

N A T O C O N F I D E N T I A L

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To: Members of the Political Committee

From: Acting Chairman

Subject: Implementation of the Final Act of the CSCE
Eighth Report by the Political Committee

Attached is a draft report of the Political Committee reviewing implementation of the Final Act by East European countries covering the period 1st November, 1978 to 1st May, 1979.

This is the eighth of a series of documents and following directly on C-M(78)88 of 29th November, 1978.

(Signed) L. HEICHLER

This document includes 1 Annex.

N A T O C O N F I D E N T I A L

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE CSCE

Eighth Report by the Political Committee
(1st November, 1978 - 1st May, 1979)

Review of Implementation by the East European states

I. Introduction

1. At its meeting on 1st October, 1975 the Council agreed that reports on those aspects of the implementation of the Final Act of the CSCE which have a particular importance for members of the Alliance could be prepared by the Political Committee. At the Council at the level of Foreign Ministers in December, 1978 the Permanent Council was charged with a continued review of the Final Act implementation through the semi-annual reports, prepared on this subject.

This is the eighth such report and it covers the period from the 1st November, 1978 until 1st May, 1979.

2. It is recommended that the Council take note of this report.

II. General Analysis

A. General Trends in Implementation by East European countries

3. Since the last report on the review of implementation the trends have basically not changed.

Some progress can be observed in the field of human contacts, albeit slow and erratic. Weak spots remain in human rights and information. No important developments took place in the field of human rights. In the information sector some deterioration has to be noted.

4. The general upward trend in the field of human contacts continues, but slowly and with marginal improvements. Poland and Hungary continued to improve their record in all

aspects of human contacts. In Czechoslovakia improvement was noted with regard to family visits, since the "normalisation" of the illegal emigrants is beginning to have some effect. In Romania an improvement of the record of binational marriages was observed since the Belgrade Meeting, although these marriages still have to be approved by the Council of State and through Presidential decree. Although in the USSR the procedure for an exit visa for family visits, family reunification or travel remains one of the most difficult, hazardous and longest in Eastern Europe, a slight improvement can be discerned since the signature of the Final Act. GDR policy versus human contacts remains unchanged, very restrictive and capricious. Negative developments are reported from Bulgaria. The attitude of the Bulgarian government toward family reunification cases was marked by a definite hardening.

5. The situation in the field of human rights did not improve, although no major trials were held during the reporting period.

In the USSR the persecution and harassment of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups is going on. More than twenty members of these groups are now in prison.

The groups nevertheless continue to exist and function in reduced form.

In April five leading dissidents, Ginsburg, Kuznetsov, Moroz, Dymshits and Vins were released from prison and flown to the United States being exchanged for two Soviet spies.

In Czechoslovakia pressure on signatories of Charter 77 has equally continued. For that reason the spokesmen, who bear the brunt of this pressure, change about every six months. One of the leaders, Vaclav Sabata, was sentenced in January to nine months imprisonment. His lawyer has since been debarred from practising. The Charter movement is, nevertheless, still active and issued various discussion documents, ventilating subjects of public concern (for example nuclear power industry). In Poland the harassment of dissidents continued and took a turn for the worse. Lectures within the framework of the

"Flying University" were infiltrated by groups of well-trained young people, who tried to dominate discussions along officially approved propaganda lines.

Attention was drawn to the situation of the human rights in Romania by the report of Amnesty International. There seems to be a growing tendency by the Romanian authorities to disregard the Western complaints because they seem to consider their independent position within the Warsaw Pact as a compensation.

6. In the field of information it is still difficult to discern any sign of implementation. The availability of, and accessibility to, Western newspapers remains practically nil in all East European countries.

Working conditions for journalists have improved since the signature of the Final Act, but these improvements were mostly related to procedural matters of accreditation and seldom led to easier access to sources of information. The accessibility of substantive information remains very low in all East European countries.

Of late the working conditions for journalists have taken a turn for the worse in some countries.

In Czechoslovakia accreditation of Czechoslovak nationals working for Western agencies - previously a formality - now is no longer automatic.

In the GDR a flagrant deterioration took place in April when the East German authorities issued a new decree, stipulating that accredited foreign journalists may no longer interview or question people without official permission, and that they must register with the authorities all trips they want to take outside East Berlin 24 hours beforehand, giving the journeys' destination and purposes.

There are indications that Poland is requiring foreign journalists who want to cover the visit of Pope John Paul II in June to pay a tax of \$350 on top of heavy fees for accommodation and services. Poland's urgent need for hard currency could be a partial explanation for this measure.

7. The reports on the co-operation in the field of culture and education have a more positive tone. Especially for Czechoslovakia and Hungary, improvements are reported in cultural co-operation. Czechoslovakia shows increased willingness to accept cultural exchanges and to discuss and to take into account reciprocal interests while arranging these exchanges. In Hungary, university instructors and professors got permission to obtain books from the US libraries in Hungary. In the field of education the reports indicate in general that the possibilities for foreign scholars and students do not give rise to complaints. An exception was reported from the USSR, where the problems over visas of academic visitors and over access to open archival material have increased.

8. In the framework of the Confidence Building Measures two major military manoeuvres have been notified by the USSR: Druzhiba 1979, a combined Czechoslovak-Soviet manoeuvre and a Soviet manoeuvre in Carpathia. No observers have been invited. It should be noted that since the Belgrade Meeting no observers have been invited any more. As far as the notification of Druzhiba 1979 is concerned, there are some questions about its confidence building value, as the manoeuvre took place largely outside the area that could be inferred from the localities mentioned in the notification, that is to say, it was held nearer to the Czechoslovak-German border. Moreover, it was accompanied by a press campaign accusing NATO of mounting provocative military exercises close to the Czechoslovak border.

9. Implementation of the Economic Chapter of the Final Act during the period under review appears to have made continued modest improvement in some of the East European countries and to have deteriorated in the USSR. In Eastern Europe, Poland and Hungary continue to lead the way in the number of positive steps they have taken which serve to fulfil Chapter II commitments,

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both have given continued encouragement to the expansion of joint venture arrangements, and during the reporting period Poland had provided more information to Western banks than ever before on its financial situation. Hungary and Czechoslovakia have eased access to end-users and commercial officials. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, there has been a marked deterioration of conditions for foreign firms as the result of a new tax decree, higher rents, and a requirement, not yet implemented, that local employees be paid in convertible currency. In addition, both the amount of foreign trade data and the frequency of industrial production figures have been curtailed.

10. The more aggressively defensive attitude signalled in the last report continued. Not surprisingly, this tendency manifests itself most in those countries which bear the brunt of Western criticism - Czechoslovakia and the USSR. Despite their insistence on the Vith principle, meaning in the East European interpretation non-interference in internal affairs, (the text of the Final Act, however, only refers to armed intervention or the threat of such intervention or any other act of military or of political, economic or any coercion), they continue to denounce the human rights situation in the Western countries and more specifically in the United States. But of late these attacks are no longer limited to human rights. Thus the Soviet Deputy Minister of the Interior, Shumilin, declared in an interview that "it is well known that it is precisely in the United States that the rules and restrictions on receiving visas and crossing frontiers are stricter in any other country which signed the Final Act".

In the monthly publication of the Soviet journalists, Zjournalist, working conditions of Soviet journalists in a number of CSCE countries are characterised as seriously hampering their work. This more aggressive attitude coincides with a more active policy of the Soviet Union versus the coming CSCE Follow-up Meeting in Madrid.

B. Multilateral CSCE process

11. During the period under review the second and third of the experts meetings decided upon at the Belgrade Meeting were held.

The "Meeting of experts foreseen by the Final Act of the CSCE in order to pursue the examination and elaboration of a generally acceptable method for peaceful settlement of disputes, aimed at complementing existing methods" took place in Montreux from 31st October to 11th December, 1978.

The meeting of experts on the Mediterranean took place in La Valletta from 13th February to 26th March, 1979.

The Montreux Meeting adopted a recommendation to consider at the Madrid Meeting the possibility of convening another expert meeting to pursue the work.

The Valletta Meeting, in which the Non-participating Mediterranean States were represented only by Egypt and Israel, adopted the recommendation that the governments of the CSCE participating states envisage within their possibilities and interests, through their participation in international organisations and in their bilateral and multilateral relations with the participating states and with the NPMS, a number of measures in the field of economics, science and culture.

The attitude of the East European countries at both meetings was rather passive but non-polemic. Although differences of policy and interest appeared, there was also a willingness to negotiate a positive result.

Given the outcome, albeit limited, of the meetings and the atmosphere in which they took place, they can be considered as a useful contribution to the continuation of the CSCE process.

COUNTRY IMPLEMENTATION

1. Bulgaria

- (a) The general impression of a cooling down of Bulgaria's interest in implementation of the Final Act persists. During the reporting period this was marked specifically by a hardening of the official attitude toward cases of family reunification.
- (b) (i) There was no change in policy with regard to the Declaration of Principles.
(ii) Bulgaria did not participate in the implementation of the Confidence Building Measures.
- (c) There has been no noticeable change in Bulgaria's implementation of the economic provisions since the last reporting period. Foreign business contacts continue to be restricted mainly to Bulgaria's foreign trade organisations, and useful economic and commercial information remains generally lacking, or extremely late in being published. Emphasis continues to be placed on co-operative arrangements in order to conserve extremely scarce convertible currency. Joint ventures with foreign firms continue to be permitted in Bulgaria, but without the rights of foreign ownership - only participation in management and limited repatriation of profits.
- (d) In the field of human contacts the Bulgarian policy is increasingly restrictive. When leaving the country for family reunification and emigration in general, a new impediment is introduced by the requirement that all emigration must occur on the basis of official permission to be released from Bulgarian citizenship.

The Bulgarian interpretation of the concept "family" has become narrower, so that it does not comprise brothers and sisters anymore. Moreover there are indications that the Bulgarian authorities have enlarged the categories of persons to whom permission for family reunification will be refused anyhow. These now comprise persons with a "fascist past", political criminals, common criminals and illegal emigrants. For family visits also a new procedure is introduced as the inviting party has to process the invitation via Bulgarian embassies and the invited party has to apply to the internal authorities.

- (e) Bulgarian performance in the field of information, which improved during the Belgrade Meeting, has now slipped back to the pre-Belgrade level of practically no availability of Western newspapers, which a notable exception of the Süddeutsche Zeitung, whose availability has increased.
- There are relatively few visiting foreign journalists, who are in general treated correctly, although Bulgarian response to requests for access to information and persons is often so limited as to be professionally useless.
- (f) With regard to co-operation in the field of culture and education, Bulgaria has quite a good record in the sphere of access and exchanges in the field of education, provided that the subjects of study of visiting scholars and students are of a non-controversial, non-sensitive nature.
- The number of exchanges increases. Where there are problems they tend to be caused by administrative inefficiency rather than a lack of good-will.

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2. Czechoslovakia

- (a) In general the implementation performance of Czechoslovakia is unchanged, and its record remains poor. Some improvements are to be noted, but they must be seen in the context of a desire to improve the bilateral relationship with a particular country. The state of bilateral relations with a particular country remains the main incentive for implementation for Czechoslovakia. As a consequence progress is erratic and slow.
- (b) (i) As far as the Declaration of Principles is concerned, Czechoslovakia is basing its defence on a strong emphasis on Principles VI in the East European interpretation of non-interference in internal affairs. The situation in the field of human rights remains negative. Pressure on the signatories of Charter 77 continues and the spokesmen who bear the brunt of it change about every six months. The authorities use an increasingly sophisticated blend of harassments. One of the leaders of Charter 77, Vaclav Sabata, arrested at the 3rd border meeting with Polish dissidents, was sentenced to 9 months imprisonment. His lawyer has since been debarred from practising. The authorities continue to "encourage" prominent dissidents to emigrate, although for some a public acknowledgement of error is apparently a condition of release. Nevertheless, the Charter movement is still active, distributing discussion documents on subjects of public concern.

Roman Catholics in Slovakia (which has a much higher proportion of practising Catholics than the Czech lands) are said to have been subject to increased harassment since the election of Pope John Paul II.

- (ii) In the framework of the Confidence Building Measures the combined Soviet-Czechoslovak manoeuvre Druzhiba was notified (see paragraph 8 of main document).

- (c) In the economic field conditions for business contacts appear in certain cases to have eased, although in other instances they are reported to have deteriorated, perhaps because of more stringent reporting requirements on contacts with foreigners. Increased attendance by Czechoslovak business executives has been noted, however, at Western commercial seminar presentations, and Czechoslovak Government officials at the highest levels continue to invite exchanges and additional commercial and economic agreements. In addition, Prague has given at least two new approvals for foreign business offices during the reporting period, bringing to 42 the number of foreign firms which have representation offices or are expected to open them soon. The establishment of foreign offices continues to be hampered by lack of business interest because of the cost and administrative effort involved in setting them up and maintaining them. As a result of the routine translation into English of the "Bulletin of Czechoslovak Law", which includes economic legislation, there has been a modest improvement in the amount of commercial information available, although officials remain fearful of providing any specially requested information. Although Czechoslovakia officially encourages economic and commercial co-operation with Western countries and

firms, such agreements are difficult to arrange because of bureaucratic inertia and priority given to CMEA integration policies.

- (d) In the field of human contacts some improvement is noted in family cases, as Governmental Directive 58 (of March 1977) by which "illegal" emigrants (e.g. Czechoslovaks who have left their country in 1968) can apply for "normalisation" of their position, is having some effect. The effect is slow because there continue to be administrative problems, most seemingly unintended. There seems to be some improvement in the length of time it takes for a Czechoslovak national to obtain an exit visa. An important impediment for private visits abroad is that normally each individual may obtain a foreign currency allocation only once every four years, and for a high premium.
- (e) The information policy remains very restrictive. Availability of Western newspapers is practically nil. The working conditions for journalists remain difficult. The government exercises strict control by a policy of providing or denying assistance to foreign journalists who are warned not to try to contact dissidents if they wish to return for a future visit. Accreditation of Czechoslovak nationals working for Western press agencies, which previously was a formality, now is no longer automatic.
- (f) With regard to cultural and educational co-operation, a greater willingness to accept cultural exchanges and a greater preparedness to discuss and to take into account the interests of both parties is noted. In the field of educational exchanges also a slight

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improvement since Belgrade is noted. The accessibility of archives etc. for foreign scholars and students is characterised as good.

3. German Democratic Republic

- (a) In general there is no significant change in the implementation of the CSCE Final Act in the GDR. The record remains poor; GDR policy continues to be very restrictive in all CSCE aspects. In the sector of information this led to a deterioration.
- (b) (i) With regard to the Declaration of Principles the GDR authorities continue to emphasise the Vith principle in the East European interpretation of non-interference in internal affairs. In the field of human rights there are some indications that restrictions on artists and "intellectuals" have been tightened and that it has been made more difficult for GDR citizens to have contacts with members of diplomatic missions. Positive developments in the relation between State and Church continue.
- (ii) The GDR did not participate in the implementation of the provisions on Confidence Building Measures.
- (c) In the economic field the implementation remains about the same as before in the GDR. Access to business contacts and commercial officials remains difficult and are to be arranged only through the foreign trade organisations. Western businessmen can obtain visas to enter the GDR on business only if they have a prior invitation from a foreign trade organisation. During the reporting period at least two foreign firms established a representative office in East Berlin, and the amount of office space available has improved with the opening, in September 1978, of an Inter-national Trade Centre. Because of GDR practices restricting the publication of economic and commercial information, it is very difficult to obtain an

accurate or detailed picture of East German industrial production and trade. Foreign trade directories do not reflect recent organisational changes in the foreign trade apparatus, which have partially altered administrative responsibilities and have increased the number of entities authorised to engage in foreign trade. Data on the GDR's foreign trade in 1978 is even less adequate than that for 1977, so that it is not possible to calculate aggregate 1978 imports or foreign trade turnover. Special requests for unpublished economic and commercial information are routinely denied. In the area of foreign commercial co-operative arrangements, the GDR has on occasion shown flexibility in tailoring forms of co-operation to the requirements of the project envisaged, although products offered by way of compensation can only come from the contracting ministry if the project is supplementary to the basic plan.

- (d) In the field of human contacts the GDR policy remains extremely restrictive. Exit permits for GDR nationals for all purposes are granted only under narrow and rigid conditions, so that the ability to travel abroad is limited to a very small percentage. Moreover, the policy of granting or refusing is unpredictable. GDR performance in the field of binational marriages is good, although sometimes exit permits are issued that are only valid for a very short time, thus putting unacceptable time pressure on the authorities of the country where the marriage is to take place.
- (e) In the field of information the GDR authorities continue to exercise tight control over printed materials. Newspapers are available only at one hotel in East Berlin. However, during the Leipziger Messe there was an increased availability of Western newspapers in Leipzig. Working conditions for foreign journalists, already very difficult, have taken a turn for the worse. In

April a decree was issued stipulating that accredited foreign journalists may no longer interview or question people without official permission, and that accredited journalists must register with the authorities all trips they want to take outside East Berlin 24 hours beforehand and give the destinations and purposes of their travel. It means an increase of control, and as a result journalists will often arrive a long time after the event has happened.

Foreign visiting journalists already had to give a detailed itinerary and list of organisations and officials to be visited. Moreover, they are required to hire an escort-interpreter, a car and chauffeur.

- (f) Cultural and educational co-operation remain on a low level. Some marginal improvement in educational exchanges has been noted, but it remains a complicated and time-consuming process for scholars and students to come to the GDR and to gain access to archival material.

4. Hungary

- (a) The general trend of continuous, albeit slight, improvement of implementation of the Final Act continues.
- (b) (i) With regard to application of the Declaration of Principles the Hungarian attitude has not changed.
There exists a relatively greater tolerance for divergent opinions in Hungary than in other East European countries, but there remain definite and enforced limits of expression of such divergencies.
- (ii) Hungary did not participate in the implementation of the provisions on Confidence Building Measures.
- (c) In line with continuing Hungarian economic reforms, there is steady improvement for contacting end-users and officials, although initial business introductions must still be organised through the foreign trade organisations(1). There are no internal travel restrictions, and permission to enter non-sensitive factories can be obtained if applied for in advance. In the area of economic and commercial information, the Hungarian government regularly publishes comprehensive data which can be used to construct a reasonably accurate picture of the economy. Certain information, such as net foreign debt and specially requested data is still difficult to obtain. Hungary actively promotes co-operation arrangements, including joint marketing in third countries, to help redress its growing balance of payments difficulties; in addition, Hungarian enterprises have several new joint ventures planned or underway in North America, Western Europe, and the developing world. Last year 17 million tourists visited Hungary,

(1) An increasing number of Western medium sized firms are now exporting to Hungary.

an all time record; Hungary encourages tourism both inwards and outwards. Hungary also works closely with its neighbours on such matters as pollution control of international rivers.

- (d) In the field of human contacts Hungary has made some minor changes to facilitate greater freedom of movement across the border. The main provisions are that relatives of those ethnic Hungarians who are living abroad illegally are themselves prevented from travelling to the West only if they are personally responsible for their relations illegal stay. Even in such a case the ban will only last for five years. In addition, Hungarian nationals living abroad no longer require special documents to visit Hungary. Another improvement is that now exit permission can only be refused on the grounds that the individual's travel abroad would "endanger state internal or external security, public law and order, legal interests or national financial provisions". It means that travel authorities may now grant exit permission to certain individuals who are still technically in the prohibited category, without referring to the Minister of the Interior as was previously necessary.

One restriction was introduced. Exit permission may now be denied to Hungarians who wish to travel to a country where "the protection of the rights and interests of Hungarian nationals cannot be guaranteed". However it is expected that it will be sparingly used.

The enlarged travel possibilities have been somewhat offset by the indirect effects of the reduced convertible currency value of the forint, which came into force on 15th February.

The visa abolishment agreement with Austria in practice does not facilitate travel arrangements for Hungarians, as they still have to get an exit visa.

- (e) Concerning information, a slight improvement of circulation and accessibility of information is noted since the Belgrade Meeting. The working conditions of journalists have not changed. However, it should be noted that compared to other East European countries conditions are relatively good.
- (f) Also in the field of cultural and educational co-operation an improvement in accessibility is noted. A series of lectures in the US Embassy was for the first time attended by Hungarians. University instructors and professors now have permission to obtain books from the US institutions in Hungary. Facilities for foreign scholars and students are rather good; the accessibility to study material is generally satisfactory.

5. Poland

- (a) The general picture of implementation of the Final Act by Poland shows that mild improvement in the field of human contacts continues, but that a slight deterioration set in in the field of human rights.
- (b) (i) With regard to the Declaration of Principles Poland also adheres to the East European interpretation of Principle VI (non-intervention). However, accusations that Western countries violate human rights have been toned down. The harassment of dissidents increased. Lectures of the "Flying University" were attended by groups of well-trained young people, who tried to dominate discussions along officially approved propaganda lines. Relations between State and Church have improved slightly. However, persons with connections to religious-political circles and to the dissident movements are still refused passports.
- (ii) Poland did not participate in the implementation of the provisions on Confidence Building Measures.
- (c) In the economic field Poland continues to lead the way in the number of positive steps it has taken. Access to ministries, foreign trade organisations, industrial combines and design offices is relatively easy, and businessmen can frequently arrange to visit even factories on relatively short notice. Over 130 OECD-based firms have offices or sub-offices in Poland, many conducting a full range of marketing activities. There are no internal travel restrictions, visas are easy to obtain, including multiple-entry visas for resident businessmen, and locally-engaged staff are usually free to travel abroad on business as well. The number of co-operative

agreements with foreign firms continues to grow, partially in response to Polish insistence on compensatory arrangements to help offset the country's large convertible-currency debt. In February 1979 Poland published a new decree on joint ventures which is likely to improve the prospects for Western investment in industrial and infrastructural projects in Poland. Some types of desirable economic and commercial information is still not published, such as figures on most minerals traded with other CMEA countries, and detailed information on Poland's foreign indebtedness, invisible earnings, and foreign reserves. Nonetheless, even in this area there has been recent improvement: in connection with a \$500 million loan from a consortium of Western banks, Poland supplied more detailed balance of payments information than ever before made available to such institutions.

- (d) Polish performance in the field of human contacts remains relatively good. The number of entry and exit visas continues to increase.

As a special phenomenon it is reported that an increasing number of Poles use travel permits in order to stay permanently in Western countries, mostly in the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States. So far this has not led to administrative measures in order to redress the situation.

- (e) In the field of information the Polish policy, as in all East European countries, is much more restrictive. The availability of Western newspapers and periodicals continues to be negligible. One possible reason for this seems to be the lack of hard currency. On working conditions for journalists, no developments have occurred. However, there are indications that

foreign journalists who want to cover the visit of Pope John Paul II in June, are required to pay a tax of \$350, on top of heavy fees for accommodation and services. Although this will mean a serious impediment, it is possible that the urgent need for hard currency is the driving motivation for this measure.

- (f) As far as cultural and educational co-operation is concerned, no new developments were reported in the cultural field.

Facilities for foreign scholars and students are in general satisfactory. Information about study possibilities and accessibility to study material is improving.

6. Romania

(a) The general picture of implementation of the Final Act by Romania is unchanged. High-level contacts continue to be the major generator for improvement. And although Romania professes to implement the Final Act as a whole, the approach is rather selective.

(b) (i) With regard to the Declaration of Principles no real changes occurred. Much attention to the human rights situation in Romania was drawn by a report of Amnesty International. However, there seems to be a growing tendency by the Romanian authorities to disregard the Western complaints, because they seem to consider their independent position within the Warsaw Pact as a compensation.

The Romanian policy to force persistent dissidents to leave the country is continuing.

(ii) Romania did not participate in the implementation of the provisions on Confidence Building Measures, despite the importance which this country professes to attach to this aspect of the CSCE.

(c) Romania's compliance with the economic provisions is impeded mainly by internal conditions. Access to end-users is not so much a problem, for instance, as finding who makes foreign purchasing decisions in the vast bureaucratic apparatus in which many officials have a partial say. Foreign business use of local employees continues to be complicated by Decree 243 of 1977, which stipulates that hiring must be done indirectly through a Romanian state agency, which in turn can effect termination of the contract on 30 days' notice. Romania continues actively to encourage the opening of foreign business offices, however, and the development of institutional links with the West, as exemplified by its membership in the Group of 77, the World Bank, and

the IMF. Romania has entered into negotiations with the European Community on a general trade agreement, and will perhaps eventually conclude industrial sector co-operative agreements. Although the Romanian government's policy of economic autarchy tends to impede many types of co-operation arrangements, there has been increased emphasis on buy-back and countertrade agreements, as a result of an increasing convertible currency trade deficit. There has been no significant change in the amount of economic and commercial information available, although publications of general interest to businessmen new to the area continue to be issued.

- (d) In the field of human contacts opportunities for travel abroad by Romanians have not improved. Travel, especially to Western countries, remains for them an uncertain and unpredictable privilege, rather than a right, whatever reason they may have for travel. Emigration is discouraged. Many potential emigrants are denied the "pre-forms" to apply for emigration application.

Persistent applicants sometimes pursue their aim via public demonstrations. These are now routinely sentenced to prison terms of 3-5 months, after which, if they still persist, they stand a good chance of finally being allowed to depart.

Since the Belgrade Meeting there is a definite improvement in performance on binational marriages. However it remains a trying and time-consuming undertaking that normally requires a year or more. In Romania binational marriages require approval by the Council of State and through a Presidential decree.

- (e) The information policy is very restrictive. Western newspapers are available only in hotels in very limited number and access to Western publications

remains a rare privilege for Romanians. The treatment of foreign journalists is satisfactory, with the exception of access to Romanian sources. This access is curtailed by the requirement for official approval for contacts at any level with foreigners and inhibited by the fear of the population of the consequences of random contacts.

- (f) In the field of cultural and educational co-operation no new developments were reported. Accessibility to study material for foreign scholars and students remains difficult, although one instance was reported in which, after a long time of consideration, material from the Party's archives was made available.

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7. USSR

- (a) There is little or no change in the implementation of the Final Act by the Soviet Union. Progress continues to be slow in some areas and non-existent in others, though there were few examples of deterioration. However, there is no sign of reduced commitment to the CSCE process on the part of the USSR.
- (b) (i) The Soviet policy toward the Declaration of Principles has not changed. Insistence on Principle VI (non-intervention) in the East European interpretation of non-interference in internal affairs continues. At the same time attacks on the human rights situation in the Western countries and more specifically in the United States also continue.
- A new move against the human rights defenders is the issuance of an official White Book on dissidence by the Soviet authorities. It includes case histories of imprisoned dissidents such as Yuri Orlov and Vladimir Slepak, stories of Westerners caught trying to bring anti-Soviet material into the country and the names and photographs of a number of US journalists banned for alleged espionage. Copies were mainly distributed among Communist Party officials, but a number of unsolicited copies were found in the mail boxes of Western news organisations.
- During the reporting period no major trials were held but the persecution and harassment of the Helsinki Monitoring Groups is going on. More than twenty members of these groups are now in prison. The groups nevertheless continue to exist and function in reduced form.

In April five leading dissidents, Ginsburg, Kuznetsov, Moroz, Dymshits and Vins were released from prison and flown to the United States being exchanged for two Soviet spies. The sharp increase in exit visas granted to Jews continued. At present the number of visas issued amounts to 4,000 a month.

- (ii) In the framework of the Confidence Building Measures the USSR notified two major military manoeuvres: the combined Soviet-Czechoslovak manoeuvre Druzhba (see paragraph 8) and a manoeuvre in the Carpathia military district. Observers were not invited to either of these manoeuvres. It should be noted that since the Belgrade Meeting no observers have been invited.
- (c) In the economic field the implementation by the USSR has regressed partially by further curtailing publication of economic and commercial information and partially by effecting measures which have caused a deterioration in conditions for doing business. Soviet authorities continue to refuse to provide such information as production and consumption of most minerals and raw materials, and even if so requested diplomatically. Moreover, beginning in 1979, the USSR has started publishing production statistics in the Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta on a quarterly, rather than a monthly basis; in addition, Soviet foreign trade statistics now provide much less coverage than formerly on Soviet shipments of oil, coal, natural gas, grain, and other raw materials.

On the other hand, conditions have worsened for foreign firms maintaining offices in the USSR. At least four international companies have eliminated or reduced their level of presence in Moscow because of their

disappointment over trade opportunities. Business representation and housing accommodation remains as expensive and difficult to obtain as ever; as of 1st February, 1979 rents for business offices in converted hotel rooms were raised 40-150%. Although not yet implemented, a decision has been announced that Soviet citizens employed by foreign firms must be paid in convertible currency, thus hindering representation office use of accumulated rouble funds. Multiple-entry visas are still routinely denied to many foreign businessmen with legitimate long-term commercial interests, such as certain heads of representative offices or personnel connected with implementing extended projects. All foreign businessmen remain subject to police harassment. Finally, implementation of a new tax decree, scheduled for 15th July, 1979, may put at a competitive disadvantage businessmen from countries unwilling to negotiate bilateral tax exemption agreements with the Soviet Union.

(d) The situation in the field of human contacts has not improved. It takes about 6 months for Soviet citizens to get exit visas for family visits and more than a year for family reunification purposes. Not infrequently visas are refused.

(e) Also in the field of information there is no change. Availability of and access to information remain very low.

The working conditions of journalists have not significantly changed.

There has been an improvement in the handling of the Western press corps by the MFA press department. However, the impression exists that Western journalists are increasingly confronted with unofficial harassment such as burglary, theft and spontaneous expressions

of indignation from their Soviet personnel. Recently some cases of serious harassment of UK and US journalists were reported in the Western press.

- (f) In the field of cultural and educational co-operation there is also little change, although the problems experienced over visas for academic visitors and over access to open archival material have increased.