to the United States for the investiture of the new Pope to the editors of the Catholic monthly *Wież*, an editor of the Catholic weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny*, and a member of the Catholic intellectual group "Znak."

### **Cooperation and Exchanges in the Fields of Culture and Education**

This section of Basket Three commits the member countries to facilitate cultural and educational exchanges, improve access to cultural achievements, expand contacts between educational institutions, increase international scientific cooperation, and encourage the study of foreign languages.

#### **General Considerations**

Exchange programs in the fields of culture and education continued at about the same level as before, although progress has been hampered with certain countries. The size of exchange programs decreased during the report-

ing period, for several reasons. Summer is generally a slow time, as schools and research institutions operate at less than full capacity. In addition some decisionmaking delays occurred in programs with the Soviet Union. It is not clear whether the slowdown was due to the general state of U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations or to bureaucratic inefficiency. The last of these semiannual reports showed an abnormally large number of high-level Soviet Union delegations in the United States, because a previous logjam had just broken.

On a more negative note, the Polish and Romanian governments have denied passports to some intellectuals invited to the United States under various programs, and some U.S. institutions told sponsoring agencies that they would no longer accept Soviet exchange students. New York University made clear that its decision was a matter of conscience in light of the trials of Shcharanskiy, Orlov, and Ginzburg.

### **Culture**

#### **Books and Publishing**

The United States has received frequent complaints about the difficulty of getting foreign language books translated into English and published in this country. To assist in solving this problem, the International Communication Agency (ICA) helped sponsor or offered assistance to delegations from Poland and Romania which came here to study the American market.

Several Soviet and Eastern European writers came to the United States during the reporting period. East German Jurek Becker is writer-in-residence at Oberlin College. Another East German, Eberhard Panitz, participated in the Iowa International Writing Program for four months. Viktor Rozov, a writer from the Soviet Union, completed a three-week stint as writer-in-residence at the University of Kansas, which now brings two Soviet Union writers to the United States each year.

#### **Films and Broadcasting**

"The Unknown War," a 22-part series on the Eastern front in World War II, will be aired on U.S. commercial television. The series, nar-

rated by Burt Lancaster, is a joint U.S.-Soviet production which made extensive use of archival material in both countries. The series was previewed in Washington at the Kennedy Center and the Archives early in the fall.

A Soviet film, *Slave of Love*, was shown in Washington and other cities around the country and received generally good reviews. An American movie, *The End*, however, drew strong criticism from Poland and Polish-Americans for its use of Polish jokes which in their view, violates the spirit of the Final Act.

The American Film Institute held a Czechoslovak film festival at the Kennedy Center in June. The films shown had been produced in Czechoslovakia in the 1960's.

The Public Broadcasting Service carried two series containing programs on Eastern Europe. A series on religion contained a segment about the church in Romania entitled "The Romanian Solution." The series "Faces of Communism" included a report on Czechoslovakia. In addition, WETA, Channel 26 in Washington, cooperated with the Polish and Romanian Embassies on programs. Washington's WGMS radio station included several East European countries in its weekly series which salutes the music of different nations.

In September, two Soviet cinematographers attended a conference in the United States. ICA offered International Visitor (IV) grants to the pair for further travel after the conference, but their government did not permit them to accept.

At the Leipzig Festival in the German Democratic Republic, American films were shown and one of the judges was from the United States. In addition, an American Film Week was held in the German Democratic Republic, one of our first cultural presentations there.

### Performing Arts

As usual, this was one of the most active categories. A great number of artists traveled to or from the United States.

One of the most innovative programs was held at the University of Minnesota, where an exhibit entitled "The Art of Russia 1800-1850" is being held. In conjunction with the exhibit, the University held a series of lectures and

symposia, staged two Russian plays at the University theater, and held a Russian film festival. The Guthrie Theater staged Gogol's "Marriage," directed by the Soviet director Anatoly Efros, who had directed the same play in Moscow. The Civic Orchestra of Minneapolis, Schubert Club, the Minnesota Opera Company, the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra, and the St. Paul Civic Symphony all presented concerts of Russian music. The program was given in part by a grant by the National Endowment for the Humanities, and ICA helped with facilities assistance and a grant-in-aid to the University. Soviet First Deputy Minister of Culture Barabash opened the Festival. The art exhibit will travel to Michigan, Wisconsin, Chicago and Washington, D.C. after it leaves Minnesota.

The German Democratic Republic Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra, under the direction of Kurt Masur and accompanied by pianist Peter Rosel, appeared in several American cities in October and November. Highlights of the tour were performances at Carnegie Hall and the Kennedy Center.

In October the first U.S.-U.S.S.R. Theater Seminar was held in New York and San Francisco, with eight Soviet specialists participating. They later traveled to San Francisco, Los Angeles, Washington, and Providence.

The Warsaw Mime Theater performed in Washington in November.

Romanian Liviu Ciulei directed and designed *Spring Awakening*, which played at Joseph Papp's off-Broadway Public Theater. *Newsweek* reviewed the play, and Ciulei received enthusiastic praise for his work. Ciulei also staged Russian playwright Nicolai Gogol's *The Inspector* at New York's Circle in the Square Theater.

The first Bulgarian music student to study in the United States under the new government exchange agreement has begun five months of piano study at the Julliard School of Music. The Sofia Philharmonic Orchestra is now touring the United States and the Los Angeles Philharmonic recently visited Sofia.

### Exhibits

An exhibit from the German Democratic

public entitled "The Splendor of Dresden" highlighted the opening of the new East Wing of the National Gallery of Art. The Culture Minister of the German Democratic Republic named the exhibit, which received extensive favorable reviews and attracted considerable public attention. The exhibit has since come to New York and will appear in San Francisco in 1979. The Public Broadcasting System aired an hour-long film on the exhibit. G.D.R. museums also loaned many pieces to the Brooklyn Museum for its current display of pian treasures, and G.D.R. experts on the period assisted in planning the exhibit.

In September the Polish Ambassador opened an exhibit of Polish poster art in Baltimore. The show later traveled to Indiana.

ICA's "Agriculture USA" exhibit continued tour the Soviet Union, and ICA's "Photography USA" exhibit appeared in Sofia and Plovdiv, Bulgaria.

#### Exchange Visits by Specialists

As mentioned before, there were some indications that the Soviet Union was placing roadblocks in the path of exchange programs. The Young Scholar/Junior Faculty Program, sponsored by the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), fell to its lowest point in three years with 43 participants from each country. The Soviet Union has delayed responding to the applications of six American nominees. On the other hand, the U.S.S.R. did accept all of the U.S. nominees for IREX's Junior Exchange Program.

Among other IREX programs is an exchange with the German Democratic Republic in which 12 G.D.R. scholars and professors are participating.

In September the mayors of Atlanta, Fresno, St. Louis, and Birmingham visited the Soviet Union as guests of the Soviet Friendship Societies. A delegation from the American Council of Young Political Leaders (ACYPL) visited the Soviet Union in June.

Paul Zinner, an American politico-military expert, participated in a roundtable discussion at the German Democratic Republic's Institute for International Relations in July. He dis-

cussed aspects of detente and the mutual and balanced force reduction negotiations.

The First Conference on the Educational Role of Law was held at Harvard in October. Arranged by IREX, the program was part of the series of exchanges between the American Council of Learned Societies and the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

The son-in-law of Roswell Garst, who had received Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev on his Iowa farm, was invited to the U.S.S.R. to lecture on agriculture at the U.S.A.-Canada Institute. He will also tour the Soviet Union, inspecting farms and agricultural institutions.

A 4-H delegation traveled to the Soviet Union in June for 10 weeks. The 12 participants lived with Soviet families and observed Soviet agriculture.

### *Education*

#### Exchanges, Educational Programs, and Visits

During the reporting period the National Education Association (NEA) invited four Soviet teachers to the United States. They visited schools and local NEA chapters and attended NEA's annual meeting.

In September, ICA sponsored a very successful one-day seminar on Romanian Studies in the United States attended by 42 people, 37 of whom represented American institutions interested in offering such a program.

A delegation from the Soviet Ministry of Education attended an ICA-sponsored seminar on cognitive learning at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) in November, as part of an exchange of seminars in primary and secondary education.

### Science

Experts from CSCE countries held a meeting in Bonn in June and July to prepare for the Scientific Forum envisioned in the Final Act. Based on the experts' report, the participating governments agreed to hold the Forum in Hamburg, Federal Republic of Germany, in February 1980. It will bring together "leading personalities in science," and the agenda will focus on problems of research and international contact and communication.

In October the National Academy of Sci-

ences and the G.D.R. Academy of Sciences signed an agreement to exchange four research scientists each year. In conjunction with the signing, a delegation of G.D.R. scientists visited universities and research facilities in the United States.

U.S.-Polish scientific cooperation moved ahead when Barbara Blum Deputy Director of the Environmental Protection Agency, visited Poland in September to discuss cooperation in environmental questions. HEW Secretary Joseph Califano also went to Poland to discuss with Polish officials ways of expanding joint research on health and rehabilitation.

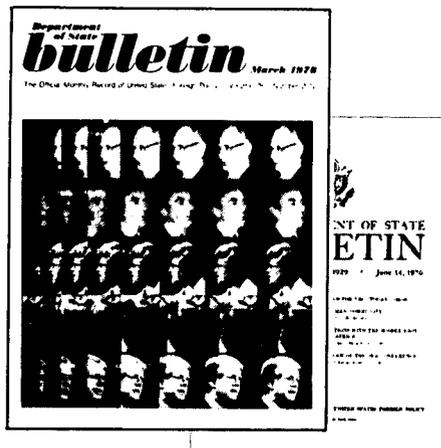
#### Language

On September 15 the President named 21 persons to the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies

(the Simon Commission). They join four members of Congress on the Commission, which developed out of the provisions in the Fulbright Act calling on each signatory to encourage the study of foreign languages and cultures. James A. Perkins of the International Council for Educational Development was designated chairman.

With regard to exchange programs, American teachers of Russian and Soviet teachers of English participated in an exchange this summer. The first Czechoslovak lecturer in the United States is currently at the University of Virginia teaching Slavic languages, and an American professor is lecturing on American literature at various universities in Hungary. A Bulgarian professor is teaching at UCLA, while an American teaches at Veliko Turnovo University in Bulgaria.

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