Travel within the Soviet Union by American tourists and all other foreigners is extremely restricted. Large portions of the country are closed entirely to foreigners. Virtually all tourists must plan their itineraries and pay for transportation, accommodations, and even food in hard currency before a visa is issued. As a result, Soviet authorities have no currency conversion requirements for tourists. Changing an itinerary once a visa has been issued and the tourist has arrived in the country is extremely difficult. Further barriers to normal tourism are imposed by strict and often harshly applied customs regulations, which tourists sometimes fail to observe through no fault of their own.

Approximately 788 visas were issued to private Soviet visitors during the reporting period. A total of 1,584 visas were issued during the same period to Soviets whose applications were submitted under cover of note from the Foreign Ministry. These included diplomatic, United Nations Secretariat, journalist, business, exchange, and transit visas, as well as visas for officially-sponsored tourist trips.

Americans applying for visitor visas must wait varying lengths of time, depending on the purpose of their travel and how the Soviet authorities perceive the trip. Authorization may be granted in as little as 2 days; more commonly, a private visitor must wait 2 or 3 weeks, often until the very eve of departure, to learn whether his visa has been granted or denied. U.S. visitor visas are generally issued to private Soviet visitors the day of application. To reciprocate for the Soviet practice of charging a $10 fee for tourist and business visa applications, the United States in February 1985 introduced a $10 charge for issuing visitor visas for tourists and business travelers. Soviet citizens must pay 200 rubles for a foreign travel passport. This compares to an average monthly income of about 250 rubles.

Romania Opportunities for Romanian citizens to travel abroad for tourism remained restricted during the reporting period. Western tourists, on the other hand, are encouraged, in principle, to visit Romania. The number of tourist visas issued to Romanians during the reporting period was 1,248, and the number of other nonimmigrant visas issued to Romanians was 1,213.

There were approximately 8,500 arrivals by Americans in Romania during the reporting period, a decline of almost 50% over the last reporting period, according to Romanian government estimates. These figures count arrivals rather than the number of visas issued, and we assume that the number includes some multiple entries by the same individuals. American tourists generally encounter no restrictions on travel within Romania, but they must convert $10 a day into local

currency. During the reporting period a new, unpublished decree was promulgated by the Romanian Government tightening existing laws limiting contacts by Romanian citizens with foreigners. However, as of the end of the reporting period, implementing regulations apparently had not been decided upon.

Tourist visas for the United States are normally issued on the day of application, unless a waiver of ineligibility is required. Waiver cases take 5 working days to complete. U.S. visa fees are set to reciprocate the visa fees collected by the Government of Romania. Romanian Government and U.S. visa fees are currently 216 lei ($18) for a single entry visa and 564 lei ($47) for a multiple entry tourist visa. Romanian visas are granted both at embassies abroad and at border crossing points and the international airport in Bucharest. The time required for Romanians to complete exit formalities varies from months to years. The total cost for a new tourist passport with exit visa is 325 lei. If a person has a valid passport on file with passport authorities, the cost of a new exit visa is 75 lei.

Poland The Polish Government welcomes and actively seeks U.S. tourism, which is an important source of hard currency for the Polish economy. American tourists visiting Poland during the reporting period generally experienced few difficulties with local authorities. Most problems that do arise concern customs or currency declarations. There are no restrictions placed upon American citizens for travel within Poland. There is little necessity for the U.S. Government to facilitate travel and tourism by American citizens to Poland. To keep informed of trends in U.S. travel to Poland, our Embassy has initiated a liaison program with the association of Polish-American travel agents.

Our Embassy in Warsaw and constituent posts at Krakow and Poznan issued 24,342 non-immigrant visas during the reporting period, of which 21,630 were tourist visas. This represents a 15% increase over the same period one year earlier. We do not have statistics on the number of tourist and other non-immigrant visas issued to Americans visiting Poland.

Our Embassy can process non-immigrant visa applications for tourism from Polish citizens within 3 hours, unless a waiver of ineligibility must be sought. Waivers of ineligibility can be obtained within 7-10 days. Tourist visas cost $10 or the equivalent in local currency, based on reciprocity between the two countries.

American visitors to Poland are required to exchange $15 per day at the official exchange rate. If they are visiting family in Poland, only half this amount must be exchanged. For Polish citizens, the average duration of Polish Government exit formalities for tourist travel is 2 months. The estimated average total cost is the equivalent of $20.

Hungary According to official Hungarian statistics, 4.1 million Hungarians traveled abroad during the first 9 months of 1985. The number traveling to Warsaw Pact countries declined, while the number traveling to the West increased. The Hungarian press has commented that Hungarians prefer traveling abroad to seeing their own country. Hungarian travel agencies continue to allow certain Hungarian travelers to purchase a wide variety of services, including airplane tickets, hotel rooms and some tour costs, in forints, thus reducing to some extent the pressure on the private traveler to obtain convertible currency. In many cases it is also possible to purchase tickets on Western airlines in forints.

Since mid-1983, more liberal provisions for Hungarians to work abroad for up to 5 years have been in force. The press reports that several hundred applications have been approved, mainly to the F.R.G. and Austria, during the reporting period. The regulations require that the individual have a firm job offer on contract before application is made. The promulgation of the new regulations, however, appears consistent with the commitment in the Helsinki Final Act to increase the opportunities for travel for professional and personal reasons. The program is designed to meld with the European nation's guest worker system. Only in rare cases can the American immigration structure accommodate these applicants.

Travel to Hungary increased by 20% over the equivalent 9-month period in 1984 -- 12.7 million visitors traveled to Hungary during the first 9 months of 1985, 8.9 million of them from Warsaw Pact countries. Although tourism receipts are up 5% as of the first 9 months of 1985, there have been complaints from Hungarian sources that much of the increase in tourism is of the "low budget" variety. In 1985, although the average length of time of a stay in Hungary increased, the time spent in commercial accommodations decreased, indicating more camping and stays with friends and relatives. In response, the Hungarian Government is interested in increasing "spa tourism" directed toward Western countries to encourage tourists to take advantage of its thermal waters. To this end, they have held discussions with several European companies about developing medical/resort facilities at such sites.

Hungary has continued to streamline the possibilities for foreign tourists to visit the country. On November 29, 1985 the Swedish and Hungarian Governments entered into an agreement to abolish the visa requirement for each other's citizens. Admission will be for 90 days. This does not apply to intending workers nor to Hungarian or former Hungarian citizens in Sweden without Hungarian Government permission. Any touring time spent by a Hungarian citizen in Denmark, Finland, Iceland or Norway will count against the 90 days authorized stay in Sweden. Both states reserve the right to deny entry to

undesirables.

Our Embassy in Budapest issued 1,479 tourist visas to Hungarians during the reporting period. Seasonal factors account for the substantial decrease from the last reporting period. The figure is an increase from the equivalent period a year ago (1,345) and appears to reflect the attractiveness of the possibilities for purchasing the air ticket in forints. Other nonimmigrant visas were issued to 1,928 Hungarian citizens. This is an increase from the 1,298 figure for the same period last year.

Seventy percent of Hungarian applicants, i.e. those without meaningful affiliation with a communist organization, received visas in one or two days. Thirty percent, for whom waivers of ineligibility were required, received visas within 2 weeks. Emergency waiver cases were handled within one day. A single entry U.S. visa cost $8, a double entry $12, and a multiple entry $60. These figures reflect increases made last spring as a reciprocal response to Hungarian visa price increases.

Generally a 30-day period is necessary to receive a passport for tourism to the West. Processing for a visit to a Warsaw Pact country takes 2 weeks. Exit permits for tourism cost 350 forints ($7). In addition, the applicant must pay a postage fee of approximately $2 for exit permission to a Western country. The full price for exit permission for a family visit to a Western country is also 350 forints. Western permits are usually valid for a single trip. Permits to Warsaw Pact countries are for multiple trips and valid until the passport expires.

Based on information received from the Hungarian Government, the estimated number of American tourists visiting Hungary during 1985 is 117,000 -- about a 20% increase over 1984. We expect this number to continue to increase both because of the promotional efforts of the Government of Hungary and the perception of Americans that Hungary is a relatively safe European destination.

The Hungarian Embassy in Washington and Consulate in New York generally issue visas within 24-48 hours to non-official visitors. Visas are available at the Budapest Airport and some land borders, but our Embassy in Budapest is aware of 5-6 refusals annually to Hungarian-Americans. Official U.S. Government visitors are generally covered by a 7-day reciprocal agreement.

Hungary has no currency conversion requirement for U.S. visitors. Applicants may have to produce proof of sufficient funds to cover planned stay and departure, particularly when extensions of stay are requested. There are no travel restrictions except for military areas.

German Democratic Republic Most G.D.R. citizens remain unable to travel to the West. Only pensioners can obtain permission to go to the West with relative ease. Exit formalities for G.D.R. citizens who can travel abroad usually take 4-10 weeks. The total cost of a G.D.R. passport and visa is about $6.

G.D.R. citizens traveling to the West may only exchange 15 marks a year for Western currency at the G.D.R.'s official rate of exchange. They may not export or import any G.D.R. currency. These severe currency exchange restrictions also diminish travel. G.D.R. citizens traveling to the West are almost totally dependent on the largesse of their friends and relatives and certain small West German subsidies. Many pensioners, who technically may travel, decline to do so because they are embarrassed to be dependent on Western friends and relatives. Currency exchange restrictions are somewhat more relaxed when travel is undertaken to other Warsaw Pact countries; however, G.D.R. citizens still complain that the 30 marks a day they are allowed to exchange for such travel only barely meets the cost of accommodations and meals.

Conversely, the relatively high currency exchange required of Westerners diminishes travel and tourism to the G.D.R. and East Berlin. Westerners can, however, generally obtain visas to visit the G.D.R. without difficulty other than a long wait. Exceptions are those who have emigrated recently from the G.D.R. or who wish to visit East German relatives who have filed exit applications. Several organizations of G.D.R. emigrees in the F.R.G. have recently charged that the G.D.R. is turning away emigrees who seek to return for visits in increasing numbers. In March 1986, the G.D.R. turned away the highest number of visitors ever (380) to a Leipzig trade fair. These were mostly recent emigrees from the G.D.R.

The processing of G.D.R. tourist and business visa applications takes about 6 weeks if the application is made in the U.S. and less time if made in the F.R.G. or West Berlin. If a traveler is in Berlin and purchases a voucher showing pre-paid reservations in G.D.R. hotels, a visa can be obtained the same day. Day visas limited to East Berlin can be obtained by Westerners (except West Berliners) within an hour at specified Berlin sector crossing points.

G.D.R. single entry tourist or business visas cost about $7 (EM 15), multiple entry about $18 (EM 40). A day visa for East Berlin costs about $2.25 (EM 5). In addition, the G.D.R. official travel agency in the U.S. charges those over 16 a handling fee of $22 (or for express handling $130) per person. The G.D.R. requires those 15 and over to purchase about $11.50 in G.D.R. currency per day. Those under 14 are exempt from such currency conversion requirements. This money cannot be

reconverted into hard currency or taken out of the G.D.R.

U.S. visitors are prohibited from traveling in areas adjacent to G.D.R. military installations, and permission must be obtained for travel within 5 kilometers of the G.D.R. border, except when entering or leaving the country.

Our Embassy in Berlin issued 389 tourist visas and 1403 other types of non-immigrant visas to G.D.R. citizens during this reporting period. Although the number of tourist visas issued has declined, the overall number of non-immigrant visas issued has increased by 400. No information is available on how many G.D.R. visas were issued to Americans.

U.S. tourist visas are issued within one working day, except for cases which require waivers of ineligibility. The latter take an average of 10 days to 2 weeks. Because of affiliations with Communist organizations, most applicants require waivers of ineligibility. Those traveling to the U.S. for business reasons who are not ineligible generally wait 5 working days for a visa. A U.S. tourist visa costs $8 for a single entry, $16 for two entries.

The U. S. Embassy has not intervened in any case involving tourism and travel in this reporting period.

Czechoslovakia Czechoslovak citizens, in theory, are allowed to travel to the West once every 3 years. In practice, the granting of exit documents varies widely; a few Czechoslovaks are able to visit relatives in the West every year, while others are granted exit documentation once in a lifetime or never. Some individuals travel to the West every year, others are never allowed to leave Czechoslovakia; others may only travel to other countries in Eastern Europe. One major restraint on tourism of Czechoslovaks to non-communist countries is the need to receive foreign currency allotments. When the Czechoslovak tourist has a guarantee from the U.S. citizen immediate relative that all expenses will be paid, the exit document is often forthcoming. Tourism to Czechoslovakia in general is encouraged although former Czechoslovak citizens frequently experience difficulties in obtaining entry visas.

Our Embassy in Prague issued 4952 tourist visas during this period (an increase of 35 over a year ago); total non-immigrant visa issuance was 7180 (an increase of 150 over last year).

Officially, the Government of Czechoslovakia is required by its own regulations to respond to all applicants for exit permission within 30 to 60 days of submission. In addition to applying for passports and exit permission, persons desiring to visit countries outside the Warsaw Pact must submit an application for a hard currency allocation in January of the year in which they wish to travel. The maximum allocation is

currently $400, based on a total of $18 per day per adult ($9 for children). In obtaining this hard currency, Czechoslovaks must pay 25 Czechoslovak koruna for each dollar, a rate which may approximately reflect the free market rate in the West, but one which is more than twice the current "official" ratio of koruna to dollars -- about 11:1 -- which is given to U.S. tourists in Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovaks visiting close relatives in the U.S. are not required to change more than a minimal amount, however. Czechoslovaks applying to travel also need permission from their employer and a police certificate.

U.S. tourists are required to change about $13 in local currency daily. Children and certain exceptional cases are required to change only half the amount. Currency exchange regulations are strictly enforced and the embassy frequently receives after-hours telephone calls during peak travel months from American tourists who failed to exchange enough money, allowed their visas to lapse, and found as a consequence that Czechoslovak hotels were not allowed to house them. Embassy officers have had to contact police authorities and arrange for exceptions to be made until the tourist were able to change money and extend their visas.

Tourists are not restricted to their travel around the country, although certain localities, for example, around military establishments, are declared off-limits. However, if a tourists loses his travel and identity documentation, he usually has to wait 3-5 days before he receives exit permission. Embassy efforts to assist in hastening departure approval in such cases have met with very limited success. A 3-day delay is usually the minimum.

Czechoslovak borders are closely patrolled by armed border guards who are instructed to shoot anyone attempting to leave the country illegally. We have no estimates on the number of persons killed or wounded while trying to escape, although Austrian residents living in the border area report that they regularly hear gunshots on the Czechoslovak side of the border. A recent newspaper article reported the attempted escape of 2 young men by hang glider. One was killed and the other seriously injured. If the injured man survives he faces a sentence of up to 2 years for attempting to emigrate illegally. There are no Czechoslovak Government statistics on the number of people serving prison sentences for attempting to leave the country without official permission, but this was one of the few "crimes" specifically omitted from the May 1985 amnesty. The private Czechoslovak human rights group VONS estimates that there are about 1,000 persons imprisoned on such charges. Most are sentenced to 1-2 years, but VONS has documented cases of individuals serving terms of 10 years or more for this offense.

Bulgaria The Bulgarian passport/visa system provides

travel documents as a reward to those citizens of whom it fully approves. The Bulgarian Government does not believe that its citizens have the right to travel outside Bulgaria, but instead that such decisions are a government prerogative. Therefore, the system is heavily bureaucratized and represents an insurmountable roadblock for the vast majority of Bulgarians. Non-official visa applicants report numerous bureaucratic problems and delays by the Government when applying for passports and exit permits. Arbitrary negative responses by bureaucrats in the provinces seem to be the norm rather than the exception.

Passports and exit permits are issued through the police (Ministry of the Interior) for ordinary citizens, although the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issues them for officials and diplomats. The government frequently issues official and even diplomatic passports as rewards to favored citizens who are neither officials nor diplomats. University lecturers, a violinist, a journalist and the wives of communist party officials have received diplomatic passports and many others, such as Bulgarian Orthodox priests, routinely travel on official passports.

During the reporting period, our Embassy in Sofia issued 490 U.S. non-immigrant visas. This represents an increase of 150 over the last reporting period.

The Bulgarian who manages to obtain permission to travel abroad, almost always an older citizen visiting relatives, often finds that the validity of his exit permit and passport is limited to 3 months or less. The message throughout the system is that the possibility of foreign travel is a benefit, not a right, and is bestowed only when and if the state decides to do so.

Despite anticipation that there would be some growth of tourism to Bulgaria during the period, that increase never materialized. Many of the U.S. tourists who did come took the opportunity to visit the Embassy to complain about the sometimes extended period of time required by Bulgarian embassies to process their visa applications. Several noted that the process took 2 months.

Five American citizens reported seizures of their passports by the authorities during this period, a practice having in some ways the effects of arrest and detention, without a charge actually being brought against the victim. Each of these incidents required our Embassy's intervention. The Bulgarian Government responded with general information on each case, no charge against the victims, and the release of the passport in an average of 5 days.

There are no formal exchange requirements in Bulgaria,

however, a stay in a Bulgarian hotel generally must be paid for at an inflated rate and only with hard currency. One common pitfall for the visitor to Bulgaria involves what is called the "statistical card." This document for controlling the movements of the tourist is required to demonstrate that the visitor has paid the mandatory hard currency per night at a hotel. Although the lack of the proper stamps on the card, or its loss, can result in fines of up to 200 leva per day, visitors are not told of the meaning or importance of the document. This implies that the card's purpose is to obtain hard currency from the visitor and, if it is lost, to have a basis for imposing fines.

American visitors, except diplomats, may visit most areas of Bulgaria, with the exception of frontier zones, which are off limits to Bulgarian citizens as well without special permission.

Religious Contacts

The Final Act confirms the legitimacy of religious contacts among the participating states. In the Madrid Concluding Document, the 35 CSCE states committed themselves to implement the Final Act further so that religious faiths and their representatives can "develop contacts and meetings among themselves and exchange information." Nonetheless, as noted in more detail in the section on religious freedom in Chapter Two of this report, unfettered religious contacts and exchange of information are actively suppressed in the Soviet Union and some East European countries, where strict state supervision of religious activities is the rule.

Soviet Union The Soviet Government does not oppose contacts with religious groups from the West as long as only approved representatives of officially registered churches participate on the Soviet side. The Russian Orthodox Church continued to be an active propagandist for official Soviet policy on questions of arms control and disarmament. Russian Orthodox representatives attended church meetings in the United States and elsewhere in the West during the review period. Travel abroad was also allowed for some other church representatives, such as registered Baptist leaders. They, like the Russian Orthodox clergy, were careful to echo official Soviet propaganda in their dealings with foreign leaders.

It was not uncommon for Soviet church leaders to invite individual Western clerics to the Soviet Union. In addition to introducing such guests to places of religious and historical interest, church leaders emphasized the theme that the Soviet people sincerely wanted peace and that the only roadblock to reducing tensions in the world was the intransigence of Western political leaders.

Romania Romania's record in the field of religious contacts is mixed. Official church leaders are allowed to travel to the West for meetings with their co-religionists and to attend ecumenical conferences. On the other hand, some activist religious leaders have reported they are prohibited from traveling outside the country, or told that if they leave they will not be allowed back.

While a few foreign religious activists have been denied visas or prevented entry at the border, most are able to enter Romania relatively easily and to visit churches and attend services. Recently imposed government restrictions on contacts with foreigners, however, have led to at least one group of foreign religious activists being prevented by local authorities from addressing a regularly scheduled church service.

Overall, the ability of religious visitors to Romania to "exchange information" as required by the Madrid Concluding Document is severely hampered by strict Romanian border controls on religious publications. Many visitors report that Bibles and other religious materials have been seized by border authorities.

Poland Our Embassy in Warsaw currently issues non-immigrant visas to members of the clergy at the rate of approximately 4 per week. Most Polish clergy seem to have no difficulty in obtaining passports for travel abroad. Frequently, they are able to do this on significantly shorter notice than other travelers. As far as we are aware, representatives of various U.S. religious denominations have been able to travel to Poland without government interference.

Hungary Hungary has a good record in this field. There are substantial contacts, and travel is considerable in both directions. Our Embassy is not aware of particular difficulties for any denomination.

German Democratic Republic Clergy and lay members of Western churches have been permitted to attend church synods and conferences in the G.D.R., and some G.D.R. religious leaders have been allowed to attend similar meetings in the West. In October 1985, G.D.R. churches complained that the Government was hindering contacts between local parishes by preventing Western clergy and lay members from visiting local church groups in the G.D.R. Our Embassy has heard no such complaints recently, and assumes that the matter has been quietly resolved.

Czechoslovakia The Czechoslovak record on facilitating travel by religious officials to and from Czechoslovakia is spotty. When the proposed visit serves the purpose of the state and takes place between an officially recognized institution in

Czechoslovakia and its counterpart outside, visas are often granted. In the case of the Catholic church, however, the government has followed an extremely restrictive policy. Pope John Paul II has not been permitted to visit Czechoslovakia despite an invitation by Cardinal Tomasek and petitions signed by thousands of Czech and Slovak Catholics. Similarly, Catholic priests and other religious leaders who manifest too great independence are frequently denied permission to travel outside Czechoslovakia.

Unofficial or unsanctioned travel by religious groups for purposes considered illegal by the Czechoslovak government, e.g., importing religious literature and objects, carrying on religious training and similar activities, is severely punished. At least 8 people are known to be in prison or facing criminal changes connected with the "illegal" import or export of religious materials, and a far larger number of unpublicized cases probably exists.

Bulgaria Religious institutions continued to endure tight official scrutiny, with the Bulgarian Orthodox Church enjoying a favored position. There were no significant changes noted in the frequency of religious contacts or Bulgarian policy toward proselytizing. Church sermons tended to stress matters of personal devotion. If social topics were touched at all, the clergy was carefully to hew to officially approved positions.

INFORMATION

The Final Act signatories agreed to facilitate freer and wider dissemination of information of all kinds, to encourage cooperation in the field of information and exchange of information with other countries, and to improve the working conditions of journalists. The Madrid Concluding Document contains a number of provisions which strengthen the Final Act. Included among these are provisions that commit the participating states to: encourage the sale and distribution of printed matter from other states; decide journalists' visa applications without undue delay; grant permanent correspondents and their families multiple-entry and -exit visas valid for a year; provide more extensive travel opportunities for journalists; increase possibilities for foreign journalists to establish contacts with sources; and allow journalists to carry with them reference material and personal notes.

Dissemination of Information

Soviet Union There have been no changes during the period under review regarding access by Soviet citizens to information in general and to U.S. media specifically. American newspapers and magazines are not available at Soviet newsstands, with the

exception of very rare copies of American Communist newspapers. Official and some other resident Americans in the USSR can receive Western newspapers and magazines through the Soviet mail. Otherwise, American non-communist periodical publications are circulated only among a select elite and are treated as confidential material. Much the same is true of publications from other Western countries. The Soviet state organization which makes newspaper and magazine subscriptions available to the public lists for the United States only technical, scientific, and communist periodicals, at costs considerably higher than for domestic and East European journals. Although America illustrated magazine remains very popular in the USSR, it is available in extremely limited quantities for newsstand sales, in addition to a limited number of subscriptions available through the Soviet distribution system.

A large number of copies of each issue are returned to our Embassy as "unsold." Only a very small number of American films are shown to Soviet audiences. All Voice of America (VOA) broadcasts in languages native to the Soviet Union and Radio Liberty broadcasts continue to be jammed.

Romania Overall, the government of Romania seeks to control domestic dissemination of information. Though the censorship system officially was abolished some years ago, all media are rigidly controlled, and used primarily as vehicles for government and party propaganda. As such, they are widely ignored or treated with extreme skepticism. Foreign and even local news items are carefully selected. However, foreign radio broadcasts are not jammed. Libraries generally control access to materials carefully.

In this reporting period there were no Western periodicals or publications sold to the general public in Romania, although a variety of technical journals and other Western publications, in limited quantities, are available to selected government and party officials, academicians and scientific researchers.

There are no American or other Western books or periodicals sold at Romanian newsstands, even in those hotels used primarily by foreigners. Limited numbers of Romanians gain access to American and Western publications through foreign missions' information centers and libraries; some very few have subscriptions to Western periodicals, usually individually purchased during foreign travel. The Romanian Government does not grant permits for its citizens to use foreign exchange for Western periodical subscriptions. Occasionally, American books, usually out-of-date scientific or technical works, are available in second hand stores.

The Government of Romania does not encourage the sale or the distribution of printed matter from non-communist states,

and in fact seeks to control and restrict foreign publications. The Romanian Government does not grant permits for its citizens to use foreign exchange for such subscriptions.

Up until 1985, Romanian TV showed at least one American film every 3 weeks, and at least one American science item per week. Due to the severe energy crisis in Romania during the winter of 1984-85, Romanian TV cut back its air time to approximately 20 hours per week, a restriction which remained in effect throughout this period. As a result, opportunities for the airing of American productions were severely reduced. Due to budget restrictions, the state-owned TV network has not purchased any American productions for several years. Older American films are shown commercially on a regular basis in Romanian theaters and on Romanian TV. VOA and RFE broadcasts are not jammed.

Poland Although not as open as during the Solidarity period of 1980-81, the Polish media still remain the least shackled in the Warsaw Pact. While following the approved government line on international issues, the press continues to be a forum for lively debate on many domestic issues.

The broad range of views found in the Polish press reflects an equally wide diversity of philosophical positions maintained by individual publications. Independent Catholic weekly "Tygodnik Powszechny," Warsaw daily "Zycie Warszawy," hard-line Party weekly "Rzeczywistosc," and "liberal" Party weekly "Polityka" can all be expected to present contending views on economic reform, party ideology and cadre policy, the extent of dialogue with various spheres of society, cultural issues, the role of the Church, and the role of the intellectual in society. The press also freely discusses social and family problems, acute housing conditions, drug and alcohol abuse, poor delivery of medical services, problems in education and alienated youth, environmental issues, and many other subjects highlighting current concerns in Poland. Even within the sphere of international issues, and specifically those involving East-West relations, the Polish media contain a handful of well-known journalists who frequently treat individual subjects, such as arms negotiations, by focusing on the facts and eschewing the usual public propaganda lines.

Well-known officials and journalists participate in press and media discussions of public issues. Many journalists who, during martial law, were dismissed or who resigned in protest, are now active again in a variety of smaller-circulation but widely read publications. Despite highly publicized crackdowns on individual underground publishing operations, the underground press continues to thrive, churning out a multitude of products varying from shop floor leaflets to high-quality editions of books not published officially, and videotapes on a variety of subjects.

The more orthodox Party and government officials attempt to retain tight control over what they consider the most influential print and electronic media. Their goal is for journalistic products to be characterized by single-minded adherence to the prevailing government line. Poland is a country, however, where the editors-in-chief of individual publications can and do wield significant influence. It is still a country where formal press censorship is practiced, and many articles are self-censored before they reach official eyes. Controversial articles which do appear are often the result of prolonged bargaining between the editor and censors. In fact, the worth of an editor-in-chief is measured by his ability to run interference for his staff and pull the right strings to get what is considered important into print. Because of this quasi-decentralized feature of the Polish media, government officials often have to be satisfied with an absence of criticism as opposed to enthusiastic backing.

Within the imposed and perceived parameters of official press policy, the Polish audience is exposed both to ideas and to means of handling controversial issues which would receive little or no public exposure in most other Eastern European countries. The official press frequently publishes the results of public opinion polls which reflect widely-shared views unpopular with the government, and quite often articles appearing in the underground press spark lively debates in the official press as well.

No American periodicals are sold publicly in Poland, although some U.S. news weeklies are found in public reading rooms. Personal and institutional subscriptions to some titles are still possible, depending on the availability of hard currency. The USIA-produced Ameryka and Problems of Communism continue to be banned from distribution.

Books published in the U.S. can also occasionally be found in Polish used book stores. Public and university library purchases of new books and periodicals from the U.S. are severely limited by lack of hard currency. Our Embassy has received no reports of removal of books from library shelves. Thus, American books and periodicals already in library collections -- principally university libraries -- remain available to users.

Control of hard-currency expenditure outside of Poland makes it almost impossible for an individual to subscribe to an American periodical. Gift subscriptions paid for abroad usually arrive through the Polish mail, though there are exceptions. Public sale of books and periodicals from the U.S.S.R. and other Communist countries is widespread, and prices are comparable to those for Polish publications. The government facilitates private subscriptions to periodicals

from Communist countries by permitting subscribers to order them through the Polish central subscription office.

Currently 10 American films are playing in Warsaw's cinemas. Titles which have arrived most recently include "Gremlins," "Beverly Hills Cop," "Indiana Jones," "All That Jazz," "Trading Places," "Zelig," "Airplane II," "Superman III," "Verdict," and "War Games." A recently-published list of the 10 most popular films in Poland during the first half of 1985 was dominated by 7 American titles. Polish television occasionally shows old American films, although with less frequency than during past reporting periods. Although the lack of hard currency made new acquisitions extremely rare, Polish television did offer recently a retrospective of 4 Woody Allen films, and "Frankenstein" and the "Bride of Frankenstein" were also shown.

Approximately 75% of VOA Polish service shortwave broadcasts were jammed during this period. No VOA Polish medium wave broadcasts have been jammed, and reception on this band continues to be good. 80% of Polish RFE broadcasts were jammed. VOA English service has not been jammed.

Hungary Information programs have continued to expand over the past 6 months. USIA TV officials continue to consult with Hungarian TV on co-ops and other facilitative assistance. Publications from the U.S., France, Germany, and other Western nations have long been available for forints at major international hotels in Hungary and, since the CSCE Budapest Cultural Forum, at newsstands throughout the city. However, certain publications that have "embarrassing" articles do not appear. Copies of publications from Warsaw Pact countries are, of course, ubiquitous. Hungarian citizens can subscribe to Western periodicals, paying in forints, but we have no statistics on how many such subscribers there are.

The Government of Hungary passed a new press law in March 1986 which sets forth the rights and duties of the news media. The new law, the first since 1848, proclaims the public's need to be informed and requires journalists to provide timely and accurate information. Under the new law, government officials are obliged to cooperate with the press in reporting the news, except in cases involving state or trade secrets. The responsibility for what appears in the press is clearly established with the editor who therefore has the final say on what may be written or published. The law prescribes judicial resolution of disputes arising under the law. The right to publish remains clearly circumscribed under the new law by the requirement that only legally recognized associations may do so. After gaining recognition as a legal association, which is governed by a separate law, any individual or group wishing to publish must then apply to the Government Information Office for permission. At that time the association must disclose the

purpose of its publication. If at any time, in the judgment of the Government Information Office, it strays from that proclaimed purpose it may be legally sanctioned, subject to judicial appeal. The possibility of appeal to the courts could provide some relief to the publishers of samizdat. At the same time, the clearly defined requirements of the new press law may in fact give the state more authoritative legal grounds for their prosecution. Much will depend on how the authorities choose to interpret and apply the law.

The Embassy library receives the International Herald Tribune, the Sunday New York Times, USA Today, and a full range of magazines, but these are read mostly by younger people, few by older, more established Hungarians. Our Embassy deals with over a thousand readers every month and the Embassy's table-of contents service continues to be popular and well-used.

Hungary translates and publishes books from several languages into Hungarian. American literature is especially popular. In February, experimental writer and critic Raymond Federman completed a 2-week lecture tour of English departments at all universities and teacher training colleges. On the official side, Hungary regularly laments the fact that the number of titles it translates is not matched by the number of titles the U.S. translates into English. Hungarian media faithfully hew to the Soviet foreign policy line and often quote Tass as a means of registering Hungarian disapproval of American policy. The media meet with American policy makers or spokesmen, but the results of these talks seldom find their way into reporting. Comment regarding American policy can often become harsh, such as coverage in the Party daily which characterized President Reagan's March 16 speech advocating support for the Nicaraguan Contras as "hysterical" and "vulgar." Personal relations with media representatives are remarkably cordial and sometimes friendly. For the most part Hungarians may listen to or watch Western radio or television. Hungary states that it does not jam RFE, VOA or other Western stations.

German Democratic Republic To the maximum extent feasible, the G.D.R. Government attempts to control the information available within its territory. All media have as a prime responsibility the inculcation of values and beliefs favorable to the Government and to the economic and social system it has established. A subsidiary goal is to present countries with differing political, social and economic structures, including the U.S., as unsuccessful in meeting the basic needs of their citizenry. G.D.R. coverage of U.S. foreign and domestic affairs continues to be on the whole critical, often quoting negative comments from the U.S. press out of context or presenting distorted pictures of life in the United States. Occasionally positive comments about the U.S. are made, but these are exceptions to the rule.

Print media are effectively controlled. In general only publications listed in the G.D.R.'s postal publication register may be imported. Materials not so listed are regularly confiscated at border and sector crossings. Our Embassy in Berlin has been able to distribute to official and unofficial contacts a variety of printed materials, including the USIA-produced magazines Dialogue, English Teaching Forum, and Problems of Communism. To our Embassy's knowledge these publications usually reach their recipients, whether mailed or delivered by hand.

G.D.R. broadcasting stations are state-owned and directed, but television and radio from abroad cannot be easily controlled. About 80% of G.D.R. households receive television from West Germany and practically every household receives Western radio stations. The State does not try to discourage receiving foreign broadcasts, but does try to counter criticism in foreign newscasts with stories on its own programming.

U.S. magazines and newspapers, other than those published by the U.S. Communist Party, are not available to the general public. Libraries and official institutes do receive U.S. magazines, scholarly journals and daily papers, however circulation of these publications, even within those university sections or institutions permitted to subscribe to them, is restricted. Small numbers of the International Herald Tribune and other Western papers are also sold upon request for hard currency to foreigners in a few hotels catering to Western visitors.

It is difficult to purchase U.S. books and periodicals, other than those of the U.S. Communist Party, at bookstores and newsstands. U.S. materials in libraries are for restricted circulation. Only a very few researchers and scholars receive subscriptions to U.S. publications. Although due in part to the difficulty of paying for them in hard currency, it also reflects official reluctance to grant the postal license necessary to receive such materials through the mail. About 30 U.S. titles each year are translated and printed by government-owned publishing companies, mostly titles in the public domain, but the printings are small and the books often hard to obtain. Our Embassy sends books to recipients in the G.D.R. and has exhibited books both in the Embassy library and in the book fair in Leipzig. At the 1986 Spring Leipzig Fair, over 8,000 visitors viewed the USIS exhibit. The G.D.R. law is that books "whose content violates the preservation of peace or in some other way is counter to the interest of the socialist state and its citizens" may not be distributed. There is no encouragement of any kind for wider usage of U.S. books and periodicals. Visitors are occasionally permitted access to the Embassy's library facility to attend a special event, not merely to use the materials.

Our Embassy is unable to ascertain exactly how many foreign or U.S. films were shown in G.D.R. theaters in 1985. G.D.R. television will occasionally purchase older U.S. feature films for broadcast. Some of these films are chosen for their entertainment value and not only because they represent a negative view of U.S. society.

Western radio broadcasts, such as RIAS (Radio in the American Sector), VOA and BBC, are not jammed in the G.D.R. G.D.R. journals, however, have printed articles accusing these services of being agents of the CIA and presenting anti-G.D.R. propaganda.

Czechoslovakia The performance of the Czechoslovak government concerning the dissemination of printed, filmed, and broadcast information continues to be poor. Although information originating from Warsaw Pact countries, particularly the Soviet Union, is prominently published and broadcast, information from other sources, notably the U.S. and Western Europe, is hard to obtain and often restricted by the Czechoslovak government. Broadcasts and publications that shed unfavorable light on Czechoslovak or Soviet society and policy are particularly disapproved of by the authorities.

There are no American publications sold openly in Czechoslovakia except for a few copies of the U.S. Communist Party newspaper Daily World, which are seen on newsstands irregularly. One major hotel, the Jalta, occasionally puts on display outdated newspapers from the West, presumably left by guests. The Financial Times is available irregularly at the Prague airport and at some hotels catering to Westerners. From time to time, a half dozen West German fashion, sport and other non-political magazines are sold at one Prague news dealer.

American books and periodicals are not generally available, although some are available on a restricted basis in technical and university libraries. During the reporting period, the Government of Czechoslovakia did not interfere overtly with the operation of the American Embassy library in Prague, which makes its nearly 5,000 American books and 114 current U.S. periodicals, in the English language accessible to the public daily. However, free access to the library is not facilitated by the presence of armed Czechoslovak guards outside the Embassy and the widespread fear among Czechoslovak citizens, by no means discouraged by their government, that they will have difficulties should they visit the library.

English departments at major Czechoslovak universities maintain collections of American literature but these contain many gaps, particularly in recent American fiction and criticism. Moreover, the departmental libraries are generally open only to faculty members and to students majoring in

English. Our Embassy's Press and Cultural Section distributes 164 subscriptions to American periodicals (105 titles) to Czechoslovak individuals and institutions under a periodical presentation program. The Press and Cultural Section, however, continues to receive complaints from private Czechoslovak citizens that subscriptions to American magazines, American Embassy "outreach" materials, the USIA Czech-language magazine Spektrum, and other publications are often interrupted.

A 1983 directive issued by the Czechoslovak Ministry of Communications and the Federal Office of Press and Information that changes the terms of payment for subscriptions to periodicals from Western countries from Czechoslovak koruna to U.S. dollars or other convertible currency is still in force. Since payment by individuals and institutions (even those relatively few who are permitted access to Western publications) is a real burden, the long-term result of the directive probably has been a substantial reduction in the number and variety of Western publications available in Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak state library spends some $10,000 annually on U.S. books, but these are mainly technical works and are available only to selected institutions and individuals.

American films make up a sizeable percentage of films shown commercially, more than for any other Western country. Among the U.S. films screened in Prague's dozen principal central city moviehouses during the reporting period were "Sting II," "The Verdict," and "Unfaithfully Yours." Most U.S. films are at least several years old and contain nothing that could be considered offensive to communism or to the Czechoslovak government. American films rarely appear on Czechoslovak television.

Radio Free Europe is jammed heavily in Prague and other major cities, but it is often possible to receive its transmissions in the countryside or, by changing frequencies, to pick it up in the big cities from time to time. The Voice of America is not jammed.

Bulgaria The media in Bulgaria are tightly controlled by the communist party and there is no likelihood of any early change in that situation. Censorship remains a way of life in Bulgaria. No Western periodicals, except those published by Western Communist parties, are sold in Bulgaria or otherwise made available to Bulgarian citizens. When foreign publications are provided for Westerners participating in conferences, Bulgarian citizens are denied access to these publications. One Western diplomat watched security authorities confiscate a Western magazine from a Bulgarian woman who obtained it at a recent international conference in Sofia.

During the past 6 months, Bulgarian television has shown Western programs on a regular basis. Western films and, in particular, American films are regularly shown in Bulgarian cinemas. Two recent films were "Return of the Jedi" and "The Verdict". The national film archives continues to show an American film every Monday and Friday as well as other foreign films. The archives' film theater is open to the public. "A Night at the Opera", "In the Heat of the Night", "Seven Brides for Seven Brothers", and "A Rhapsody in Blue" were among the American productions aired on television, but a U.S. film exhibit proposed under the bilateral exchange agreement was rejected by the Bulgarian Government. A good number of Western plays are performed at Bulgarian theaters and Western music is regularly heard on Bulgarian radio. A number of carefully selected articles from the American and Western press are translated and reprinted in Bulgarian publications.

Working Conditions for Journalists

Soviet Union During this reporting period harassment of journalists continued. Two Moscow-based American correspondents were attacked in the Soviet media for alleged tendentious reports in another attempt to intimidate reporters working in the Soviet Union. In addition, two other American correspondents were refused entry visas in February to cover the XXVII Party Congress. Soviet authorities continued to withhold approval to the longstanding applications of the Wall Street Journal and the Washington Times to open Moscow bureaus. The applications have not been denied, but continue to be buried in Soviet bureaucratic processes.

Romania Romania regards foreign journalists with suspicion and openly seeks to manipulate and control them. During this reporting period a number of journalists experienced long delays in getting visas, and a lecture from Agerpres (Romania's national press agency, which arranges all official appointments for foreign journalists) on the need for more objective reporting is standard procedure for the incoming journalists. Senior Romanian officials complain frequently of "anti-Romanian" reporting by Western journalists. Our Embassy has vigorously complained when visas were not forthcoming, and, with the exception of a photographer scheduled to accompany a Time magazine correspondent, all eventually were allowed in. Western journalists manage to make unofficial contacts with Romanian citizens and officials but, by and large, they depend heavily on diplomatic and Western business contacts as sources of information.

During the visit of Secretary of State Shultz in December 1985, the Romanian authorities received accompanying journalists, as well as a large group of others who came for the event. However, the authorities discouraged efforts by the journalists to work outside of the official program for the

Secretary's visit.

There are no permanently-accredited American journalists resident in Romania. Approximately 20 visas per year are granted to visiting American journalists. Three non-resident American journalists are accredited in Bucharest, but they, too, are granted only single-entry visas. As noted above, one journalist, a photographer with Time magazine, was denied a visa to accompany the magazine's Vienna Bureau Chief. The Bureau Chief came on his own. In previous reporting periods, some journalists have been granted visas immediately, while others have encountered long and seemingly arbitrary delays. At least one American journalist was granted an airport visa without difficulty.

The Romanian Government provides opportunities for journalists to travel under strictly controlled conditions, usually only to government approved destinations and always with official escorts. However, foreign journalists may (and frequently do) travel unescorted by rental car or public transportation.

By Romanian law, citizens must report contacts and the substance of any conversation with any foreigner. Romanian authorities vigorously discourage all but officially approved contact by their citizens with Western journalists. Some American and Western news agencies employ Romanian citizens as stringers, hired with Romanian government approval.

During this period there were no problems getting Romanian authorization for radio and television journalists to bring their own technicians, equipment, and professional reference materials into the country. Serial numbers are recorded meticulously. In the case of typewriters, a sample of the type face must be submitted as well.

No American journalists have been expelled from Romania in recent years, though a number have been denied reentry, evidently due to Romanian government displeasure over previous reporting. The Government of Romania broke a longstanding policy during Secretary Shultz's December visit by issuing a visa to a correspondent from Radio Free Europe. Between 5 and 10 U.S. visas are granted each year to Romanian journalists, primarily for short visits.

American and other national press centers are allowed for certain events, for example, for the visit of Secretary of State Shultz. There is an operating Romanian Foreign Press Club, at which periodic press conferences are held; otherwise activities at this press club are very rare.

Poland Although interviews with government officials must be arranged through the government press enterprise

"Interpress" and the Foreign Ministry Press Department, resident and visiting American journalists rarely report difficulty in obtaining access to important sources, and continue to rank Poland high on the list of Eastern European countries in terms of general access. The Polish Government spokesman schedules weekly press conferences for foreign correspondents which are well attended and often include newsworthy announcements and considerable give-and-take.

Foreign journalists may travel freely without prior permission, although many have been stopped by provincial authorities for document checks and inspection of the contents of their motor vehicles. TV correspondents have been subjected to harassment, including temporary detention and seizure of equipment, when they attempt to cover events considered by the authorities to be sensitive.

Technical equipment is imported without restriction, but technical assistance is not: American television networks are allowed one permanently accredited correspondent as well as an accredited producer. Additional permanent technical personnel, such as film crews, must be hired locally.

Although resident correspondents are not required to hire personnel through a central government office, Polish national employees must be approved and registered with the Foreign Ministry. The authorities continue to harass some news organizations with bureaus in Warsaw by refusing to allow selected employees of these organizations to continue working and rejecting work permit requests for others.

Three new permanent accreditations were granted to U.S. media representatives. We estimate that some 10 visas have been granted to U.S. journalists not permanently accredited. One new East European bureau was established in Warsaw during the reporting period by the Chicago Tribune. The only visa refusal by the Polish Government that we are aware of involves the Voice of America Vienna correspondent who has applied for a visa 4 times during the past 6 months and has been turned down each time with the clear understanding that the refusal is directly related to his VOA connection. Our Embassy knows of only one delay in issuing visas for visiting correspondents. This case involved the Vienna-based UPI correspondent who applied for a visa to cover a political trial. She was given a visa at the last moment, in time for the trial.

There are now 16 U.S. journalists and two television producers permanently accredited in Poland. They and their families have multiple-entry visas which must be renewed every year. The Government of Poland has extended the validity of multiple-entry visas for resident foreign correspondents from 6 months to one year.

There are no travel restrictions in Poland for resident or visiting foreign journalists. Visiting radio and television journalists may bring their own equipment and crews. Permanent broadcast representatives may import their own equipment and may have one permanent producer from the home bureau, but they must hire permanent crews locally.

One visa for permanent accreditation was issued to a Polish journalist during the reporting period. Eight visas were issued to journalists for short visits to the U.S. No U.S. visas were refused to Polish applicants, nor were there any delayed decisions by our Embassy.

One press center, Interpress in Warsaw, is open to both national and foreign correspondents.

Hungary American journalists visit Hungary often and have no difficulty getting visas. The Foreign Ministry Press Center, "Pressinform", assists foreign journalists. Reports of its cooperation and efficiency have been generally favorable, and it is open to national as well as foreign journalists. By appointment, foreign journalists also have access to the press center of the Hungarian Journalists Association. Several U.S. journalists enter Hungary on multiple-entry visas approved in 1982. After notifying either a Hungarian Embassy or the Foreign Ministry, radio and television journalists can bring their own technicians and equipment, which must be registered with customs both upon entering and leaving the country. They can also take with them reference materials for professional personal use without any difficulty.

Our Embassy in Budapest is not aware of any difficulties imposed on foreign journalists who seek to establish and maintain personal contacts and communications with either official or non-official sources, and there are no areas closed to travel in Hungary. The Embassy knows of no American correspondents who have been expelled from the country. During the reporting period no visas were granted to Hungarian journalists permanently accredited to the U.S. Fourteen were issued to Hungarian journalists for shorter periods. No such visas were refused.

German Democratic Republic Foreign journalists are accorded courteous and correct treatment. Their ability to report on events in the G.D.R. is hampered by laws which limit their ability to travel without prior permission, to make appointments directly with G.D.R. officials and individuals, and to receive needed information. These laws, however, are not always enforced.

A representative of the Communist Daily Worker and an AP correspondent (who is not a U.S. citizen) are permanently accredited to the G.D.R. Both have multiple entry visas valid

for one year. Family members also receive such visas.

According to G.D.R. sources, over 400 temporary visas were issued to American journalists in 1985, up from 160 in 1984. Over 500 requests were received, which means that about 100 requests were denied. Our Embassy believes that visa applications from journalists are usually decided upon without delay. According to the same G.D.R. sources, 60 visas were issued to television reporters and crew, up from 20 in 1984. The G.D.R.'s stated policy is to issue multiple-entry visas to journalists who request them, and some journalists have confirmed that they received such visas when they asked. Temporary visas are valid for the period of time need to complete the project in question.

All travel outside of East Berlin must be approved by the Foreign Ministry. In practice, the authorities usually are tolerant of travel without prior approval, but they have the legal basis to stop such travel if they wish. Western journalists must have Foreign Ministry approval for interviews or any significant contacts. By G.D.R. law, many G.D.R. citizens may not maintain contact with foreign journalists. Access to information and people remains carefully controlled by the state.

Authorization for radio and television journalists to bring their own technicians and equipment into the G.D.R. has generally been granted. For certain events, the G.D.R. has claimed insufficient time to process applications. G.D.R. authorities insists that foreign journalists, like other foreigners, are subject to restrictions on the printed material they can bring into the G.D.R. In fact, however, journalists generally have had no trouble in bringing in needed materials.

Our Embassy knows of no instance in which an American journalist was expelled during this period. The Embassy issued no visas during this period to ADN (the official G.D.R. press service) correspondents. Within this reporting period, the U.S. decided to begin issuing multiple-entry visas to G.D.R. journalists valid up to one year. This eliminates a long-standing G.D.R. complaint that the U.S. infringes freedom of travel for journalists.

An international press center with facilities open to foreign journalists is located in East Berlin. During the Leipzig Fairs a press center is also open in Leipzig.

Czechoslovakia The Government of Czechoslovakia's handling of Western journalists has not changed significantly since the last reporting period. Press centers for foreign journalists function in Prague and Bratislava but the quality of information provided is low. Working conditions for foreign journalists are not dangerous, but access to government

officials and "newsworthy" data is sharply restricted.

More than two dozen short-term visas were granted to American newsmen by local authorities in connection with permanent accreditation. Visas for Western journalists not permanently accredited totaled about a dozen during this reporting period.

According to the Government of Czechoslovakia Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Section, 7 American organizations have accredited (or have accreditation pending for) correspondents at the present time. The organizations include the Associated Press, Time-Life, Newsweek, the Washington Post, the Detroit Free Press, the Los Angeles Times, and the Voice of America. One CBS-TV correspondent has been waiting since February 1984 for a response to his request for permanent non-resident accreditation. (Another has since withdrawn his name.) There are not resident U.S. journalists in Czechoslovakia.

There are no travel restrictions for accredited journalists except in security areas. Several journalist tours for resident correspondents are organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Press Department each year. However, the Government of Czechoslovakia has not undertaken measures to provide more extensive travel opportunities for American journalists. There have been no increased possibilities and/or improved conditions for foreign journalists to establish and maintain personal contacts and communications with their sources.

The Czechoslovak Government permits radio and television journalists to bring their own technicians and equipment, but encourages use of locally-supplied technical personnel and equipment. Journalists are permitted to carry reference material for professional purposes with them but such material can be and usually is perused by border guards and customs officials both on entering and leaving Czechoslovakia.

To our knowledge, no American journalists were expelled during the reporting period, but VOA journalist Jolyon Naegele was detained for 2 hours during the funeral of Nobel Prize-winning poet Jaroslav Seifert in January 1986. Our Embassy vigorously protested the incident. The Embassy has also recently learned that at the same funeral another U.S. correspondent had his film confiscated.

During the reporting period, 3 U.S. visas were granted to Czechoslovak journalists for permanent accreditation and shorter visits (including two Bratislava TV journalists to cover a Slovak basketball tour to the U.S.). At present, there are 4 accredited Czechoslovak journalists in the U.S.

Two press centers are open to foreign journalists, in

Prague and Bratislava.

Bulgaria Working conditions for foreign journalists are still poor and journalists are still sometimes harassed. If a journalist is willing to follow a government-prepared program, he is likely to be treated well during his stay in Bulgaria. However, those journalists who try to seek out news and report it as they find it, regardless of whether or not it is favorable to the regime, often are frustrated by the authorities.

We note that, theoretically, all areas of Bulgaria are open to journalists. However, a journalist from the F.R.G. was detained during this period when he tried to visit ethnic Turks. In March, the Bulgarian Government suspended the visa of an Agence France Presse correspondent who reported that Zhivkov would resign during the party congress. This is the second time in the last year that the government has sought to punish a journalist by lifting his visa. Two French journalists were denied visas to cover the party congress.

There are no resident American journalists in Bulgaria. The VOA and UPI correspondents have been accredited, raising the number of Americans accredited to 7. TV and film crews are permitted to bring their equipment into the country, as are radio journalists. The "Sofia Press" organization, which is responsible for visiting journalists, charges a fee for making appointments with officials and others in Bulgaria. The average cost for this service is $200 for 3 days of work and more if the journalist stays longer.

COOPERATION AND EXCHANGES IN THE FIELDS OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION

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

I. General Considerations

Exchanges are an integral aspect of relations among the 35 participating CSCE nations. The examples listed in this section constitute a partial accounting of exchanges between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and six East European countries during the reporting period. These highlights are indicative of the scope of the exchanges and cooperative ventures in progress, many of which have been underway for some time. Some are conducted under U.S. Government auspices with U.S. government financial assistance. Others are strictly private and only come to our attention through the visa application process or when problems arise.

Soviet Union The major development of this reporting period in cooperation in the field of culture was the signing of the new bilateral exchanges agreement at the Geneva Summit on November 21, 1985. It remains to be seen to what extent the new agreement will permit significant expansion in exchanges in the next several years. The President's announcement of a special initiative to promote people to people exchanges has generated great public interest in the U.S. A new office has been created within the United States Information Agency (USIA) to coordinate these new exchanges.

Before the signing of the new exchanges agreement in late November, the level of bilateral cooperation in the field of culture remained at roughly the same comparatively low level of recent years. The Manhattan String Quartet performed several concerts in Moscow and Leningrad in November, but was denied access to larger halls controlled by the Ministry of Culture because of the continued absence of an agreement. The Herreys, a group of young rock singers, gave over 25 sold-out concerns in several Soviet cities, appearing before a total of 350,000 persons, alongside Soviet pop singer Alla Pugachova. Folksinger John Denver also gave several performances in the U.S.S.R.

With the signing of the new exchanges agreement, there has been a sharp increase in activity in the field of culture, although many projects remain only under discussion. The prime cultural event so far under the agreement was the Soviet concert tour by renowned pianist Vladmir Horowitz. The Kirov Ballet will arrive in the U.S. for a three-city tour in May 1986. The conclusion of the agreement enabled the Empire State Institute for the Performing Arts, a theater affiliated with the State University of New York (SUNY) at Albany, to bring its production of William Gibson's "Rag Doll" to the stage of the Moscow children's musical theater for a very successful and highly publicized week-long run. The Moscow Theater in turn will send its troupe to Albany in May 1986 for a series of performances sponsored by SUNY. Reciprocal art exchanges between the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., the Pushkin Museum in Moscow and the Hermitage in Leningrad have already opened. The financial support of industrialist Armand Hammer was crucial to these exhibitions of French impressionist and post-impressionist works. Numerous other museum exchanges are currently in the works.

Despite these developments, there remained considerable unfulfilled promise in U.S.-Soviet cultural relations and it is still unclear whether the Ministry of Culture had widened the scope of what it considers to be "permissible" foreign cultural presentations.

Soviet treatment of regional and national minority cultures continued to be ambivalent. On the one hand, the Soviet

Government has often stated that it upholds the many national languages and cultures of the USSR. The Soviet mass media present the official point of view in dozens of languages. Regional folk music and dance groups and theaters are funded by the government. On the other hand, Russians (who make up about half the population of the Soviet Union) tend to dominate the country culturally as they do politically. Non-Russians are expected to know two languages, Russian and their own, and to honor Russian cultural heroes like poet Alexander Pushkin. Some smaller nationalities remain concerned about officially sanctioned efforts at cultural assimilation by the Russians. This is particularly true in the Baltic states. Cultural expression which stressed pride in the history, religion, and literature of minority nationalities continued to run the risk of being officially labelled "bourgeois nationalism" and repressed as anti-Soviet or subversive.

Although participation in educational exchange programs held steady at about 60 exchanges per side despite the absence of a working bilateral agreement, numerous problems at the Ministry of Higher Education significantly diminished the quality of many programs. Inappropriate placements, denial of access to vitally needed research materials, and limitations on scholarly travel and consultations were major difficulties which the Ministry of Higher Education was unable effectively to resolve despite avowed support for expanding exchanges with the U.S. The current cultural agreement outlines a variety of new procedures designed to strengthen and expand the rights of American scholars in the Soviet Union. The vital role of reciprocity was underlined in February 1986 when, for the first time, an American scholar was withdrawn from the Soviet Union because of consistent refusal of Soviet authorities to grant appropriate research access and a Soviet scholar subsequently was asked to leave the U.S.

Soviet sponsoring groups continued to have difficulty in getting their own officials to provide clearances for their grantees to travel, with the result that many Soviet scholars arrived late at their U.S. institutions and some were withdrawn at the last minute.

Approximately 250 Russian-language students and teachers of Russian study in the Soviet Union annually on summer, semester, or year-long programs on a non-reciprocal, cash-only basis. A much smaller number of Soviet English-language teachers traveled to the U.S. on both government-supported and private exchanges. One program, the American Field Service-Ministry of Higher Education exchange of high school teachers, was cancelled after the KAL airliner incident. Discussions are currently underway for its resumption under the terms of the new cultural agreement.

Hopes that the Fulbright lecturer program would return to

"normal" levels of 15 per year for each side were not fulfilled. Unexplained Soviet rejections of U.S. nominees have reduced the number of participants each year. Soviet participation was substantially lower because of the unexplained last-minute withdrawals of candidates already accepted and placed.

Romania There have been only minor changes in the state of U.S.-Romanian bilateral cultural relations over the past year. A new cultural agreement is scheduled to be renegotiated in the fall of this year. The Romanian side continues generally to support the existing agreement. Film showings, for example, are a regular feature of the program of the American library in Bucharest, and various exhibitions have been held at the library in the past 6 months. Access to these showings and to the library is generally unimpeded, although too frequent visitors may be questioned and discouraged by the authorities. Romanian authorities originally did not object to continuous repeater tape VCR streetside displays outside the embassy, but later claimed there was a security problem and restricted pedestrian viewing to fifteen feet from the display. A major U.S. art exhibit was mounted in Bucharest and in two major provincial cities, Craiova and Oradea, and the modern art museum in Bucharest accepted a photo exhibit, the first such exhibit ever displayed at this museum.

Other Western countries report a gloomier picture during this reporting period. Most report shrinkage of cultural exchange programs, with even some long standing activities eliminated. Financial restrictions typically are cited by Romanian authorities as the reason. Romanian priorities reportedly exclude academic exchange in non-technical areas. East Germany and Yugoslavia also suffered major reductions in their cultural exchange program with Romania.

Romanian compliance with the Helsinki Final Act's provisions on translation, publication and dissemination of written works from other states remains poor. Although the Romanian-Hungarian cultural exchange agreement provides for the import of a large number of Hungarian language books here each year, Romanian authorities have interdicted such imports almost completely. The U.S.-Romanian cultural agreement calls for increased exchange of materials for translation and publication. Though the Romanian Council of Culture originally asked our Embassy to investigate possibilities for a seminar on this subject, interest in such a project seems to have flagged.

The Government of Romania has shown no inclination to promote dissemination of and access to books, films, and other forms of cultural expression. Foreign exchange shortages and rigid ideological controls have made it unlikely that this situation will change. Attempts to circumvent this policy face bureaucratic obstacles and continue to result in confiscation,

in the case of bibles the importers face harassment and, occasionally, long jail sentences.

Historically, Romania's culture has been enriched by an impressive variety of minorities and their traditions. The same variety exits today -- Romania enjoys a sizable ethnic-Hungarian population as well as a fast-disappearing German heritage, the traditions of a Jewish culture which once made up almost 10% of the population, and remnants of Bulgarian, Turkish and even Tartar groups as well as a large Gypsy population. From a post-war high point when a special autonomous area was created for the Hungarian minority, Romanian Government efforts to maintain the cultural integrity of these groups have shrunk to the point that many now claim the government's policy is now one of cultural assimilation. Indeed, the government's own pronouncements refuse to recognize the individual as a member of a minority group, insisting that "there are only Romanians" in the society today.

Despite previous Romanian Government guarantees, opportunities to study general subjects at the university level in Hungarian or German have become almost nonexistant. There is one Hungarian language and one German language high school in Bucharest. Although the proportion of classes taught in Romanian in these schools has risen in recent years the latter school, at least, retains a solid academic reputation and it is the school of choice for German speaking foreign families here. A number of provincial schools established some years ago both at the primary and secondary levels to teach in the Hungarian or German languages have been converted to Romanian.

When history is treated on TV, the historic contributions of the minority groups are given little or no emphasis. Within the last year, signs denoting ethnic origin of folk-art and other displays have been removed from many museums. In the last 6 months, further restrictions on the activities of ethnic cultural groups have been reported. Archives and libraries of the German and Hungarian minorities have been removed to Bucharest, becoming less easily available to the scholars of these communities. However, this is part of an overall government centralization program; historical artifacts and archives from all over the country, including those from ethnic-Romanian areas, have also been transferred to Bucharest.

Relations with the Romanian Ministry of Education are correct, but the Ministry all too often appears recalcitrant in dealing with the need and requirements of American scholars. While the American side always sends the maximum number of exchangees allowed under the agreement, Romania continues to allow its quotas for study in the U.S. to lapse barely touched; the principal reason given is that the teaching load and length of the school year in Romania do not allow sufficient time for most professors to undertake lengthy research projects abroad.

American researchers continue to experience unreasonable delays in getting access to research and archival materials. There are no open access libraries (other than small neighborhood libraries) in Romania, except those associated with diplomatic missions. Foreigners other than official grantees are usually not allowed to use library or archival facilities.

Poland Cultural contacts between the United States and Poland, which have been at a fairly low level during the past several years of strained political relations, increased slightly during the reporting period. American artists and musicians visited Poland under private arrangements, including such performers as soprano Jessye Norman and the Cleveland Orchestra, while composer Krzystof Penderecki and the Krakow Philharmonic appeared in the U.S. The U.S. Embassy's co-sponsorship of an animated film festival (with the participation of two veteran Walt Disney animation artists) was publicly acknowledged and Polish institutions agreed to be the venues for modest exhibits. However, there continue to be no official bilateral exchanges between the U.S. and Poland and the Polish government continued its official policy of non-cooperation with USIA.

Both government-to-government (e.g., Fulbright) and private academic exchanges continue. Our Embassy in Warsaw is not aware of any problems experienced by IREX scholars regarding access to open archival material. However, the Polish Government continues to inhibit the International Visitors Program by forbidding Poles to accept official invitations from the U.S.G.

Polish publishers continue to publish translations of American and other Western authors, although much of what is currently appearing in print results from contracts signed as long as 5 years ago. In the future, fewer American titles may appear unless some means can be found to assist in the hard currency purchase of publication rights. Recent press articles have mentioned the need to concentrate more on the publication of works from "fraternal socialist countries", and consequently to spend less time and effort on translating and disseminating works originating in cultures perceived (at least officially) as unfriendly. Customs duties do not play a role in the shortage of Western books, magazines, films and other sources of information. Censorship and lack of hard currency do.

In the cultural field, the Polish Government policy toward Poland's minorities can be described as neglect. Although there has been a great deal of public attention to the importance of Poland's Jewish cultural heritage, official attempts to preserve it have been largely of an archival, museum nature. Other small national minorities, i.e., Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Tartars, etc., maintain their cultural identity mainly by virtue of their own efforts.

Hungary The implementing Program of Exchanges with Hungary (under the umbrella cultural exchanges agreement) was re-negotiated in January 1986. Both official exchanges under the agreement and those outside it continue to grow at a modest but steady pace. A major event in the reporting period was the tour of USIA's "Filmmaking in America" exhibit in three provincial cities (a fourth showing was scheduled in mid-April), the result of a reciprocal agreement which will bring an exhibition of gold and silver treasures from Hungary to the U.S. in 1986-87. American musical artists continue to visit Budapest, participating, for example, in the Spring Music Festival in March, 1986.

The European Association for American Studies held its biennial meeting in Budapest in March, the first time that this meeting has ever been held in a Warsaw Pact nation. The CSCE Cultural Forum in November brought to Budapest a number of cultural figures from East and West, along with governmental representatives, to discuss the problems of creation and dissemination of cultural achievements.

Education is a growing area. Increased interest in academic exchanges was evident in the expansion of the Fulbright program for 1986-87 and 1987-88, including inclusion of a new exchange category for post-graduate students. Private university-to-university exchanges are also expanding. The Salgo Chair in American studies is in its third year at the Eotvos Lorand University in Budapest. Hungarian participation in the International Visitor program remains enthusiastic and the quality of grantees remains high.

Hungarian minority policy is liberal in theory and practice. Members of the Romanian, German, Serb, and Slovak ethnic minorities make up a very small percentage of the population. They have full legal equality and substantial opportunities to obtain at least some education in their native language as well as to foster their native culture.

A much larger number of Gypsies (estimates range up to 5% of the population) live in Hungary. Although they are not recognized as an official minority they do have a national council that reports to the Council of Ministers. As individuals they have equality before the law. In practice the Hungarian Government engages in many programs designed to raise the standard of living of Gypsies and help them adjust to the mainstream of Hungarian life. However, Gypsies are on the average considerably less well educated and poorer than the native Magyar population or the recognized ethnic minorities. In recent years, candid discussion has been increasing in the press and specialized literature about the social and economic difficulties experienced by Gypsies, including the fact that considerable popular prejudice exists against them.

German Democratic Republic The G.D.R. maintains rigid control over access to its institutions and the U.S. is regularly required to submit cultural proposals to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The process of internal review is arcane and glacially slow, creating confusion and delays. More damaging is the effect on our Embassy's contacts in the G.D.R.: people are discouraged from cooperating with the Embassy directly, and are denied any freedom of action.

The G.D.R. continues to assert that cultural relations should be arranged under a bilateral cultural agreement, and that ad hoc arrangements outside of such an agreement are much less acceptable and more difficult to arrange. Certain programs proposed could easily have been arranged by the G.D.R. but were refused for political reasons. For example, lectures by an expert on American Indian literature (an exceptionally popular topic in the G.D.R.) were declined out of hand.

The United States has had only limited success in setting up exchanges. U.S. cultural figures have not been able to address general G.D.R. audiences nor to lecture at G.D.R. universities except under university-to-university agreements under ostensibly privately organized programs in which our Embassy's role was indirect. The U.S. has regularly assisted with the scheduling of lectures for G.D.R. writers, filmmakers and musicians in the U.S., including on occasion the financing of such visits.

In the summer of 1984, our Embassy requested permission to show a major film exhibit. The exhibit has been accepted by the G.D.R. but final arrangements have not yet been made. There is occasional American participation on a commercial basis in G.D.R. cultural festivals. There are no existing performing arts exchanges, although some travel of performing artists is arranged through the U.S.-G.D.R. Friendship Society. Several institutions exchange publications -- all under non-governmental programs on the U.S. side.

The G.D.R. views culture as a government tool. Security and other state organs carefully consider every cultural program in the light of political and ideological considerations. Except for cultural programs transmitted from abroad via television or radio, which by their nature cannot be controlled at the borders, all cultural offerings must be approved by state authorities before being made available to local audiences. The G.D.R. Government forbids the circulation of all unapproved books, films, publications and other forms of cultural expression. The government makes available those elements of foreign culture which it considers favorable to its world view by providing subsidies and arranging publication and distribution of materials. All other cultural products are not only discouraged, but actively proscribed. Only individuals

with G.D.R. Government permission can attend invitational film showings at the U.S. Embassy in Berlin.

The Sorbs, numbering about 45,000 constitute the only remaining substantial ethnic minority in the G.D.R.. There is no apparent cultural or governmental discrimination against this group. Schools in areas with a Sorb population have specially designed curricula that emphasize aspects of the Sorb culture and instruction is offered the Sorb language. Sorbs are well integrated into the general population.

Bilateral relations in the field of education have remained relatively constant over the reporting period. Although there are no governmental programs, academic exchange programs in the G.D.R. are organized under the IREX program, as direct university-to-university programs, or under the limited National Academy of Science exchange agreement. The several American institutions involved have indicated interest in expanding the scope of these programs but have been critical of G.D.R. efforts to keep American participants separate from their G.D.R. colleagues and distant from G.D.R. students. Exchanges are underway between John Hopkins and Humboldt University, between Minnesota and Humboldt, between Kent State and Leipzig, between Brown and Rostock, and between Colby College and Schiller University. The G.D.R.-U.S. Friendship Society also has a limited number if scholarships for U.S. students.

IREX (the International Research and Exchanges Board) provides 60 man-months of exchanges in each direction. In general, the G.D.R. side has provided access to library and archival material requested, except in the case of archives under the control of the Ministry of the Interior, which has major historical holdings. Scholars not under the IREX program or a university to university program seldom can arrange access to G.D.R. materials. G.D.R. educational and other authorities have not provided access to individuals for these scholars nor have they permitted access to statistical data or given permission for interviews, except in a very few instances. In general, however, after an academic or research program has received the necessary clearances, the G.D.R. authorities are scrupulous in assisting the scholar in carrying it through.

The G.D.R. has recently accepted our Embassy's proposal to establish a modest Fulbright exchange program. Decisions concerning implementation have not yet been scheduled but should take place soon.

Czechoslovakia Overall bilateral relations in the field of culture improved slightly during the reporting period. The most significant event was the negotiation of an Agreement on Cooperation and Exchanges in Culture, Education, Science and Technology together with an implementing Program of Exchanges

for 1986-87. These documents were signed in April, 1986. American musicians, including pianist Garrick Ohlsson, performed in Czechoslovakia (under commercial auspices) during the reporting period. A major artistic event was the loan of a rarely-seen Titian painting by a State Museum in Czechoslovakia to the National Gallery of Art in Washington.

An exhibit, "The Personal Computer Revolution in America," had a 19 day run in October at the Embassy's American library, and was visited by nearly 10,000 Czechoslovaks. The Czechoslovak authorities did not interfere with the exhibit, which was publicized over VOA.

In March, the Czechoslovak government agreed to cooperate on USIA's "Architecture Today" exhibit under the sponsorship of the Union of Czechoslovak Architects. In addition, "Pragokoncert," the Czech state concert agency, agreed to program "Artistic Ambassador" pianist Stephen Drury in June. Final approval was granted for display of the "Hauser-Namingha" American Indian art exhibit in Kosice, Slovakia, in April-May.

The new Exchanges Agreement calls for expanded Czechoslovak participation in the International Visitor program. In the October-April period, three Czechoslovaks participated in multi-regional programs, including projects in libraries and literature. There was no change in the status of translation, dissemination and access to books, films and other forms of cultural expression from the U.S.

While the Czechoslovak government makes little effort to encourage the publication and dissemination of written works from the United States, American literature in translation can be found at most major bookstores. Books chosen to be translated are often seem to be selected for their negative picture of American society rather than for their literary merit. A number of quality U.S. bestsellers do get translated. American fiction is translated quite regularly in the magazine World Literature. Customs duties have not been lowered to promote the dissemination of and access to books, films and other forms of cultural expression from the U.S.

Expansion of the Fulbright program is stipulated in the new Exchanges Agreement with the exchange of 3 lecturers in language and literature from each side for a full academic year and up to 9 lecturers and researchers in other fields for at least one semester. Implementation is expected, at least in part, during the 1986-87 academic year. At present, there are 2 American lecturers in Czechoslovakia and 3 Czechoslovak lecturers in the U.S. under the Fulbright program. Exchanges under IREX have not increased significantly, although an IREX delegation visited Czechoslovakia in November 1985 to discuss possible expansion in several fields. During the reporting period there have been no complaints from U.S. exchangees

regarding access to archives and libraries; a provision on access for scholars is included in the new Agreement.

Bulgaria During the reporting period, cultural and educational relations between the United States and Bulgaria improved somewhat, although areas of concern remain. The Bulgarians have continued to interpret the implementing program document narrowly in order to prevent direct contact between the Embassy and Bulgarian cultural and media institutions. The official USIA exhibit "Filmmaking in America" was not accepted by the Bulgarian side.

The U.S. has successfully sponsored book and folk art exhibits in Sofia. Bulgarian authorities have to an extent relaxed bureaucratic blocks to our Embassy's Press and Cultural Section programming of speakers on topics of mutual interest. Two speakers were presented by the Embassy in the reporting period, as opposed to only one in all of fiscal year 1985. Distribution of the U.S.-produced Bulgarian language magazine, Spectur has increased.

CULTURE

Books and Publishing The America best books exhibit was shown at the National Library in Sofia for 2 weeks beginning December 6. The books then were donated to the library.

Distribution of USIA's Polish-language quarterly Ameryka is still prohibited. A few American books are published in translation, but lack of hard currency to purchase rights continues to be a problem. Our Embassy's efforts to assist publishers have been effectively forestalled by refusal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to grant necessary permission. The Embassy produced an historical anthology of American literature, which was printed and bound outside of Poland; it has been distributed in multiple copies to university English departments.

The United States and the Soviet Union continue to distribute in each other's country their official monthly publications, America Illustrated and Soviet Life. Out of 60,000 copies of America Illustrated delivered for newstand sales, Soviet authorities continue to return several thousand copies, ostensibly as unsold. Spektrum, the Czech-language version of USIA's worldwide publication Dialogue, is distributed by mail directly to subscribers in our Embassy's library. USA, the Hungarian-version of Dialogue is distributed in 5000 copies by our Embassy in Budapest.

Since the autumn of 1985, a Hungarian edition of Scientific American has been published in Budapest with a circulation of 35,000.

Performing Arts In November, 1985 the Manhattan String Quartet performed in Moscow and Leningrad. Performances of the children's musical "Rag Dolly" were staged in those cities in January, 1986.

Six American jazz groups participated in the annual Warsaw Jazz Jamboree in October, 1985 with the financial and facilitative assistance of USIA and our Embassy. Several American performers appeared in Poland under commercial auspices, including the Cleveland Orchestra.

The "New Arts Trio" gave three performances in the German Democratic Republic in October, 1985.

The St. Lawrence University Laurentian Singers performed at our Ambassador's residence in Prague during this period.

Exhibits The USIA exhibit "Filmmaking in America" was shown in three provincial cities in Hungary, accompanied by showings of feature films.

"American Theatre Today", another major USIA thematic exhibit, was staged in Bucharest and two provincial cities in Romania in the fall of 1985.

An exhibition of impressionist paintings from the National Gallery of Art was shown at the Hermitage museum in Leningrad and the Pushkin in Moscow. An exhibition from the Armand Hammer Collection was also shown at the Hermitage.

The American exhibit "American Architecture Today" was shown in Poland at the architecture faculties of Gdansk and Warsaw Polytechnics and at the Museum of Architecture in Wroclaw. This exhibit was also shown at the Architecture Faculty in Bratislava.

In Bulgaria, our Embassy, in cooperation with the Bulgarian Committee for Culture, sponsored an exhibit of the two works of two American Indian artists for 3 weeks in February-March. Early in October, the exhibit "Bionics USA" was shown at the Plovdiv trade fair.

EDUCATION

Fulbright Program The following table shows the number of lecturers and researchers exchanged during the reporting period under the Fulbright program.

	From U.S.	To U.S.
Bulgaria	1	1
Czechoslovakia	2	3
Hungary	8	13
Poland	16	26
Romania	1	4
USSR	6	4

International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) Program Figures for the IREX program in the USSR and other East European countries follow:

	From U.S.	To U.S.
Bulgaria	1	1
Czechoslovakia	3	1
GDR	9	4
Hungary	3	2
Poland	1	1
Romania	1	2
USSR	22	48

Language Programs for Russian language study between American colleges and universities and Soviet academic institutions such as Moscow's Pushkin Institute and Leningrad State University remain active. American students travel to Leningrad State University for language study under the auspices of the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE). The American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR), Ohio State University and Middlebury College among others provide opportunities for American college students to undertake advanced language study in Moscow at the Pushkin Institute. In addition, a number of U.S. commercial

organizations have language study programs in Leningrad for American college students. Approximately 220 Russian-language students from the U.S. have taken part in these study programs during the year.

In Poland, U.S. students are able to participate in Polish language and culture courses under the auspices of institution-to-institution agreements between U.S. and Polish universities. There are summer language and culture programs for Americans at Krakow Jagiellonian University and Lublin University under the auspices of the Kosciuszko Foundation . Other summer programs for American students exist at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan and at the University of Warsaw.

Chapter One

General Assessment of the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document

Overview

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) represents a framework for the 35 participating states to work to resolve the humanitarian, economic, political, scientific, and military issues that divide Europe. The Final Act underscores that each area is of equal importance to genuine security and cooperation in Europe. The Western objective has been to preserve and strengthen this process by a thorough review of implementation of the Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document and agreement on balanced and constructive steps forward.

The Final Act recognizes that follow-up meetings are essential for maintaining the Helsinki framework as a vigorous means of addressing problems in Europe. The Madrid Follow-up Meeting, the second such CSCE review conference, began on November 11, 1980, and came to a close on September 9, 1983. The Madrid Concluding Document confirmed and expanded upon the original Helsinki Final Act of 1975. It includes significant new provisions in the area of human rights, trade union freedoms, human contacts, free flow of information, access to diplomatic and consular missions, and measures against terrorism.

It also mandated seven follow-on "experts" meetings leading up to the next review conference, which will begin on November 4, 1986, in Vienna. The United States has participated actively and fully in these meetings, both as a means of assessing existing problems of implementation and seeking balanced progress in the CSCE.

This is the 21st semiannual report submitted by the President to the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe under the provisions of Public Law 94-304 of June 3, 1976. It surveys significant developments in the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document during the period April 1, 1986 through October 1, 1986. The purpose of the report is to assist the Commission in its task of monitoring and encouraging compliance with the Helsinki accords and the Madrid Concluding Document. These reports are themselves an important element of the U.S. Government's efforts to assess the progress and shortcomings in achieving the CSCE goals of strengthening security, expanding cooperation, building mutual confidence, and promoting human rights.

Review of Implementation

For most CSCE participating states, the status of implementation over the current reporting period did not change significantly from earlier periods. The overall record of compliance of the Warsaw Pact nations with their CSCE commitments remained seriously flawed. Although some positive steps were taken by these governments, the status of implementation over the current reporting period did not change significantly from earlier periods.

In the Soviet Union, Trust Group leader Vladimir Brodskiy was released from labor camp two years early and allowed to emigrate with his family. In addition, Anatoly Shcharanskiy's mother and brother and Trust Group activist Yuriy Medvedkov were allowed to emigrate to the West. Twenty-four hours after accused Soviet spy Gennadiy Zakharov was ordered expelled from the U.S., it was announced that Moscow Helsinki Group leader Yuriy Orlov would be permitted to come to the West. In a move unprecedented since the advent of U.S. divided family representation lists, the Soviet Union in late May and early June -- at the Bern human contacts meeting -- announced its decision to allow the emigration of 65 divided families with relatives in the U.S., comprising approximately 200 individuals. (By the end of the reporting period, however, roughly half of these had not yet received their exit documentation.)

Romania announced the resolution of a number of humanitarian cases during the CSCE experts meeting on human contacts in Bern, and substantially improved its handling of family reunification and binational marriage cases during this period. Further, Romanian authorities recently agreed to permit the printing of some 5,000 Bibles for Baptist Churches in Romania in 1986, and released several long-term prisoners identified with issues of religious freedom as part of a recent amnesty.

On July 17 the Sejm (the Polish Parliament) passed a law permitting the release of both criminal and political prisoners under certain circumstances. On September 11, Minister of Internal Affairs Czeslaw Mkiszcak ordered the release of all political prisoners. Most Polish observers, including representatives of Solidarity and the Church, agree that, in fact, as of the close of this reporting period, all people considered to be political prisoners have been freed.

Hungarian compliance with the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document remained relatively good. Hungary has remained a relatively congenial place for Western business and cooperation in the fields of culture, science, and technology continued to develop.

If present trends continue, the number of East Germans emigrating to the Federal Republic of Germany in 1986 will almost certainly equal the number of such emigrants in 1985, the GDR's second most liberal year for emigration since these reports began.

Although its performance on many freedom of movement issues leaves much to be desired, Czechoslovakia has maintained its relatively good record on the issue of divided families. Czechoslovakia and the U.S. signed a bilateral cultural, educational, and scientific exchanges agreement during the reporting period which sanctions free dissemination of some materials.

During the reporting period, Bulgaria resolved favorably most of the pending family reunification cases presented by the U.S. Embassy in Sofia and increased the number of Bulgarians allowed to visit relatives in the U.S.

Negative developments in CSCE implementation continued, however. There were continued reports of Romanian government efforts to restrict cultural and educational activities of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Romania. The abrupt expulsion of two American visitors, continued efforts by the government to control and influence the writings of Western journalists, and objections to visits by outside legal and other experts concerned about human rights raised further doubts about the seriousness of the Romanian government's commitments to bettering human contacts. During the past six months, professional travel has in general become more difficult. Numerous academic experts have been refused exit permission, and the Romanian government has reduced the number of individuals traveling on cultural exchange programs. The government has continued to implement rules reducing contacts between Romanians and foreigners, notably its additional restrictions on access by foreigners to Romanian industrial facilities. The sudden demolition in Bucharest of a Sephardic synagogue and the Seventh Day Adventists' headquarters and church was of major concern to the United States.

In Poland, church-state relations remained cool. In September, Jozef Cardinal Glemp broke off negotiations for the creation of a Church-sponsored agricultural fund because of Polish government resistance in the talks which had prolonged them for four years.

Hungary's record of compliance in many CSCE matters was marred by some negative developments. Implementation of the liberalized issuance of passports, for example, which began during the previous reporting period, remained spotty. Prominent philosopher and member of the "Democratic Opposition" Janos Kis, who traveled abroad last October for the first time

in years, has been unable to secure another passport. In August the Deputy Minister of Culture announced that prize-winning writer Istvan Csurka will no longer enjoy access to the established media as a result of his cooperation with "hostile forums" while in New York in March 1986.

The 25th anniversary of the Berlin Wall on August 13 and a rash of reported shooting incidents at the wall and inner-German border highlighted the continuing refusal of the GDR to respect the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. Contacts with Westerners, family reunification, binational marriages, emigration and travel to the West remain difficult for GDR citizens. Emigration procedures remain arbitrary; only a fraction of those who desire to leave have been allowed to do so, and many emigration applicants face reprisals ranging from harassment to imprisonment. The GDR's borders remain as secure as ever and escapes have steadily decreased since 1982. Desperate individual attempts, however, seemed to have increased in recent months, and it is clear that GDR border guards are instructed to use deadly force to prevent escapes. GDR border guards fired on a truck driver, his fiancee, and their infant child during a spectacular escape through Checkpoint Charlie in early September. Another attempted escape ended tragically, when, according to eyewitness reports, GDR border guards continued to fire on an East German vehicle trying to pass through a border control point even after it had been brought to a stop. The driver was carried away from the car, apparently lifeless. This was the first apparent killing of a would-be escapee since November 1984.

While the number of trials in human-rights cases in Czechoslovakia has remained comparable to what we observed during the previous period, the number of individuals in detention has risen significantly and this may portend an increase in trials in the near future. Additionally, the authorities continue to resort to a variety of non-judicial measures -- including threats, interrogations, short-term detentions, job dismissals, denial of passports and educational opportunities -- to try to stifle any political, religious, or cultural activities that have not been organized by the communist party or affiliated institutions. On September 2, seven leaders of the Jazz Section, a group of some 6000 Czechoslovak jazz amateurs and fans, were arrested and continue to be held in detention. Opportunities for Czechoslovak citizens to travel to the West remain extremely limited and the country's tight border controls are renowned as mortally dangerous to those who attempt to leave the country surreptitiously. Two separate occurences during late September reveal Czechoslovak harshness in preventing unauthorized departures. In one instance, border guards reportedly pursuing Polish escapees shot and killed a citizen of the Federal Republic of Germany on

FRG territory and held his body for four days, returning it in a condition that made the precise cause of death unclear. In a second incident, Czechoslovak guards seized an Austrian pensioner on Austrian territory and held him for seven hours, forcing him to sign an untruthful and incriminating statement.

Bulgaria continued to pursue policies during the period that deny and suppress the ethnic identity of the country's Turkish minority, that inhibit the free practice of religion, and that discourage and penalize any dissent against the actions or nature of the regime.

In the international arena, continued Soviet prosecution of war against the Afghan people, and its support of the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia and Vietnam's war against the Cambodian resistance were in flagrant violation of the basic principles guiding relations between states.

Persecution by the Soviet authorities of Soviet citizens who attempted to express themselves freely continued at an unabated rate during the six months under review. Religious believers, proponents of greater cultural and political rights for ethnic minorities, human rights monitors, and peace activists alike were subjected to harassment and often to arrest and imprisonment. Assertion of religious and cultural identity brought arrests to Jews, Ukrainians, Pentecostal Christians, Baptists, and others. An independent peace group was subjected to harassment, arrests, confinement to psychiatric hospitals and expulsions.

Andrey Sakharov remained in isolation, apparently still confined to the closed city of Gorky. Yelena Bonner, his wife, returned to the USSR after treatment in the West and rejoined Sakharov in exile. Most former Helsinki monitors remained in prison, labor camps or internal exile. Several human rights activists confined in labor camps had their sentences extended shortly before their scheduled release on charges of violations of camp regulations. Some faced deterioration in their conditions of confinement: no family visits, no letters, punishment cells, beatings and sub-standard surgical care for injuries sustained while in prison. Independent peace activists faced arrest, detention, and expulsion from the Soviet Union. Soviet abuse of psychiatry for political purposes continued unabated. Fifty-four year old political prisoner Mark Morozov reportedly died in prison on August 3.

Despite commitments under the Helsinki Final Act to facilitate family reunification, the rate of emigration from the Soviet Union remained very low. Only 421 Jews left the Soviet Union from April 1, 1986 to September 30, 1986.

The Soviet authorities maintained their traditional strict control of information media, essentially denying Soviet citizens access to filmed, printed and broadcast information which might call into question the tenets of Marxism-Leninism or the official line of the Communist Party. Substantial jamming of Voice of America and Radio Liberty broadcasts in languages native to the Soviet Union continued. American journalist Nicholas Daniloff was arrested on trumped-up charges of espionage and held for a month in a Soviet prison.

The Stockholm CDE Concludes

The Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE) adjourned in Stockholm on September 19, 1986 with the adoption of a set of confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs) designed to reduce the dangers of armed conflict and of misunderstanding or miscalculation of military activities taking place in Europe, which could give rise to apprehension.

The CDE was created in 1983 by the Madrid CSCE Follow-up Meeting as a substantial and integral part of the CSCE process, with the aim to undertake, in stages, new, effective and concrete actions designed to make progress in strengthening confidence and security and in achieving disarmament. The first stage of the conference, which opened in Stockholm in January 1984, was mandated to negotiate and adopt a set of mutually complementary confidence and security building measures, designed to reduce the risk of military confrontation in Europe and which would be of military significance, politically binding, verifiable, and would apply to the whole of Europe, as defined by the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Concluding Document.

One week after the conference opened, the sixteen NATO member states tabled the first proposal consisting of specific, concrete measures designed to make the European military environment more predictable and stable. These proposals included exchange of military information on forces stationed in Europe, advance notification of major military activities, observation of all notified military activities, and inspection as the means of verifying compliance. Much later, the East offered six alternate and largely declaratory proposals including a treaty on the non-use of force, a non-first use of nuclear weapons pledge, creation of nuclear and chemical weapons free zones and the reduction of military budgets. In the area of concrete measures, the Soviet Union further impeded progress by refusing to discuss CSBMs for land activities unless the notification of independent air and naval activities was also included -- subjects inconsistent with the mandate of the Conference.

The neutral and non-aligned (NNA) states took positions broadly complementary to the Western approach throughout the Conference, and in November of 1985 tabled their own package of concrete CSBMs.

The first 18 months of the Conference were dominated by the debate between the Eastern and Western approaches to confidence- and security-building. Only following President Reagan's offer to discuss the Soviet's non-use of force proposal in return for their serious discussion of concrete CSBMs, did substantive negotiations begin, slowly, to move forward. Even though the pace of the negotiations accelerated following President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev's statement of commitment to a successful CDE outcome at the November 1985 Geneva summit, Soviet foot-dragging and counter-productive linkages delayed actual drafting until the spring of 1986, and the resolution of key issues until the summer of 1986.

The CSBMs eventually agreed to at Stockholm largely reflect the Western agenda and approach to confidence and security building. They include:

-- Notification: 42 days prior notification of military activities taking place within the whole of Europe whenever they involve a divisional structure or 2 or more brigades/regiments and at least 13,000 troops or 300 tanks.

-- Observation: Mandatory invitation of observers from all participating states to notified military activities above a threshold of 17,000 troops.

-- Forecasting: The exchange of annual forecasts of all notifiable military activities with large-scale activities (over 40,000) announced a year in advance and activities over 75,000 prohibited unless forecast even further in advance.

-- Inspection: On-site inspection from the air or ground or both as the means of verifying compliance with agreed measures, with no right of refusal.

The Conference's reaffirmation of the non-use of force principle reflected the Western approach to security and included language on human rights, antiterrorism, compliance with international commitments and denying the validity of the so-called "Brezhnev doctrine."

The obligatory measures adopted in the Stockholm document mark a significant advance over the largely voluntary measures contained in the Helsinki Final Act, and transform the concept of confidence-building into practical procedures. The zone of

application for CSBMs has been expanded to cover all Soviet European territory. The threshold for advance notification has been cut almost in half from that adopted in Helsinki (from 25,000 to 13,000) and elements of structure and equipment have been added to the numerical threshold to make it more militarily significant and verifiable. Observation has been made mandatory for activities over a given threshold. The most significant advance was the provision for inspection without right of refusal. This is the first undertaking in which the Soviet Union has agreed to inspection of military activities on its territory. In sum, if fully implemented by all parties, the detailed provisions of the Stockholm document can make military activities in Europe more predictable and inhibit opportunities to use military force for political intimidation.

However, the Stockholm Document does not include everything the West aimed for, nor does it exhaust the potential for further work on CSBMs. On the issue of inspection, the East rejected the NNAs offer to provide neutral aircraft and crews. We continue to believe that either inspecting state or neutral aircraft would produce a more effective form of verification than use of aircraft from the inspected state. And, while we can use this first experience with inspection with no right of refusal to help highlight ways in which the inspection regime can be enhanced, the CDE inspection provisions would not be sufficient for verification of any agreement involving limitation or reductions of military forces. We also did not achieve as much as we wished to in the area of informational exchange which is basic to the type of openness the Alliance sought in Stockholm and is seeking throughout the CSCE process. The future of the Conference itself will be considered by the Vienna CSCE Follow-up meeting as it reviews all fields of the Helsinki process. Of course, the success achieved in Stockholm has important implications for the CSCE process as a whole. By advancing the principle of openness in the military-security field, this accord can contribute to lowering the artificial and real barriers which divide Europe. But this advance in one area of the CSCE process also highlights the need for balanced progress on human rights and fundamental freedoms, where the East's compliance record is severely flawed.

The Bern Human Contacts Meeting

Delegations from the 35 CSCE participating states met in Bern April 15-May 27, 1986 to discuss "the development of contacts among persons, institutions and organizations." Ambassador Michael Novak headed the U.S. delegation. Issues addressed included the reunification of families, family visits, binational marriages, freedom of movement (including emigration), contacts among members of religious faiths and

national minorities, trade union contacts, the development of tourism, and youth and sports exchanges. Western countries paid particular attention to the obstacles that the Soviet Union and some of its Warsaw Pact allies place in the way of human contacts, contrary to their CSCE commitments. The discussion of problems was direct, and the Soviet response to criticisms was not as confrontational as at previous meetings.

A variety of proposals for improving human contacts were introduced and considered at Bern, and the 17 Western countries (members of the NATO Alliance plus Ireland) presented a draft concluding document recommending twenty practical steps for adoption. Negotiations with the East and neutral and non-aligned countries (NNA) did not produce a concluding document that met U.S. goals. A compromise draft submitted by the NNA contained qualifications and loopholes which could have been used by some governments to justify non-compliance with existing commitments. The U.S. determined that agreement to the document might also have raised questions about the credibility of the CSCE process itself. Therefore, the U.S. withheld consensus from the compromise suggested by the NNA, while other participants -- some expressing reservations -- said they could agree to the document.

The U.S. has stressed that lack of a document at Bern should not obscure the meeting's accomplishments:

-- There was a sustained, low-key and effective review of Eastern compliance with Helsinki and Madrid commitments. Implementation failures and lapses, as well as examples of improved performance, were detailed. The review reinforced the idea of accountability in the CSCE process and provided the basis for consideration of new proposals.

-- Many good ideas for easing if not resolving existing human contacts problems among the participating states were introduced and discussed. The draft concluding document tabled by the West provided a blueprint for the West's approach to human contacts issues at the Vienna Follow-up Meeting.

-- There were many opportunities at Bern for bilateral discussion of human contacts cases. In some instances, these discussions produced progress, including the resolution of a considerable number of cases. Experts meetings in CSCE have thus become a catalyst for productive bilateral business between some states.

-- More generally, Bern demonstrated the force of European values and the common interest of all Western governments -- both allied and NNA -- in upholding them. The inherent attraction of these values compels the East to respond in the same humanitarian vocabulary and may -- over time -- actually affect Eastern behavior.

Chapter Two

Implementation of Basket I
Questions Relating to Security in Europe

The first section, or "basket" of the Final Act has two main parts. The first part is the declaration of ten principles guiding relations among states. It sets forth generally accepted precepts of international behavior which the CSCE participating states agree to observe in their relations with one another and with other states. The second part of basket one is devoted to security issues. Here the participating states endorse certain confidence-building measures that are designed to remove some of the secrecy surrounding military activities; they also make certain more general pledges with respect to the importance of arms control and disarmament.

Principle One: Sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty;

Principle Two: Refrain from the threat or use of force;

Principle Three: Inviolability of frontiers;

Principle Four: Territorial integrity of states;

Principle Five: Peaceful settlement of disputes;

Principle Six: Nonintervention in internal affairs;

Principle Seven: Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief;

Principle Eight: Equal rights and self-determination of peoples;

Principle Nine: Cooperation among states; and

Principle Ten: Fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law.

The Madrid Concluding Document contains complementary principles which strengthen and extend the Final Act. These include pledges to take effective measures against terrorism; prevent territories from being used for terrorist activities,

assure constant, tangible progress in the exercise of human rights; ensure the right of the individual to know and act upon his rights and freedoms; ensure individual freedom to practice and profess religion; consult with religious organizations; favorably consider applications for registration by religious communities; ensure respect for the rights of workers freely to establish and join trade unions and the right of trade unions freely to pursue their activities and other rights.

Implementation of Principle Seven

The United States remains dissatisfied with the implementation record of the Eastern countries, particularly with respect to Principle Seven. This principle calls on the participating states to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, as well as the right to "know and act upon" one's rights.

The following section provides a detailed survey of implementation of the Helsinki Principles and related provisions of the Madrid Concluding Document. It treats specific cases in an illustrative rather than comprehensive fashion. Lack of information detailing abuses in a given country may not imply their absence.

Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has continued to violate both the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act principles. The Soviet Union persists in its occupation of Afghanistan and in efforts to eradicate national opposition there. In conducting its ruthless war against Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has used chemical weapons, bombed civilian targets, used ground and air forces to destroy villages and crops, and employed weapons intended to cripple or maim noncombatants. The Soviet Union also supports the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia and Vietnam's war against the Cambodian resistance. These actions are in direct and willful violation of the general principles set forth in the Helsinki Final Act, including respect for the inviolability of frontiers, the territorial integrity of states, and the self-determination of peoples.

Soviet compliance with Principle Seven continued to be poor during this six-month review period. Soviet persecution of dissidents, refuseniks, and religious activists continued unabated, as did suppression of national minorities and harassment of political prisoners and their families.

Andrey Sakharov remained in exile in the closed city of Gor'kiy during the review period. After six months in the West for medical treatment, his wife Yelena Bonner returned to the USSR on June 2. She reportedly has been unable to return to Moscow from Gor'kiy where she is still under sentence of internal exile. During the review period, Dr. Sakharov succeeded in having a letter published in the West from him to Gorbachev asking for clemency in the cases of a number of political prisoners.

Most former Helsinki monitors, including Nekipelov, Osipova, Kovalev and Serebrov remained in labor camps or in Siberian exile during the review period. Anatoliy Marchenko, who reportedly was beaten by guards at Chistopol prison, announced a hunger strike in August, demanding the punishment of the guards who attacked him.

Released on February 11, 1986, former political prisoner Anatoliy Shcharanskiy, who spent more than seven years in prison on a fabricated espionage charge, devoted his first six months in freedom to pressing for exit permission for his mother, brother and brother's family to join him in Israel. After months of bureaucratic delays, Ida Mil'Grom and Leonid Shcharanskiy and family left the USSR on August 25. Trust Group members Vladimir Brodsky and Yuriy Medvedkov were permitted to leave on September 20.

With only two exceptions (Meiman and Kallistratova), all former members of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group have been either sentenced to terms in prison camp and/or internal exile or have emigrated to the West. Members of the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Armenian and Georgian branches of the Helsinki Monitoring Group have suffered similar fates. Lithuanian Helsinki Monitor Bulys Gajauskas, incommunicado for three years in a labor camp, was seriously injured in the camp this summer by a criminal prisoner and was in the hospital for two months.

Information about political prisoners is scanty because the authorities permit very little communication between them and the outside world. Rigid rules restrict family visits and the receipt of letters and packages, and these privileges can be withdrawn at the slightest infraction of camp or prison rules, such as praying or failing to remove one's cap at the approach of a camp official. Even those whose sentences are finished live under hardship. A new regulation prevents them from setting foot in Moscow, which cuts them off from friends, relatively comfortable housing, consumer goods, and travel via Moscow. The third violation of this rule is reportedly punishable by imprisonment.

The only reported death of a political prisoner during the review period took place on August 3 with the death of Mark Morozov who was serving an 8-year sentence for authoring and distributing samizdat and for anti-Soviet agitation. Details

on Morozov's death are not available, and reportedly his family did not hear of it until 3 days after it occurred.

Soviet Jews have suffered particularly severe treatment over the last several years with arrests, trials and convictions of many Jews, especially those who actively pursue their own religious and cultural traditions. Moscow Hebrew teacher Aleksey Magarik, who was arrested in March at Tbilisi Airport allegedly in possession of hashish, was sentenced on June 9 to three years in a labor camp. Moscow Hebrew teacher and labor camp inmate Yuliy Edelshteyn, who suffered a broken leg and torn urethra in a February fall, and who had long been refused treatment in a regular hospital, was finally operated on in July and is slowly recovering. Moscow Hebrew teacher Iosif Begun has been denied visits by his wife and son for more than one year, and the authorities have refused to forward his letters to his family. Leningrad Hebrew teacher Vladimir Lifshits, who was sentenced to three years in a labor camp for "anti-Soviet slander," has suffered a serious deterioration in his health due to harsh prison conditions.

There have been no new arrests of Hebrew teachers reported during the period under review, though reports are beginning to surface in Moscow of a crackdown on several Jewish activists in the Ukrainian city of Cherkassy. A ritual bath (mikva) in Moscow's Mariana Rosha synagogue was reportedly destroyed by the Soviet authorities on September 26.

Harassment of Jewish refuseniks continued at a serious level during the review period. Leningrad refuseniks Boris and Margarita Yelkin and Yevgeniy Leyn were detained by the militia for several hours after a reception at the consulate in July. Six other Leningrad Jews were detained in April while on their way to a private exhibition of Jewish art. Periodic interruption of telephone service, occasional house arrest and frequent detention by the militia for several hours, ostensibly for document checks, continue to be common forms of harassment.

Many other religious groups have suffered from continued persecution during the review period. Soviet law requires any religious group to register with the authorities and forbids religious indoctrination of children outside the home. Believers of any faith, therefore, face a choice between participating in a group controlled and closely monitored by the authorities or breaking the law by joining an underground religious group. Although some Baptists belong to the registered Baptist church, many others are members of unregistered groups which have been severely persecuted. During the six-month period under review, Baptist leader Pavel Rytikov, who has already spent a total of 10 years in camps, reportedly was sentenced to eighteen months in a labor camp for violations of parole. Six Baptist underground printers from Moldavia were sentenced in May for up to two years in labor camp for their printing activities. Unofficial activists of

the Russian and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches and the Catholic Church continued to suffer severe repression during the reporting period. Moscow Catholic activist Kirill Popov was sentenced on April 18 to six years in a labor camp followed by five years of internal exile on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Ukrainian Orthodox activist Pavel Protsenko was arrested in Kiev in June on charges of slandering the Soviet state and social system. He reportedly is still awaiting trial. Russian Orthodox activist Aleksandr Ogorodonikov, who has been in camps already for eight years, was sentenced in April to an additional three years for violations of camp discipline. Russian Orthodox activist and former administrator of the Russian (Solzhenitsyn) social fund Sergey Khodorovich, who has already served three years for "slandering the Soviet State," was sentenced to an additional three years in April for violations of camp regulations. Orthodox activist Mikhail Bombin of Riga received a sentence of two years "corrective labor" without imprisonment for deliberately disseminating "lies" derogatory to the Soviet state and social structure.

Pentecostalists throughout the USSR continued to be severely harassed, with a number of new arrests and trials. Only a handful of the reported group of 30,000 Pentecostalists who have petitioned to leave the USSR have received exit permission. Pentecostalist Bishop Vasiliy Boychenko was sentenced in March to three years in labor camp for anti-Soviet slander. The Pentecostalist community in Chuguyevka in the Soviet far east has experienced continued KGB harassment during the review period. The entire adult community conducted a hunger strike during April in protest of the mistreatment of the eight members of their group who remain in labor camps after sentencing in early 1985. Several Pentecostalists in Vilnius, Lithuania have been harassed by the local KGB authorities and threatened with imprisonment if they do not discontinue their efforts to emigrate. Moscow Pentecostalist Aleksandr Zaytsev was arrested in September and jailed for fifteen days on charges of "petty hooliganism" after participating in a Moscow Trust Group seminar.

Even tiny religious groups were not immune to severe pressure. During the period under review, information was received on the harassment, arrests and trials of Hare Krishna followers in the Baltic Republics, the Ukraine, Russia and the Caucuses. Followers have been confined in psychiatric hospitals in Armenia and the Ukraine. Ukrainian Krishna activist Olga Sushchevskaya was sentenced to three years in a labor camp for "infringement of the rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious rites." Seventh Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses also continued to encounter serious obstacles to the free exercise of their religion.

Members of the Group to Establish Trust Between the USSR and the USA, an independent group of concerned Soviet citizens whose nonpartisan, nonpolemical approach to the discussion on

arms control and confidence-building stands in sharp contrast to the statements of the officially-sanctioned Soviet Peace Committee, were also subject to official harassment and arrests during the review period. Trust Group member Larisa Chukayeva was sentenced in July to two years in a labor camp on charges of "systematic falsification of official documents." Most Trust Group members have been briefly detained by the militia at least once during the review period for activities ranging from pro-peace demonstrations and distributing leaflets on the effects of the Chernobyl accident to attending trust group seminars. In September, three members were forcibly pulled out of such a seminar, arrested and sentenced to fifteen days in prison. Imprisoned Trust Group activist Vladimir Brodsky was released two years early and allowed to leave the USSR with his family on September 19. Yuri and Olga Medvedkov, after a summer of harassment (during which Yuri received one fifteen day sentence for petty hooliganism), were allowed to leave the USSR on September 19. The Zilbur family of Gor'kiy left the country in August. Artist and Trust Group member Nina Kovalenko, who demonstrated on a Moscow street on September 20 in support of Nicholas Daniloff and environmental protection, reportedly was picked up on September 25 and taken to a psychiatric hospital, where she had already spent several months earlier in 1986. She was told that she could be charged with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda due to her activities.

The Soviet authorities maintained unabated their attempts to "Russify" the Ukraine. Like other non-Russians, Ukrainians are expected to learn the Russian language. Ukranian cultural and historical objects have been neglected and according to unconfirmed reports, Uniate churches in the past have been destroyed. Despite the imprisonment of Ukranian Catholic activists Iosif Terelya and Vasyl Kobryn, the Catholic Church has reportedly continued with its underground "chronicle." Harassment of dissidents, refuseniks, Jewish Hebrew teachers, and cultural activists is more severe in the Ukraine than in most republics of the Soviet Union. Ukranian Trust Group members, moreover, are among the most harshly persecuted of the regional Trust Groups.

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, whose forced annexation by the Soviet Union in 1944 has never been recognized by the United States, have long resisted assimilation of Russian language and culture. It is often difficult to distinguish readily between religious and nationalist dissent in the Baltic republics. The Soviet regime is, however, equally sensitive to any form of independent expression. The review period has been marked by continued efforts of Lithuanian Catholics to recover use of several of their most venerated churches which have been seized by the authorities. Many Baltic religious leaders remain in prison or exile, though there was no firm evidence of new arrests during the review period.

Georgian Helsinki monitor Tengiz Gudava was sentenced in late June to seven years in a labor camp followed by three years in exile on conviction of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Emmanuel Tvaladze, a Georgian Jew and companion of Gudava, was sentenced on the same charge to five years in a labor camp followed by three years of exile. Two Georgian students were reportedly sentenced in July to up to seven years in a labor camp for "nationalist activities."

The Soviet authorities continued to exert steady pressure to encourage Muslim inhabitants of Central Asia and Azerbaijan to abandon their religion, calling it backward and subject to manipulation by "foreign enemies." Very few mosques were open for use, and there were few officially recognized clergymen. Moslem clergy not sanctioned by the authorities were attacked in the official press as "shiftless vagabonds and religious charlatans." During the Muslim holy month of Ramadan in May, seminars and conferences arguing the cause of atheism were held throughout Uzbekistan.

Evicted from their homeland at the end of World War II, Crimean Tatars continue to insist on their right to return there. In the past the authorities reportedly searched Crimean Tatar apartments in central Asia, confiscating documents on the subject of national identity. There have been prior reports of Tatar families who have tried to return to the Crimea to live and establish farms, but who have been sent away again. Imprisoned Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev now faces a new term of imprisonment for disobeying camp authorities.

The Soviet authorities continued to abuse psychiatric facilities during the review period to control and suppress political dissent. Moscow Trust Group member Vladimir Smirnov has been confined to a psychiatric hospital since April 29 with no prospect of release. Russian dissident artist Aleksandr Kalugin was confined to a Moscow psychiatric hospital on July 7 and has been held there pending his trial on charges of "resisting the authorities." Seraphim Yevsyukov, the father of an imprisoned draft-resister, was confined to a psychiatric hospital on July 19 while he was on his way to publicly demonstrate in support of his son. He reportedly has been given a prolonged treatment of injections. Many other political and religious activists, including at least one member of the Moscow Trust Group, remained in psychiatric hospitals through the latest review period.

A new Ministry of Foreign Affairs Administration for Humanitarian and Cultural affairs, with a separate office of human rights, was established in June, allegedly as the result of General Secretary Gorbachev's stated desire to deal seriously with humanitarian questions. In a related move in July, an "independent" commission on humanitarian affairs and human rights within the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation was established with the stated purpose of

familiarizing the Soviet public with both Soviet and International law governing human rights, including issues of workers' rights and labor law. It is too early to judge whether these moves reflect only a Soviet attempt at window-dressing or a more sophisticated and less-polemical approach to human rights.

Independent labor unions are not allowed under the Soviet system. Existing "unions" are completely controlled by the party-state apparatus and serve largely to promote ideological indoctrination, work force mobilization, and labor discipline. Strikes are not permitted. Official unions are expected to respond rapidly to changing political priorities, as in the case of the current Soviet anti-alcohol campaign. Although some recent party documents call for an unspecified increase in worker participation in the USSR, this has not been reflected in the activities of official unions. Severe repression of past attempts to organize independent labor unions has been effective, as indicated by the lack of reports of such activity during the current review period.

Romania. The Government of Romania continues to highlight the first six Helsinki principles as key elements of its own national and foreign policy. Romania has sponsored, and continues to work actively for, creation of a new U.N. mechanism for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Another Romanian U.N. resolution would urge the application of "good neighborliness" in the settlement of disputes.

Romania's observance of basic human rights continues to be poor. While the Romanian constitution contains guarantees of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the same document, and Romanian law, either limits these guarantees or sets a standard of state control so vague as to make the guarantees meaningless. The constitution names the Romanian Communist Party as the guiding authority in the country, and the party, the government and its internal security apparatus tolerate no significant opposition. All forms of mass media are tightly controlled and freedom of conscience is seriously limited in a society where behavior is conditioned on the widespread belief that one out of four of one's neighbors is a police informant. Freedoms of association and assembly are limited by these same fears and by Government policies that allow meetings and assembly only for officially-approved purposes.

The practice of religion in Romania continues to be circumscribed by the government. Romania officially recognizes only fourteen denominations in addition to the Roman Catholic Church, which enjoys de facto recognition. Among the denominations not recognized by the government are the Jehovah's Witnesses, Christian Scientists, Eastern Rite

Catholics (Uniates) and the Nazarenes. The press campaign against religion in general continues, including attacks on these denominations.

Romania's fourteen officially-recognized religions are administratively supervised by the government's Department of Religious Affairs. Romanian control over clergy salaries, building permits, seminary admissions and printing of religious materials is routinely used to limit the growth and breadth of activities of these organizations. Government actions restrict the evangelistic "neo-protestant" faiths more than the Romanian Orthodox church (to which a large majority of Romanians belong), or other long-established faiths such as the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Jewish, Islamic or Reformed Hungarian church.

Romania's small remaining Jewish community has also encountered difficulties in the past six months. During that period an historic and unique synagogue and a major Jewish community facility -- an old age home housing some 80 persons -- were abruptly demolished to make way for urban renewal, despite earlier government assurances to the contrary. These actions led to considerable Western concern regarding the fate of other important Jewish facilities in Romania.

The Jewish community was also disturbed by an article seeking to show that the 1941 Pogrom in Iasi, in which many thousands died, was an event of only minor significance and one for which Romanian authorities bore no responsibility. The Jewish community has protested vigorously, fearing this incident might foreshadow the reemergence of anti-semitism in Romanian publications.

The growth of the fundamentalist churches in Romania during the last 15 years has led to continued friction with the government. Official attempts to discourage these groups more than others are stimulated by their faith in the primacy of religious belief over state authority in matters of conscience and by a stated government policy that the Romanian Orthodox church has a special position in society.

In a major new development, Romanian authorities agreed to allow the printing of 5,000 new Bibles for the Romanian national Baptist organization, the first printing of the "Cornilescu" Protestant translation in Romania since the 1920's. These authorities also agreed that "several" thousand additional Cornilescu Bibles might be printed each year subsequently, depending on the need. This agreement, if implemented, will be a major step forward. While the initial 5,000 Bibles are only for the Baptists, Romanian authorities have implied that it may be possible for other denominations to receive Bibles in future years under the agreement. This

development, while positive, is not likely to meet the demand for Protestant Bibles and other religious literature in Romania. Attempts to smuggle religious literature into Romania probably will continue, with those caught facing stiff penalties.

During this period there was no improvement in the government's performance on repair and construction of new churches. A large Seventh Day Adventist church in Bucharest, located in a renovation zone, was demolished in August. The Romanian government has now promised to allow the church to purchase a new building, but approval for a specific building is still awaited. Other churches also face legal action, possible demolition or closure. Church attempts to replace structures previously destroyed by authorities have made little progress and have been frustrated by red tape and an unfriendly bureaucracy.

As a whole, religious activists, particularly devout and vocal Protestants, are kept under scrutiny by the secret police and are subject to loss of jobs and social benefits, police intimidation or arrest, and in some cases beatings. We are aware, for instance, of the case of one Baptist pastor who is unable to obtain a work permit in order to move to a church currently without a pastor.

Romania's minorities -- Hungarians, Gypsies, Germans and a number of other ethnic groups -- live in a country infused with Romanian nationalism. School texts, history books, and mass media purvey a version of history which often ignores or belittles the role these minorities have played in Romanian history. Evidence continues to suggest that, despite public pronouncements to the contrary, the Romanian government systematically seeks to integrate and absorb these other minorities into one Romanian culture. Although some basic schooling still is available in minority languages, university-level education in minority languages now reportedly is available only in a few disciplines. New administrative measures continue to make it more difficult for minorities to enjoy more sophisticated forms of their own culture, generating discontent among Hungarians and Germans. There is little evidence of any economic discrimination; minorities have suffered along with all other Romanians.

Labor unions are integrated with and controlled by the party and state. Romanian President and communist party chief Nicolae Ceausescu is chairman of the national labor organization as well. In addition, two new "First Deputy Chairman" positions were created for the national labor organization, and these are filled by the Prime Minister and President Ceausescu's wife. The official labor unions are the only labor organizations permitted and are principally another organizational channel for imposing government and party doctrine upon the workers.

In discussing human rights, Romanian officials often assert that economic, "quality-of-life" benefits are the most significant human right. They say that, first and foremost, citizens have a right to the essentials of life: food, shelter, employment, and economic security. By implication, lesser standards of performance should be tolerated in the area of human freedoms in order to achieve rapid progress toward the primary goal. Romanian performance in the area of economic rights, however, is poor by any European standard. Once a primary agricultural supplier, since 1980 Romania has become a country where many basic foodstuffs are rationed, variety has declined, and some foods are simply unavailable. This decline in living standard has continued in the present reporting period.

Poland. Polish sensitivity remains acute on the permanence of the postwar geographic configuration of Europe. Government statements supporting the peaceful settlement of disputes and deploring the use of force are similar to Soviet foreign policy positions. As in the past, Polish officials frequently expressed concern over what they considered to be regular interference in Polish internal affairs by Western governments in general and the United States in particular. Polish officials regularly criticize the Polish language broadcasting of VOA, RFE, and other Western stations as interference, and jam some of these broadcasts.

Despite the release of all political prisoners and the claim that the situation in Poland is normalized, Polish authorities continue to restrict most forms of independent political, trade union, or professional association activities. Western publications are difficult to obtain and the circulation of Church-sponsored publications often fails to meet demand. During the reporting period there were several political trials, and persons were sentenced to fines or imprisonment for what they considered to be the free expression of their ideas. Human rights activists in particular object to parts of the penal code that permit summary judgments for alleged crimes against the state or public order.

Recurrent complaints about prison conditions and a lack of appropriate care have been heard. Accusations were made, for example, that prominent solidarity leader Wladyslaw Frasyniuk was beaten and that KPN (Confederation for Polish Independence) leader Leszek Moczulski was provided poor medical care for heart problems while in custody. The Polish authorities consistently deny any mistreatment. While it is clear that conditions in Polish prisons are sometimes harsh, Poland has no record of torture and has been known to release prisoners because of poor health.