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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
NATIONAL FOREIGN ASSESSMENT CENTER

HUMAN RIGHTS REVIEW
(16-22 June 1978)

SOVIET UNION

-- Trials: Jewish refuseniks Vladimir Slepak and Ida Nudel, both of whom were arrested earlier this month on charges of "malicious hooliganism," were convicted in separate Moscow trials on 21 June. Slepak, a radio electronics engineer and member of the unofficial CSCE Monitoring Group who first applied to emigrate in 1970, is the dean of the Moscow refusenik community. He was sentenced to five years of internal exile. Nudel, an economist seeking to leave since 1971, received a sentence of four years of internal exile. The sentences, less severe than the five-year labor camp term that is the maximum penalty under the charge of "malicious hooliganism," will probably be served in Siberia.

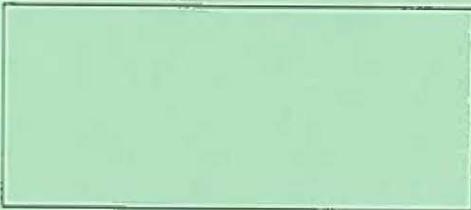
US Embassy officers have in recent years been denied permission to attend dissident trials. Close family members are normally admitted, but no Soviet friends or relatives were admitted to either of these nominally open trials. In the case of Slepak, however, it appears that the members of his immediate family did not seek admission. Slepak's wife, also charged with hooliganism, is in the hospital and reportedly will be tried later. Slepak's son is in hiding to avoid military service.

This publication is a compilation of articles prepared by the geographical divisions of the Office of Regional and Political Analysis. Inquiries may be directed to the Production Staff

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RP-M-78-10262
23 June 1978

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State Dept. review
completed

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The trials took place at a time when regime policy toward refuseniks is hardening. In spite of an overall increase in Jewish emigration this year, those previously denied exit permits are having more difficulty than in past years. The regime is apparently determined to convey the message that the publicity generated by the highly visible and activist refuseniks can only hurt them. (CONFIDENTIAL)

EASTERN EUROPE

-- Czechoslovakia: Dissident leaders are showing high morale and are determined to continue their work despite increased police harassment, according to an assessment by the US Embassy in Prague.

In a strategy session last week, dissident leaders reversed an earlier decision and decided to issue in August a condemnation of the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. They are now circulating a document criticizing Soviet President Brezhnev's recent visit to Czechoslovakia.

A new center of dissident activism has developed in the provincial city of Brno under the leadership of the newest Charter 77 spokesman, Jaroslav Sabata. There are about 70 Chartists in the Brno area, including several priests who have been spreading Charter-related ideas from the pulpit.

All but three of the more than 60 dissidents picked up by police in late May--before Brezhnev's visit--have been released. Two detainees have been charged with "incitement," apparently for circulating an unapproved manuscript, and face possible jail sentences of from six months to three years. The charges against the third man, a Catholic priest from Brno, are not known. (CONFIDENTIAL)

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-- Yugoslavia: Milovan Djilas, the 67-year-old archcritic of authoritarian Communism, is launching a drive to renew Western pressures on Tito to honor human rights in Yugoslavia. Last week Djilas told [redacted] that he is trying to mediate differences between 10 Croat nationalist intellectuals, who were imprisoned in 1971 and released in an amnesty last fall, and their Serb counterparts. He wanted the news of his new activities to be published this week, during the 11th party congress in Belgrade.

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The nature and timing of Djilas' challenge suggests that he is hoping to provoke repressive countermeasures. Djilas' abstract philosophical

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attacks on Communism and even attacks on Yugoslav leaders by name have been tolerated in the past because Djilas has usually cast his activities as a private, personal crusade. In seeking ties to ethnic nationalists, however, he lends his substantial prestige in the West to their cause and violates the minimal norms of conduct required by the regime. Even the moderates around Tito--who have argued that Djilas is best handled by ignoring him--may decide that sterner measures are needed.

Djilas' goal apparently is to put into perspective Belgrade's recent attempts to improve its image on human rights without making substantial changes in the Communist system. The authorities recently allowed celebrated dissident writer Mihajlo Mihajlov to leave for a lecture tour of the US. The amnesty of 218 political prisoners last November also tended to diminish foreign pressure on the issue of human rights in Yugoslavia.

Djilas has long asserted that the regime is denying him a passport. He applied last week for permission to leave the country, undoubtedly calculating that the request will be refused and that this will renew Western concern over human rights in Yugoslavia. (CONFIDENTIAL)

-- Poland: The dissident Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights (RUCH) may be adopting a more combative attitude toward the regime. At least three of the four recently-elected members to the editorial board of Opinia, RUCH's mouthpiece, would apparently favor taking more aggressive actions; they have not indicated, however, what specific steps they have in mind. A source close to the dissidents told a US Embassy officer that one of the founders of the movement, Leszek Moczulski, was recently removed from the board partly because he was accused of not adequately "challenging" the regime.

According to one spokesman, RUCH is currently trying to broaden its base and establish contacts with rank-and-file working people. In addition, two lawyers sympathetic to RUCH are searching for a legal basis for establishing a trade union of independent writers and publishers.

For nearly two years the dissidents have been on the offensive and have won de facto concessions from the regime. The more militant the dissidents become, however, the more likely the regime is to take stronger countermeasures. Past efforts by dissidents to establish contacts with workers have encountered lack of interest. (CONFIDENTIAL)

WESTERN EUROPE

-- EC-USSR: The recent sentencing of dissident Soviet physicist Yuriy Orlov has prompted protests from several quarters of the European

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scientific community, which normally carries on a wide range of regular scientific exchanges with the Soviets. Individual protests and debates within various national science institutes on the issue of future cooperation with the Soviets appear on the increase, but no concerted general reaction on the part of European scientists seems to be developing. The Orlov trial will, however, further increase the sensitivity of European scientists to the plight of their dissident Soviet colleagues. Some scientists have already organized various committees in defense of the Soviet dissidents.

French scientists appear to be taking the lead in this regard. Numerous pro-Orlov petitions and protests have collected hundreds of signatures throughout France's scientific establishment. The Orlov case has also resulted in numerous cancellations by the French of scientific exchanges and other contacts with the Soviets. The head of the French delegation to the coming meeting of the French-Soviet Scientific Cooperation Committee recently served notice that he would not attend for "non-scientific reasons."

Scientists from other European countries are also protesting, although in a more limited way. German, Dutch, and Danish scientists are emphasizing individual initiatives, with only limited official involvement of national scientific institutions. In some cases debates about the propriety of scientific organizations becoming involved in political issues has dampened institutional zeal. None of the protest activities are being publicly backed by the respective West European governments. (CONFIDENTIAL)

MIDDLE EAST

-- Israel: Significant numbers of Israeli Muslim Arabs will be allowed to make the Hajj (pilgrimage) to Mecca this October, according to Israeli officials. Some Israeli Muslims were permitted to make the Hajj--an important aspect of the Muslim faith--last year after Saudi Arabia agreed to allow the pilgrims to use their Israeli passports with special stamps. Owing to bureaucratic delays, however, less than 10 actually arrived in Mecca. Israeli officials estimate that this year as many as 10,000 Israeli Arabs will make the Hajj. The Israeli Finance Ministry is planning to make about \$20 million available to help finance the pilgrimages, according to press accounts. (UNCLASSIFIED)

LATIN AMERICA

-- Guatemala: Fernando Romeo Lucas will be inaugurated as President of Guatemala on 1 July. Lucas evidently hopes for good relations with the United States--he believes he has little alternative--but he probably believes this depends more on Washington than on Guatemala. Compared to outgoing President Laugerud, Lucas may well differ more frequently and more strongly with the US on such issues as human rights, arms sales, and Belize.

Lucas is, above all, a product of the Guatemalan military system. He can be expected to make his own decisions and brook little disagreement. A man of limited flexibility and perspective, he is not well informed on foreign affairs, and his political skills are largely untried. Guatemalan rightists, including many members of the military high command, approve of Lucas' succession to the presidency but are characteristically nervous about some of the leftists who may win posts in the new administration.

Radical opposition groups, which are expected to test Lucas' early, will probably find him more willing to take firm countermeasures; in the process, he is likely to be less sensitive than Laugerud to US human rights concerns. (SECRET NOFORN)

-- Nicaragua: The Somoza government has blunted the latest opposition maneuver by revoking the arrest warrants against the oppositionist Group of Twelve and publicly declaring that the members are free to return from exile. The government would have been obligated to arrest the Twelve had they returned overtly, which would have provided the opposition movement with a badly needed cause celebre. The Twelve may yet stir up trouble--though not so much as their immediate arrest would have generated--but the government has increased its flexibility in handling whatever repercussions may develop. (CONFIDENTIAL)

ASIA

-- Indonesia: Ambassador Masters has made a cautiously optimistic assessment of the human rights situation in Indonesia. Some observers in Jakarta have doubted the government's ability to follow up its release of 10,000 political detainees last year with the freeing of an additional 10,000 this year and an equal number in 1979. They have based their pessimism on the low tolerance of Indonesian society for controversy and

the reported unrepentant attitude of many of the detainees. Nonetheless, the Ambassador believes that the openness and apparent successful conduct of the first major batch of releases indicate a genuine commitment by the government to go through with the program. Moreover, the International Commission of the Red Cross has resumed its inspections of detention facilities under more open and satisfactory conditions than ever before, auguring well for those still awaiting release. Ambassador Masters notes, however, that foreign pressure to continue the release program is still much stronger than domestic pressure. (CONFIDENTIAL)

AFRICA

-- Sierra Leone: President Siaka Stevens has cleared the institutional hurdles to the formal imposition of his long-held goal of one-party rule. A law approving a new one-party constitution, passed by Parliament on 26 May, was ratified this month in a national referendum, in which there were apparently some voting irregularities. The announced vote was 2,152,460 in favor of the new constitution and 63,132 opposed. The total population of Sierra Leone is estimated at 3.1 million.

Stevens has already opened Parliament under the terms of the new constitution, which gives him, as Executive President, an additional two years in office. Contrary to widespread rumors, Stevens had not made a deal with the opposition to put one of its leaders into one of the two vice presidential slots. He retained his two top men; Vice President Koroma was sworn in as First Vice President and Prime Minister Kamara-Taylor--whose position was abolished under the new constitution--was made Second Vice President. (CONFIDENTIAL)

-- Namibia: The South African Administrator General for Namibia has announced that voter registration will begin next Monday and continue for three months. The registration is for an election to select a Namibian constituent assembly; it is to be conducted by the South African authorities in Namibia in accordance with a detailed plan the Administrator General published last week.

The Western members of the UN Security Council have repeatedly warned South Africa that conducting voter registration unilaterally will complicate efforts to gain international acceptance of the Western settlement proposal that South Africa accepted last April. The Western proposal stipulates that voter registration is to be conducted with the participation of a UN special representative to be appointed after the Security Council accepts the settlement proposal.

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The South Africans, however, have argued that it will necessarily take several months to complete an initial registration of Namibia's adult population, and that an initial roll of eligible voters can be revised after a UN representative arrives. The Administrator General's latest announcement stressed the importance of completing the balloting before the rainy season begins in December. (CONFIDENTIAL)

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