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Restrictions on Foreign Travel in the USSR: Assessing Recent Changes

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A Research Paper

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October 1988*

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Restrictions on Foreign Travel in the USSR: Assessing Recent Changes

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A Research Paper

This paper was prepared by [Redacted] Office
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and may be directed to the Chief, Geographic
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GI 88-10093
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**Restrictions on Foreign
Travel in the USSR:
Assessing Recent Changes**

Summary

*Information available
as of 13 July 1988
was used in this report.*

Travel by foreign officials in the USSR is strictly controlled by a system of rules administered by official agencies. One of two recent diplomatic notes revising the rules, issued 29 March 1988, theoretically opens an area roughly equal to the size of the state of Alaska to foreign travel. In reality, however, this will do little to alter the constraints placed on travel in much of the country because Moscow continues to exercise almost complete control over visitors outside the Moscow and Leningrad areas:

- Although a second note, issued 10 May 1988, slightly liberalizes Soviet administrative procedures, it will not substantially increase travel opportunities. Almost all US official travelers will still be required to submit itineraries before departure—even to theoretically open areas—and Soviet authorities can deny or modify these at their discretion.
- At the same time, Moscow has not appreciably increased the number of officially open transportation routes either within or outside the Intourist system, thus creating few new opportunities for tourists as well as official travelers—who generally have easy access only to the routes and destinations served by the state travel agency.
- Finally, many areas that are in theory open—including the “newly opened” places—are geographically remote and not served by any established transportation systems, thereby making travel to them impractical or often impossible.

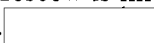
On the basis of these factors, we judge that, while only 13 percent of the USSR's 22.4 million square kilometers is now formally closed to foreign travel, less than 2 percent will be routinely open. Access to the remaining 85 percent of the country, in our view, will be restricted severely by geographic remoteness or by a combination of Soviet administrative procedures and a lack of approved transportation routes.

Nonetheless, the latest changes have some direct implications for US interests. They could provide some unique opportunities to observe a handful of sites of military or political concern that were previously closed to US officials. Permskaya Oblast and Sakhalin Island, for example, are no longer officially off limits. However, assuming current administrative

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procedures continue to apply, US diplomats will have to confirm procedures with Moscow for providing ad hoc support to US INF inspectors traveling in the USSR. As things stand, even in a medical or similar emergency, it could take at least 48 hours for non-INF inspection personnel to receive approval to travel to six of the eight sites where the United States will maintain a continuous presence on Soviet soil as part of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty. Finally, the latest changes have some direct implications relating to diplomatic reciprocity for Soviets traveling in the United States—Moscow is likely to press for a similar increase in access to US territory. 

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Contents

	<i>Page</i>
Summary	iii
Background: Five Decades of Formal Restrictions	1
How Moscow Limits Travel in the USSR	1
The Status of Soviet Territory	1
Formally Closed Areas	1
Geographically Remote Areas	1
De Facto Closed Areas	2
Open Areas	2
Administrative Procedures	2
The Intourist System	3
The 1988 Changes	4
Territory No Longer Formally Closed	4
The Status of Travel Routes	5
Travel in the Cities	8
Implications	10
Appendixes	
A.	13
B.	17
C.	19
D.	23
E.	27

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**Restrictions on Foreign
Travel in the USSR:
Assessing Recent Changes**

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Background: Five Decades of Formal Restrictions

The Soviet Government tightly controls the movements of all foreigners in the USSR in order to prevent access to areas Moscow believes would be detrimental to its interests. Since 1941, driven by concerns for national security and fears of unfavorable publicity, Moscow has formally closed parts of its country to foreigners and implemented bureaucratic procedures that, combined with the inherent limitations of geography and the Soviet transportation infrastructure, serve to restrict the movement of visiting officials and tourists. As a result, outsiders have ready access to little more than some major cities—most notably Moscow and Leningrad—and parts of the European USSR on a regular basis. The amount of territory actually accessible to US official travelers has remained consistently limited despite six regime changes and several reductions in the amount of territory officially declared off limits. By and large, these restrictions have gone well beyond those that most countries, including other Communist states, implement to protect national security.

On 29 March 1988, Moscow issued its latest note governing diplomatic travel in the Soviet Union and again reduced the amount of territory formally closed—this time by one-third (see appendix A). Since January 1978, some 20 percent of the USSR had been formally closed. Now, only about 13 percent of the USSR will be off limits to foreigners—theoretically opening an area roughly the size of Alaska. Closer examination suggests, however, that like its predecessors this recent revision is likely to do little by itself to improve opportunities for US and other visitors to travel to areas of significant strategic, economic, or political interest. Those areas will by and large remain closed to all foreigners. Access to much of the “newly opened” territory is limited because it is undeveloped—with travel impractical for even Soviet citizens—or because it requires transit along routes that pass through formally closed areas.

How Moscow Limits Travel in the USSR

The experience of US officials traveling in the USSR has consistently demonstrated that only a small portion of the country is routinely accessible. To control the movements of these officials—as well as the travel of officials from other Western countries—Soviet authorities formally close some territory and apply administrative procedures that limit travel even in areas that are theoretically open. As a result, only a limited number of routes and destinations are routinely open.

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The Status of Soviet Territory

Formally Closed Areas. Since 1941, the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a series of diplomatic notes listing specific regions, places, and routes officially off limits to foreigners. The 1988 note reduces the amount of Soviet territory formally closed to about 3 million square kilometers (km²) of the USSR's 22.4 million km². The proportion of territory formally closed has varied from 41 percent in 1941 to a high of over 50 percent in 1952 to the current low of about 13 percent. Although the provisions of the diplomatic notes apply to all foreign diplomats, they are aimed primarily at Western embassy personnel and attaches and also define the outer boundaries for travel by other visiting Westerners.

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Geographically Remote Areas. Travel in other areas of the USSR—arctic and desert regions, for example—is impractical because they are remote or undeveloped and outside the country's main transportation network. These areas are generally not reachable by foreigners and Soviet citizens alike. We estimate that 45 percent of the USSR is, for practical purposes, too remote for travel.

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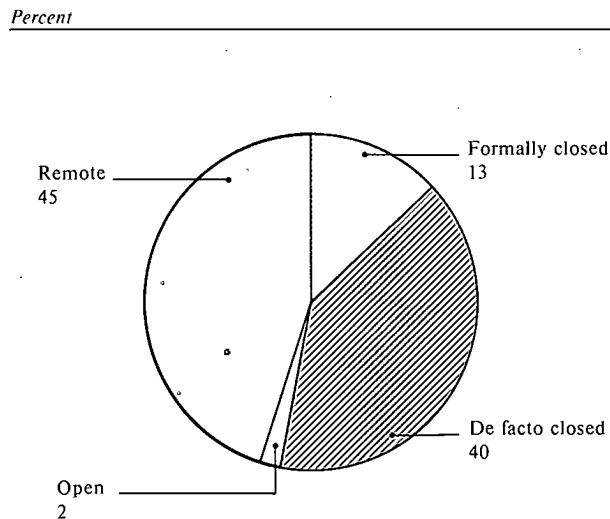
De Facto Closed Areas. Although large portions of the USSR, which are neither formally closed nor physically inaccessible, are theoretically open, we classify much of this territory as de facto closed because travel there is usually denied by the Soviets or there are no transportation routes accessible to foreigners (see appendixes A and B).¹ In isolated cases, travel is permitted to cities in de facto closed areas. Once travel is completed to a de facto closed location, we reclassify it and any new travel routes used as open. Embassy travelers, for example, in the last five years, visited about 45 destinations previously classified as de facto closed, according to State Department figures. Since our last report, however, only a negligible proportion of Soviet territory has thus been reclassified. This is because the new destinations were typically along transportation routes already open to foreigners, along major transportation routes within 50 kilometers (km) of open routes, or accessible only by air—meaning little new territory was actually traversed. Currently, we judge that about 40 percent of the USSR is de facto closed. [redacted]

Open Areas. Despite the recent reduction to the amount of territory formally closed, we estimate that less than 2 percent of the USSR is now routinely open to foreigners.² We classify as open only those routes and destinations that are specified in the Soviet diplomatic notes as officially open as well as those proved to be regularly accessible on the basis of the actual travel experiences of US officials. In general, only parts of the Moscow and Leningrad areas, the routes and destinations included in the network operated by Intourist³—the official state travel agency—and selected routes and cities mostly in the European part of the USSR are consistently open. For tourists, usually only the Intourist network is open. [redacted]

¹ The portion of territory in the USSR that we estimate is routinely open to foreigners represents the aggregate of the estimated metropolitan areas of open cities and a 2-km-wide strip visible to travelers along both sides of roads, rail lines, and waterways open to foreigners. [redacted]

² Intourist operates a system that consists of a limited number of destinations, accommodations established specifically for foreigners, and approved transportation routes. [redacted]

Figure 1
Accessibility of Soviet Territory to US Official Travelers



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Administrative Procedures

The Soviets retain the ability to control travel outside the Moscow and Leningrad areas through the application of a bureaucratic screening process. This process requires travelers to submit itineraries for proposed travel and enables Soviet authorities to disapprove or modify travel plans. This provides the tool for the Soviets to create de facto closed areas because travel to destinations that are not in formally closed areas can still be disapproved. Also, as with the formal closure of some cities, the denial of a destination that serves as a regional transportation hub can be used to block access to larger areas. Furthermore, these procedures permit the Soviets to restrict transportation routes and modes of transit, thereby limiting access to intermediate points; foreign officials are not permitted to take side trips when traveling by automobile or alight from trains or aircraft until final destinations are reached. [redacted]

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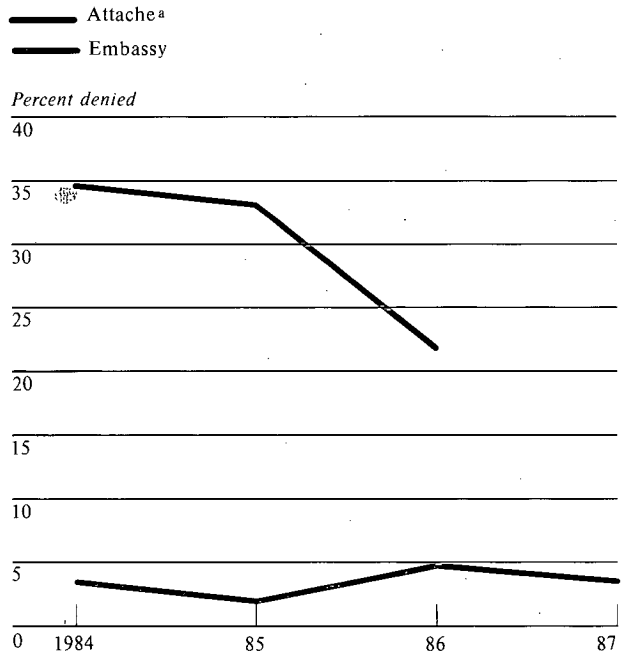
The specific procedures required by Moscow before it will approve any official travel are set forth in a diplomatic note dated 10 May 1988. Although this note now excludes Heads of Missions, Plenipotentiary Ministers, Counselors, and Heads of Consular Missions—in addition to the ambassador—from the procedures, it reconfirms that all other travelers must submit detailed itineraries for all travel outside the Moscow and Leningrad areas. Specifically, these itineraries must include the date and time of departure, mode of transportation (including flight number or train number), exact route, location and duration of any stopovers, and final destination (including name of hotel, date, and time of arrival). Itineraries must be submitted by diplomatic personnel to the Protocol Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and by defense attaches to the External Relations Directorate of the Ministry of Defense. For travel on roads within the Intourist network, travel plans must be submitted 24 hours (of which eight must be a normal working day) in advance of anticipated departure. For travel on roads outside the Intourist network, they must be submitted two working days in advance. The Soviets will consider, and on rare occasions approve, itineraries that involve travel to formally closed areas; however, less than 5 percent of such trips requested by the US Embassy have been approved in the last four years. [redacted]

Proposals for official travel outside the Intourist network are more frequently disapproved than those for travel within it—even if such trips do not include travel in formally closed areas, according to the records of US defense attaches and Embassy personnel. Soviet authorities provide a variety of reasons for not approving travel plans as submitted, according to Embassy and attache reporting. Among the more commonly stated reasons for denial are the unavailability of transportation tickets or hotel rooms and the fact that routes specified in the itinerary are not open to foreign travelers. Sometimes Soviet authorities deny travel “for reasons of a temporary nature,” without further explanation. [redacted]

The Intourist System

Although there have been recent changes to foreign travel restrictions, the Intourist system is unaffected

Figure 2
USSR: Denial Rates for US Official Travel to Areas not Formally Closed, 1984-87



^a Data not available for 1987

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and, as a result, will continue to be an effective mechanism to restrict movement. In practice, the Intourist network serves as the principal conduit for official travelers and tourists alike. In general, Soviet authorities want all foreign visitors to stay within the network. Because this system is established primarily in the European part of the USSR it does little to provide opportunities for travel in much of the country. [redacted]

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Nonetheless, a small expansion of the network may be possible in the near future. The number of US tourists visiting the Soviet Union is increasing—64,000 in 1987, up from 46,000 in 1986, according to Soviet figures. This may place additional demands on the network to open new areas. For example, areas are currently under consideration in the Baltic Republics, according to Embassy reporting, and the city of Vladivostok, according to attache reporting. [redacted]

The 1988 Changes

By our computation, the 29 March 1988 note governing diplomatic travel in the USSR removes about 1.5 million km² of Soviet territory from the formally closed list. Furthermore, unlike some occasions in the past, no new territory has been moved into the formally closed category. The changes also include the addition of several officially open transportation routes—all in the European USSR. In general, however, travel opportunities in many of the areas theoretically open—including those “opened” in 1988—will continue to be limited by the lack of open transportation routes and by administrative procedures that have not been relaxed. [redacted]

Territory No Longer Formally Closed

Although the March note theoretically opens 16 areas in eight of the 15 Soviet republics, most of this territory is concentrated in the more remote regions of East Siberia and the Soviet Far East. Nearly half of this “newly opened” territory lacks a sufficient transportation infrastructure to make travel by foreigners practical. Furthermore, almost another one-fourth could remain unreachable because transportation routes that provide access to it pass through formally closed areas. Access to the remaining one-fourth is questionable because it would require travel along routes that, while not formally closed, are not specified as open. [redacted]

In Chitinskaya and Amurskaya Oblasts about 700,000 km² (area 16, figure 3) have been removed from the list of formally closed areas, for example, but the effect is negated because a 50-km-wide strip along

the Trans-Siberian Railroad needed for access to the area is still formally closed, according to the Soviet note. In all likelihood, this means that foreigners, who are generally permitted to travel by rail through this area, will not be allowed to alight at destinations along the closed strip. Access by air is restricted because the regional airports serving the oblasts are located in the area still closed to foreign visitors. Even if travel becomes possible along the partially open Baikal-Amur Mainline (BAM) Railroad—which parallels the Trans-Siberian Railroad—access to most of this area would be restricted by a paucity of roads in the northern part of these oblasts. [redacted]

Three other areas appear to have constraints that could preclude foreign travel. The 180,000-km² area in the northern Koryakskiy AOk (area 14, figure 3) is remote and inaccessible. Access to most of the 80,000 km² in Pavlodarskaya Oblast (area 13, figure 3) is blocked because the city of Pavlodar, which serves as the transportation hub, is still formally closed, according to the Soviet note; the remainder of the “newly opened” area in the oblast is remote or requires travel along routes that have never yet been approved for foreigners. About 45,000 km² in northern Permskaya Oblast (area 9, figure 3) is also remote and, for practical purposes, inaccessible. [redacted]

Travel to Mordovskaya (area 8, figure 3) and Sakhalinskaya (area 15, figure 3) Oblasts require transit using routes that have not been specifically opened and are as yet untested. Access to Mordovskaya Oblast, for example, would require either rail transit from Ryazan' or Penza or air transit from Moscow to the city of Saransk. Access to Sakhalin Island would require air transit into Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk—perhaps from the open city of Khabarovsk. We believe that part of these two oblasts will ultimately prove accessible, but, by not specifically opening these routes, Soviet authorities can be selective in approving travel itineraries. [redacted]

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Figure 3
Changes to Formally Closed Areas in the Soviet Union, 1978 and 1988



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The Status of Travel Routes

Although several new travel routes are officially opened in the 1988 note, the mobility of foreign travelers will still be restricted because they will have access to only a limited proportion of the Soviet transportation network. In the experience of US officials, foreign travel in the USSR has always been limited to certain main or arterial roads and rail lines, Aeroflot—the Soviet national airline—routes, and waterways. As a result, travelers may not be able to reach some destinations that are theoretically open,

because Soviet authorities do not consider the necessary transit routes open to foreigners. In fact, even with the recent changes, foreigners will be permitted to use only about 4 percent of the hard surface roads and about 25 percent of the rail system—including 9,200 km of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, which has never been formally opened. If the BAM were also to prove accessible, the proportion of the rail system open to foreigners would increase by only about 2 percent.

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Table 1
Areas No Longer Formally Closed

Area (location on figure 3)	Approximate Size (thousand square kilometers)	Significance	Accessibility ^a
Leningrad area			
Triangle in Leningradskaya Oblast east of city, northeast of Leningrad-Moscow highway, south of Leningrad-Novaya Ladoga highway, and west of the Volkhov River (1)	10	Largely swampland, with some peat cutting and agriculture. Includes cities of Mga and Ul'yanovka.	Limited to Moscow-Leningrad highway; direct access from Leningrad blocked by closed area boundary in 1983. Note on travel in Leningrad.
The Baltic Republics			
Five rayons in Estonian SSR and five in Latvian SSR, along the common oblast boundary (2)	20	Largely agricultural area; Tallinn-Pskov highway open before 1988 does not fall within this area.	By two rail lines: Riga-Tartu or Riga-Pskov ^b and by road on Riga-Parnu and Parnu-Poltsamaa roads. Extensive secondary road network in area.
Six rayons in Lithuanian SSR (3)	10	Largely agricultural area; includes eastern and western end of the open Kaunas-Vilnius highway.	By road from Kaunas-Vilnius highway. Secondary roads provide access to some of the area. ^c
The Ukrainian SSR			
Two western rayons north of Kovel'-Sarny-Snovidovich highway (4)	20	Appears to open cities of Kovel' and Sarny, which are of slight military significance.	By secondary roads north from Kovel'-Snovidichi highway; by rail from Kovel' and Sarny. ^b
Ternopol' area (5)	20	Cities of significance in this area were open before 1988.	Secondary roads could provide access to most of the area. ^c
Zaka-patskaya Oblast (6)	13	Military training facilities along roads north of Uzhgorod and east of Beregovo and off rail spur South of Mukachevo. Area is contiguous with borders of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania. Key cities of Uzhgorod, Chop, and Mukachevo were open before 1988.	Can be reached by road or rail routes from L'vov to Mukachevo; secondary roads provide access to most of the oblast. ^c
Chigirinskiy rayon south of Cherkassy (7)	8	Agricultural area.	By road from either Cherkassy or Kremenchug. ^b
The Volga region			
Mordovskaya ASSR (8)	26		By rail from the open city of Penza to the south or by air from Moscow. ^b
The Urals region			
Permskaya Oblast (9)	128		City of Perm' can be reached by Trans-Siberian Railroad or by air from Moscow. ^b

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Table 1 (continued)

Area (location on figure 3)	Approximate Size (thousand square kilometers)	Significance	Accessibility ^a
The Transcaucasus region			
Southern Azerbaijan SSR including Northern Nakhichevanskaya ASSR (10)	40	Appears to open Nagorno-Karabakhskaya Autonomous Oblast—site of ethnic unrest, the cities of Stepanakert, Alyat, and the Kirovabad-Shamkor area—site of several army training facilities.	By road ^b or rail from Baku and Tbilisi; secondary roads provide access to most of the area. ^c
Tamanskiy Peninsula (11)	5	Appears to open Kerch' Strait—which separates the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea—and the small port of Temryuk for visual observation.	By road or rail from Kachkanar or by rail from Novorossiysk. ^b
Central Asia			
Eastern Kirghiz SSR (12)	87	Appears to open border guard village of Naryn.	Most of area can be reached by secondary roads from open city of Frunze. ^c
Kazakh SSR			
Pavlodarskaya Oblast (13)	105	Largely agricultural area.	Inaccessible because city of Pavlodar—the transportation hub—is closed.
The Far East			
Koryakskiy Okrug (14)	180	Barren; some reindeer herding.	Inaccessible.
Sakhalin Island (15)	76	Military-strategic outpost of eastern defenses; most key facilities are located at Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk and along the southern coast, some facilities near railline north of Poronaysk, and city of Aleksandrovsk-Sakhalinskiy.	City of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk accessible by air from Khabarovsk; roads or rails link key locations. ^b
Chitinskaya and Amurskaya Oblasts and the Yevreyskaya Autonomous Oblast (16)	741	Appears to open Chinese border, Yevreyskaya Autonomous Oblast—which may be accessible by rail from Khabarovsk, and the area along the new BAM rail line. ^b	Generally inaccessible because 50-kilometer band along Trans-Siberian Railroad is closed as are Raychikhinsk and Chita—the main air hubs. Birobidzhan can be reached by rail.

^a Theoretical accessibility based on areas no longer formally closed and past travel experiences. Actual accessibility is probably more limited.

^b Route not open before 1988 note.

^c Secondary roads in areas not open before 1988 note.



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Even though the newly added routes do little to increase the proportion of the Soviet transportation infrastructure open to foreigners, all of them are significant because they provide the opportunity for observation in otherwise formally closed areas (see foldout maps). These routes include the Tallinn-Minsk, Ternopol'-L'vov, and Leningrad- Orsha via Pskov highways, and the Apatity-Murmansk rail line—all located in the European USSR. The note also opens the Volga River from Moscow to Yaroslavl', via the city of Andropov—until recently a de facto closed city. Although the 1988 revisions do not appear to close any previously open routes, the status of those routes opened in 1978 but not addressed in the latest note is unclear. (See inset, "Some Unresolved Questions on Foreign Travel Route").

Travel in the Cities

Foreign tourists are generally permitted to travel only to selected urban areas—where they are allowed some freedom of movement during their stays. Of the 304 cities that we have identified as being of possible interest to US Embassy and attache travelers, we judge that travel to 192 (63 percent) is possible (see appendix E). On the other hand, the 25 cities identified as formally closed in the 1988 note are by no means a complete listing; we estimate that at least 25 other cities on our list may be off limits. Cities may be denied for several reasons, including the presence of sensitive military installations or the unavailability of services—for example, hotels and restaurants. Also, the placing of a single city off limits can have the effect of barring travelers from an entire region if that city straddles the only major road or rail line through the region and is the site of the only regional airport. In the recent note, for example, the closure of the city of Pavalodar has this effect.

Nonetheless, a number of cities of significant military, political, and economic interest are now at least ostensibly open. The only new city specifically opened in the 1988 note—Dnepropetrovsk—is a key strategic industrial center located on the Dnepr River in the southern Ukraine. In addition, several other cities located in areas no longer formally closed may prove to be significant additions to foreign travelers' itineraries: Perm—a key military and industrial center and transportation hub in the Urals; Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk—the administrative center for Sakhalinskaya Oblast and a key military and port city in the Soviet

**Figure 4
Travel Restrictions on Foreigners in Moscow**



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Far East; and Saransk—the Mordovskaya ASSR capital, which has become one of the USSR's leading producers of electronic goods.

The latest countrywide revisions will have no impact on travel in Moscow and little impact in Leningrad, where travelers already enjoy fairly broad freedom of movement. Travel in Moscow should continue to be relatively easy within the 3,300 km²—amounting to about two-thirds of the city and its environs—that are open to restriction-free travel. For travelers in Leningrad, there are no changes to the restrictions set forth in a separate 1983 note (see appendix C); 1,609 km²—about half the city and its environs—are open to restriction-free travel. To the east of Leningrad, however, a relatively insignificant 10,000-km² area is now theoretically open, according to the 1988 note, although travelers may not be able to reach this area directly from the city.

**Some Unresolved Questions on
Foreign Travel Routes**

The status of several additional open road, rail, air, and water routes listed in the now superseded 1978 note is unclear. On the first page of the 1988 note, the Soviets indicate that they are opening three additional roads to foreign auto tourists as a supplement to the special note of 4 April 1974 (see appendix B)—no mention is made of the status of the routes covered in the 1978 note. In some cases, the routes are probably open and may have been omitted because the destinations now lie within "open" areas. In other cases, however, the cities are listed as open, but access routes pass through closed areas. The routes now in question include:

- Road—L'vov to Mostiska/Checkpoint Shegni; Kovel' to Lutsk to Rovno; Vilnius to Druskininkai; Vyborg to Pyalli (toward the Finnish border); and Riga to Ogre, Sigulda, or Saulkrasti.
- Rail—Tashkent to Frunze; Tashkent to Alma-Ata; Tallinn to Leningrad, Riga, or Pskov; Leningrad to Vilnius to Grodno; Riga to Ogre, Ventspils, Sigulda, or Saulkrasti; Tbilisi to Baku; and Nikel' to Murmansk.
- Water—Riga to Ventspils.
- Air—Turkmen SSR cities of Ashkhabad, Mary, Chardzhou, Tashauz.

Although we believe that this may be an oversight and that Moscow did not intend to close these routes, until there is clarification, or they are tested by the submission of travel itineraries including these routes, travelers should be aware that they are not now specified as open.

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The status of two other rail lines is also uncertain. The Trans-Siberian, although routinely traveled by foreigners, has never been officially opened. On occasion this has resulted in US officials being denied access, particularly on the Siberian segment. Also, there has been no indication of the eventual status of the partially open Baikal-Amur Mainline (BAM), which runs parallel to the Trans-Siberian through Siberia.

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In addition, the status of routes traveling east from the city of Leningrad into the "newly opened" area is unclear. The use of these routes appears to be blocked by the Leningrad open area boundary set forth in the 1983 note (see figure 3). Again, it appears that this is the result of a bureaucratic oversight, but travelers should be aware that a literal interpretation of the 1983 note would mean that this area can be reached only from the Moscow-Leningrad Highway south of the city.

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Implications

The new rules at least could ostensibly provide some unique travel opportunities in the Soviet Union. For example, access to:

- *Central Asia and the Transcaucasus* would permit observations in two areas where ethnic tensions are prominent. In theory, travelers should now be able to reach Stepanakert, for example, the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh—the Armenian enclave of the Azerbaijan SSR—which has been the object of recent ethnic tensions. On the basis of Embassy experience, however, we consider opportunities to be limited as long as the unrest continues.

- *Yevreyskaya Autonomous Oblast* would be of interest because of its Jewish population. Although this region was established by Stalin to allow Jews their own homeland, it was unsuccessful in attracting Jewish settlers; only about 30 percent of its population is Jewish. Nonetheless, it could prove to be an interesting place to observe how the Soviets are treating Jewish citizens.

- *Blagoveshchensk*, a key cross-border trading city with China, would permit assessment of the pulse of Sino-Soviet relations. It is not clear whether foreign travelers will be able to reach Blagoveshchensk because ground transportation would probably require transit through the formally closed 50-km band along the Trans-Siberian Railroad.
- *Permskaya Oblast* might enable observations of rail shipments to the ICBM complex located to the south of the city of Perm'. Shipments must transit the city en route from the military-industrial centers in the European USSR. We would, however, expect Moscow to deny permission for travel into the area when important shipments are scheduled. Also, three forced labor camps—known as Perm' 35, 36, and 37—located near Chusovoy, about 90 km east of Perm', are of significance because they house prominent dissidents.
- *Sakhalin Island* could permit observation of military facilities—located at the southern end and in the center of the island—and the rail transshipment point from the mainland located at Kholmsk. Observation of military shipments to the island—related to the defensive network around the Sea of Okhotsk—might also be possible along the Kholmsk to Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk rail line. Also of significance is oil and gas development, particularly along the northeastern coast, targeted by the Soviets for joint ventures with Japan.

[Redacted]

Observation of rail traffic to the large Pot'ma Forced Labor complex, which has camps for foreigners and some dissidents, may be possible from the city of Pot'ma—a stop along the rail line from Saransk to Moscow. [Redacted]

Indeed, the recent experiences of nongovernment travelers suggests that the Soviets in certain cases may be increasingly willing to make some parts of their country more accessible to Westerners. Consequently, the success of "unofficial" travelers, like journalists, in reaching destinations that were previously off limits could be a leading indicator of greater opportunities for US diplomatic travel. Even so, US officials will

Nongovernment Travel Opportunities

Some unofficial foreign travelers, particularly journalists, business people, and scientists, may get more latitude than official travelers and tourists. Indeed, Soviet authorities have recently afforded several new opportunities to journalists. Within the last 18 months, for example, correspondents from several US newspapers visited six formally closed and six de facto closed cities. The closed cities are concentrated in two geographic areas: Central Asia and the Far East—in most cases well away from areas of strategic significance. Most of the de facto closed cities visited by these journalists were in the European USSR near areas usually open to foreigners. Scientists, often as part of exchange programs, and businessmen have also visited a few formally closed locations within the last year, according to State Department records. [Redacted]

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There may be several reasons why the Soviets may occasionally provide access to otherwise closed areas. Among the most likely, in our judgment, are:

- *To showcase successful large development projects.*
 - *To promote regions for joint development projects with the United States.*
 - *To appear more "open" in the spirit of glasnost.*
- Another—perhaps less likely but not unrealistic—possibility is that Soviet authorities may be attempting to test areas being considered for future travel-restrictions liberalization. Three of the six formally closed cities visited by journalists within the last 18 months, for example, were subsequently removed from the list of formally closed areas in the 1988 note. [Redacted]*

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probably still have to probe the system to find how much additional latitude it will allow them, and it might take several submissions of itineraries using variations of routes and modes of transportation before a combination that is acceptable to Soviet authorities is found. Also, we would expect the Soviets to refuse to allow travel to places where temporary regional developments could embarrass Moscow. [Redacted]

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In addition, current travel restrictions could make access to INF sites by personnel who are not part of the verification teams difficult, even in an emergency when team members might require medical or other assistance. Only Moscow and Ulan-Ude—the ports of entry for US inspectors—now have open access. Itineraries for travel to the six other sites⁴ where the United States will maintain a continuous presence will require transit along routes not usually open to foreign travel. This could delay processing by Soviet authorities who would have to evaluate the implications of the proposed travel and add at least 48 hours to the time required to get a nonteam member into any of these six sites. Furthermore, three of the six sites—Votkinsk, Jelgava, and Saryozek—are located in formally closed areas, thus requiring a special exception by Soviet authorities to permit travel and raising the possibility of even longer delays. Inspection team members themselves, however, should be largely unaffected by the travel restriction even at the three sites located in formally closed areas. [redacted]

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Finally, the new rules have implications relating to diplomatic reciprocity. Since 1955, the United States has maintained a policy of matching the percent of territory formally closed to US travelers in the Soviet Union by restricting Soviet access to the same percent of US territory (see appendix D), according to State Department officials. Most likely, therefore, Moscow will press for greater access by Soviet officials traveling in the United States. [redacted]

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⁴ These sites include five locations where missiles will be destroyed: Jelgava, Sarny, Lesnaya, Stankovo, and Saryozek, as well as the Votkinsk assembly plant. [redacted]

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Appendix A

Diplomatic Agency Note Number 79/Pr, Moscow, 29 March 1988

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics presents its compliments to the Embassies in Moscow and has the honor to advise that, in order to enable representatives of the diplomatic corps to travel more freely in the territory of the Soviet Union, the Government of the USSR has decided to open an additional number of Soviet cities and areas for visits by foreigners.

The hitherto valid List of Soviet Cities and Areas Closed to Visits by Foreigners, transmitted to the Embassies by Note No. 1/Pr of January 4, 1978, is no longer in force.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR requests the Embassies to be guided by the new List, which is attached.

At the same time, referring to its Note No. 101/Pr of April 4, 1974, the Ministry has the honor to advise that the following additional routes will be opened for travel by foreign motorists:

- Leningrad-Pskov-Vitebsk-Orsha (with certain traffic limitations)
- Minsk-Vilnius-Riga-Tallinn
- Ternopol'-L'vov

The new map of the USSR for orientation of the personnel of Embassies traveling in Soviet territory will be sent under separate cover.

The Ministry avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassies the assurances of its highest consideration.

List of Cities and Areas in the USSR Closed to Visits by Foreigners

1. A 25-kilometer strip along the border with Norway, Finland, Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan.

RSFSR

2. *Chukchi National Okrug*—a 25-kilometer strip along the coast to the east of the Amguema River as far as Cape Il'pyrskiy in Kamchatskaya Oblast.

3. *Kamchatskaya Oblast*, with the exception of the Penzhinskiy and Olyutorskii Rayons.

4. The *Kuril Islands*.

5. The *Khabarovskiy Kray* east of the Amur River, with the exception of the city of Khabarovsk.

6. The *Primorskiy Kray*, with the exception of the city of Nakhodka and travel to Nakhodka by rail from Khabarovsk.

7. The *Chitinskaya and Amurskaya Oblasts*—a 50-kilometer strip along the railroad in the Chita-Bureya sector.

8. (*Waterways*)—Travel on the White Sea-Baltic and Volga-Baltic Canals, the Yenisey River, the Lena River north of the city of Yakutsk, and Lake Onega, with the exception of Kizhi Island.

9. *Novgorodskaya Oblast*—the area between the railroad lines from the east (Chudovo-Uglovka) and from the south (Bologoye-Dno), with the exception of the cities of Novgorod, Valday, Staraya Russa, and the settlement of Kresttsy.

10. *Komi ASSR*—a 50-kilometer strip along the railroad in the Vorkuta-Zheleznodorozhnyy sector.

11. *Arkhangel'skaya Oblast*—the Solovetskiye Islands, the Primorskiy Rayon west of the Severnaya Dvina River, and a 50-km strip along the railroad in the Arkhangel'sk-Konosha sector, with the exception of the city of Arkhangel'sk.

12. *Gor'kovskaya Oblast*.

13. *Sverdlovskaya Oblast*, with the exception of the settlement of Zarechnyy for IAEA workers.

14. *Chelyabinskaya Oblast*, with the exception of the city of Magnitogorsk.

15. *Udmurtskaya ASSR*.

16. *Volgogradskaya Oblast*—the area east of the Volga River, with the exception of the area bounded by a line from the city of Volzhskiy (within the city limits), to the settlement of Srednyaya Akhtuba, and to the southern tip of Sarpinskiy Island.

17. *Astrakhanskaya Oblast*—the area east of the Volga River, with the exception of the city of Astrakhan' and travel to Astrakhan' by air.

18. *Murmanskaya Oblast*—the area west of the Voron'ya River and north of the line Kirovsk-Kuolayarvi, with the exception of the left bank of the Patso-Yoki (Pasvikel'v) River from the Borisoglebsk Hydroelectric Station to border marker No. 218, excursions to the Borisoglebsk Hydroelectric Station (the right bank of the Patso-Yoki River) for visits by tourists from the Scandanavian countries, as well as the Borisoglebsk border point, the cities of Murmansk, Kola, Kirovsk, and Apatity, and travel to them by rail and air.

19. *Leningradskaya Oblast*—the area west of the Moscow-Leningrad Highway and north of the Leningrad-Novaya Ladoga Highway, with the exception of the cities of Leningrad, Zelenogorsk, Gatchina, Vyborg, Petrokrepost', and Lomonosov, and a 30-km zone around Leningrad.

20. *Moskovskaya Oblast*, with the exception of:

- The cities of Moscow, Zagorsk, Dubna, Dmitrov, Serpukhov, Orekhovo-Zuyevo, Klin, Solnechnogorsk, Istra, Zvenigorod, Mozhaysk, Pushchino, the village of Borodino (Borodino Museum), the Prioksko-Terrasnyy State Reserve, the city of Volokolamsk with visits to Teryayevo village and toward the Dubosekovo Railroad Siding, Abramtsevo, the

village of Muranovo in Pushkinskiy Rayon, Sheremet'yevo Airport, Lake Senezhskoye within a radius of 6 km, and the Krasnogorskiy, Leninskiy, Serebryano-Prudskiy, Zarayskiy, Ozerskiy, and Kashirskiy Rayons.

- The Balashikhinskiy, Lyuberetskiy, and Ramenskiy Rayons west of the line Nikol'skoye-Trubetskoye-Balashikha-Kuchino-Tomilino, Zhilino-Ryazan' Highway (excluded)-Ivanovka-Zhdanovskoye.
- The Domodedovskiy, Podol'skiy, and Naro-Fominskiy Rayons north of the line Domodedovo Airport-Vostryakovo-Sergeyevka-Krasnaya-Pakhra-Aprelevka.
- The Odintsovskiy Rayon southeast of the Minsk Highway to Golitsyno Station (inclusive).
- The Istrinskiy Rayon east of the line Palitsy-Snegiri-Khovanskoye (inclusive).
- The Mytishchinskiy and Pushkinskiy Rayons within the boundaries of the Dmitrov Highway-Trudovaya-Rakovo-Zelenogradskiy-the Pushkino State Fur Farm (inclusive), excluding the Pestovskoye, Uchinskoye, and Pyalovskoye Reservoirs and a 2-km-wide coastal strip around them.
- Transit travel by automobile to open cities and rayons in Moskovskaya Oblast is permitted:
 - Along the Yaroslavl' Highway to the city of Zagorsk, the village of Muranovo (via Rakhmanovo), and the Abramtsevo Farm Center Museum (via Ryazantsy and Khot'kovo).
 - Along the Dmitrov highway to the cities of Dubna and Dmitrov.
 - Along the Simferopol' Highway to the cities of Serpukhov and Pushchino (via Lipitsy) and the Prioksko-Terrasnyy State Reserve (via Danki).
 - Along the Gor'kiy Highway to the city of Orekhovo-Zuyevo (via Malaya Dubna).

- Along the Leningrad Highway to the cities of Klin and Solnechnogorsk, to Lake Senezhskoye, and to Sheremet'yevo Airport.
- Along the Volokolamsk Highway to the cities of Istra and Volokolamsk, to the Dubosekovo Railroad Siding (via Volokolamsk) and the village of Teryayevo (via Maslennikovo).
- Along the Minsk Highway to the cities of Zvenigorod (to Golitsyno and farther on the Zvenigorod Highway), Mozhaysk, and the village of Borodino (to Modenovo and farther on the Mozhaysk Highway).
- Along the Kashira Highway to Domodedovo Airport and the Kashirskiy, Ozerskiy, Zarayskiy, and Serebryano-Prudskiy Rayons.

21. Travel is permitted on the *Moscow Canal* to the city of Dubna and farther along on the *Volga River* to the city of Yaroslavl' on steamships chartered by the State Committee for Tourism of the USSR.

22. *Vladimirskaya Oblast*—the area southwest of the line Aleksandrov-Kosterevo (inclusive).

23. *Kaluzhskaya Oblast*—the area northeast of the cities of Maloyaroslavets and Tarusa (inclusive).

24. *Kaliningradskaya Oblast*.

25. The cities of Magadan, Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk, Kaliningrad in Moskovskaya Oblast, Angarsk, Nikolayevsk-na-Amure, Komsomol'sk-na-Amure, Okhotsk, Amursk, Noril'sk, Dudinka, Dikson, Khattanga, Omsk, Kem', Kirov, Saratov, Kuybyshev.

Estonian SSR, Latvian SSR, and Lithuanian SSR

26. The entire territory, with the exception of the cities of Tallinn, Kohtla-Jarva, Narva, Riga, Ventspils, Jurmala, Ogre, Sigulda, the settlements of Salaspils (including Akademgorodok and the Salaspils Memorial Complex, Ikshkile, Saulkrasti, the cities of Vilnius, Druskininkai, Kaunas, Trakai, and the settlement of Pravenai, as well as the Valga, Viljandi,

Voru, Polva, Parnu, Aluksne, Valka, Valmier, Limbazhi, Cesis, Alytaus, Varena, Kaisiadorys, Kaunas, Prenai, and Trakai Rayons.

Ukrainian SSR

27. *Volynskaya* and *Rovenskaya Oblasts* south of the highway national border—Kovel'-Sarny-Snovidovich, as well as *Ivano-Frankovskaya* and *L'vovskaya Oblasts*, with the exception of the cities of L'vov, Rovno, and Lutsk, as well as the Dubnovskiy, Zdobunovskiy, Ostrozhskiy, and Chervonoarmeyskiy Rayons of *Rovenskaya Oblast*, and Brodovskiy, Zhidachovskiy, Zolochevskiy, Peremyslyanskiy, and Stryyskiy Rayons of *L'vovskaya Oblast*.

28. *Krymskaya Oblast*—the area east of the railroad line Solenoye Ozero-Dzhankoy-Simferopol' and the Simferopol'-Alushta Highway, with the exception of the cities of Dzhankoy, Simferopol', and Alushta.

29. The cities of Nikolayev, Sevastopol', and Balaklava.

Kazakh SSR

30. *Gur'yevskaya*,⁵ *Semipalatinskaya*, *Vostochno-Kazakstanskaya*, *Taldy-Kurganskaya*, *Dzhezkazganskaya*, and *Alma-Atinskaya Oblasts*, with the exception of the city of Alma-Ata, the Chimbulak wilderness area, and Lake Issyk.

31. *Pavlodarskaya Oblast*—Pavlodarskiy and the Mayskiy Rayons.

32. *Kzyl-Ordinskaya Oblast*—the area northeast of the Syrdarya River.

⁵ Information obtained in June 1988 indicates that Mangyshlaks-kaya Oblast was eliminated after the note was issued. The territory is now part of Gur'yevskaya Oblast, which is closed to foreigners (see paragraph 30). Since this change occurred after the issuance of this note, however, we do not now consider the former Mangyshlaks-kaya Oblast formally closed.

33. *Dzhambul'skaya Oblast*—the area east of the Mynaral-Lugovoy railroad.

34. *Ural'skaya Oblast*—the area west of the Ural River.

35. The city of Shevchenko in *Mangyshlak'skaya Oblast*.

Kirghiz SSR

36. *Issyk-Kul'skaya Oblast*.

Uzbek SSR

37. The territory of the *Surkhandar'yinskaya Oblast* within the boundaries of the settlements of Denau-Baysun-Sherabad-Dzharkurgan.

38. The *Karakalpak'skaya ASSR*—the Muynak'skiy Rayon and the Kungrad'skiy Rayon northeast of the Kungrad-Karakalpak'skiya railroad line.

Turkmen SSR

39. The city of Krasnovodsk.



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Appendix B

Diplomatic Agency Note Number 101/Pr, Moscow, 4 April 1974

The Protocol Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR presents its compliments to the Embassies and in addition to the Note of the Ministry No. 52/Pr of February 18, 1974 has the honor to name highways open for foreign auto tourists:

- Moscow-Vladimir-Suzdal
- Moscow-Yaroslavl'
- Moscow-Kalinin-Novgorod-Leningrad-Vyborg-Torfyanovka
- Moscow-Smolensk-Minsk-Brest
- Moscow-Tula-Orel-Khar'kov-Simferopol'-Yalta
- Moscow-Zagorsk
- Moscow-Abramtsevo (along the Yaroslav' Highway as far as Ryazantsy and then via Khot'kovo)
- Moscow-Dubna (along the Dmitrov Highway)
- Moscow-Solnechnogorsk, to the Lake Senezhskoye, Klin, Sheremet'yevo (along the Leningrad Highway)
- Moscow-Zvenigorod (along the Minsk Highway as far as Golitsyno and then along the Zvenigorod Highway)
- Moscow-Leninskiye Gorki and to the Domodedovo Airport along the Kashira highway
- Leningrad-Narva-Tallinn (without stopovers for nights)
- Khar'kov-Poltava-Kiev-Zhitomir-Chernovtsy-Parubnoye
- Kiev-L'vov-Stryy-Uzhgorod-Chop
- Novo-Alekseyevka-Chkalovo (with a drive into Askaniya Nova)-Novaya Kakhovka
- Orel-Glukhov-Kiev
- Kopti-Chernigov
- Kiev-Uman'-Odessa
- Simferopol'-Bakhchisaray
- Odessa-Kishinev-Bel'tsy-Chernovtsy-Parubnoye
- Kishinev-Leushany
- Khar'kov-Rostov-na-Donu-Krasnodar-Sochi-Sukhumi-Tbilisi-Ordzhonikidze-Pyatigorsk-Rostov-na-Donu
- Tbilisi-Kazakh-Sevan-Yerevan
- Kashuri-Borzhom-Bakuriani
- Kutaisi-Tskhaltubo
- Samtredia-Makharadze-Kobuleti-Batumi
- Yerevan-Vartanashen-Eraskagun-Khatunarkh-Echmiadzin-Zvartnotu-Varanash-Argavant-Markara.

Conditions of the drive to cities and settlements located on these highways for employees of foreign missions and consulates are reported in the above mentioned note of the Ministry.

The Protocol Section avails itself of the opportunity to renew to the Embassies its assurances of the highest consideration.



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Appendix C

Diplomatic Agency Note Number 219, Moscow, 12 December 1983, Travel Rules for Foreign Representative Staff Members in Leningradskaya Oblast

Circular Note

The Diplomatic Agency of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR in Leningrad presents its compliments to the General Consulates and has the honor to forward documents specifying rules for travel of foreigners in the territory of the city of Leningrad and the adjoining rayons, namely:

- A precise description of the boundaries of the zone of free travel for foreigners within the city limits of Leningrad and the recreation zones.
- Rules for travel by foreigners.
- A map-diagram of Leningrad (two copies).

Having forwarded the indicated documents, the Diplomatic Agency requests that the General Consulate Staff, as well as all members registered with the Diplomatic Agency at the request of the General Consulates, be guided by them during trips. For this, as before, written notification about trips with indicated routes of movement, points, and lengths of stay, and also means of travel shall be directed to the Diplomatic Agency more than 48 hours before the start of the trip, and for trips to cities and to populated places, located on routes open for auto travel by foreign auto tourists within 24 hours before the start of the trip. This period does not include time of nonworking days.

The Diplomatic Agency takes this opportunity to confirm to the General Consulates, assurances of its highest consideration.

Rules (For Travel of Foreigners in the Territory of Leningradskaya Oblast)

For travel by foreigners in Leningradskaya Oblast the zone is open around the city of Leningrad in accordance with the description.

Besides this, foreigners may visit specifically designated Recreation Zones:

- 1. On the northern shore of the Gulf of Finland from the settlement of Lakhtinskiy to the city of Zelenogorsk (inclusive). The zone is bounded by the shore of the Gulf of Finland and by the suburban railroad in the direction of Beloostrov up to the platform "Aleksandrovskaya," further on by the western shore of Lake Razliv, then by the railroad to Beloostrov and Zelenogorsk.

Travel to the zone is permitted along the Primorsk Highway and the suburban railroad in the direction of Beloostrov and Zelenogorsk.

- 2. On the eastern shore of Lake Razliv. The zone is bounded by the shore of Lake Razliv and the highway road to the monument "Shalash V. I. Lenin." Travel to the zone is permitted on the highway from the Aleksandrovskaya settlement to the monument "Shalash V. I. Lenin."
- 3. On the south side of the Gulf of Finland: from the settlement Izhorka (inclusive) to the city of Lomonosov (inclusive). The zone is bounded by the shore of the Gulf of Finland and by the suburban railroad in the direction of Lomonosov.

Travel to the zone is permitted by auto, by suburban railroad to the station "Staryy Petergof," and by local boats on the Gulf of Finland to the "Petrodvorets" landing.

On one-day trips to the Leningrad recreation zones, permission from the organs of Internal Affairs is not required.

With proper permission it is possible to visit cities: Gatchina (along the Kiev Highway and along the railroad through station "Aeroport"), Petrokrepost' (along Petrozavodsk Highway or by water), Vyborg (along the international tourist auto route and by international trains.)

As an exception, foreigners may go to the populated places of Yukki and Kavgolovo by auto transport along the Priozersk Highway according to the route: Leningrad-Osinovaya Roshcha-Vartemyaki-Skotnoye-Toksovo-Kavgolovo when international competition is held in motor and skiing sports.

Travel and stay with proper permission is permitted at the base "Borovoye" (139th km of the Eastern-Vyborg Highway) for consular workers located in Leningrad, for the sake of recreation and also for the purpose of hunting and fishing.

The territory of the base is bounded: from the north by a section of the railroad Lazarevka-Zhitkovo, from the south by a section of the Eastern-Vyborg Highway, from the northeast by a 50-meter wide zone along the shore of the lake, from the southwest by a dirt road.

Travel is permitted along the international auto tourist route: Leningrad-Zelenogorsk-Ogon'ki-Vyborg-Torfyanovka.

With special permission foreigners may travel to the settlement of Voyeykovo (by auto in the direction toward the city of Vsevolozhsk through the settlement Koltushi and Myaglovo without the right of deviating from the route), and to the airport "Rzhevka" and to the railroad station "Devyatkino" (station of the subway "Komsomolskaya") by urban transport.

Within the bounds of Leningradskaya Oblast and the established zone around Leningrad travel is permitted.

Along the Roads and Highways (Any Type of Transport)

Primorsk Highway—Through the settlement Aleksandrovskaya (the 30th km along the highway) travel is permitted to the recreation zone; with proper

permission travel is conducted along the international route: Leningrad-Zelenogorsk-Ogon'ki-Torfyanovka, and for large freight international auto transport: Leningrad-Zelenogorsk-Chernaya Rechka-Pervomayskoye-Vyborg-Torfyanovka.

Eastern-Vyborg Highway—To the settlement Osinovaya Roshcha (22nd km along the highway).

- Travel by the auto route from the Eastern-Vyborg Highway to the Murino settlement is permitted without entering the state farm "Bugry."
- Travel to the Koltushi settlement is permitted by roads through state farm "Yanino" or through the Novosergiyevka settlement.
- Travel to the east along the right bank of the Neva River is permitted to the settlement Malye Porogi (inclusive) through Utkina Zavod' and through the Novosaratovka settlement.

Petrozavodsk Highway—To the Sapernyy settlement (25th km along the highway).

- Travel is permitted along the road from the Petrozavodsk Highway to the Moscow Highway through the city of Kolpino.

Moscow Highway—To Yam-Izhora settlement (inclusive).

- With proper permission travel is conducted along the international tourist route Leningrad-Moscow.
- Travel is permitted from the Moscow Highway in the direction of the cities of Pushkin and Pavlovsk along the roads from Moskovskaya Slavyanka and Yam-Izhora.

Kiev Highway—To the 25th km along the road.

- Travel is permitted to the cities Pushkin and Pavlovsk through Pulkovo.

Tallinn Highway—To Krasnoye Selo (inclusive).

- With proper permission travel is allowed along the international tourist route Leningrad-Tallinn; travel is permitted along the automobile road to Staryy Petergof.

- Travel in rayons of Leningradskaya Oblast open for visits by foreigners to the east of the Volkhov River (with the exception of the cities Podporozh'ye and Lodeynoye Pole) is permitted by long distance trains on Murmansk and Petrozavodsk travel lines.

Travel by Water Routes Is Permitted

For employees of the consular establishment on *private boats* in the northern part of the Gulf of Finland in the area from Sestroretsk to the Chernaya stream (Serovo settlement) within a limit of no more than 3 km from shore. Travel is permitted only in daylight.

On *steamships* within the limits of Leningrad and to Petrodvorets, and with proper permission to the city of Petrokrepost'.

Description (of the Boundary of the Zone Around Leningrad Open to Visits by Foreigners)

- From the shore of the Gulf of Finland along the stream northeast of Solnechnoye settlement along the Beloostrov-Zelenogorsk railroad; including the Beloostrov station (inclusive), Dibuny station (inclusive), Levashovo station (inclusive).
- From the Levashovo station along the highway to the east up to Osinovaya Roshcha station (exclusive).
- To the south, east of the highway to Pargolovo (inclusive) and Torfyanoye (inclusive).
- Farther to the north of the railroad Pargolovo-Murino to its intersection with the highway Ozerki-Murino, along the highway Ozerki-Murino to Murino (the settlement of Murino with station Devyatkinno inclusive).
- Along the right bank of the river Okhta to the intersection with the railroad branch line (from station Piskarevka to station Rzhnevka), along the railroad branch line to the east to the urban (Leningrad) boundary line and farther along this boundary and to the north of the highway to the state farm Yanino (inclusive), the settlement of Suoranda (inclusive), the settlement of Tokkari (inclusive).

- To the west of the highway Koltushi-Tavry, Tavry (inclusive), Virki (inclusive), Ozerki Pervyye and Vtoryye (inclusive), Yeksolovo (inclusive), Bol'shoye and Maloye Manushkino (inclusive) along the boundary of the reclamation canal and the Chernaya stream to the right bank of the Neva River (Malye Porogi inclusive).

- To the south of the road to Pushkin, Pavlovsk (inclusive), Gummolosary, Novoselki (inclusive).
- To the south of the road Novoselki-Krasnoye Selo, up to the intersection with the Kiev Highway.
- To the north, west of the Kiev Highway, up to the intersection with the highway Aleksandrovskaaya-Volodarskiy.
- To the south of this highway up to the intersection with the railroad Staropanovo-Gorelovo.
- Along the railroad to the south up to the Skachki station (inclusive), then to the east of this railroad through the settlements Gorskaya, Pikkolovo, Veriksolovo (all inclusive).
- To the west of the highway to Krasnoye Selo, Krasnoye Selo (inclusive).
- To the south of the highway to Lagolovo, Lagolovo (inclusive).
- To the northwest, west of Ertelevo, to Ukkolovo, Alakyulya, Rappolovo, Olike, Veligonty, Uzigonty, Nizino.
- To the north along the canal up to Yegerskaya Sloboda, Yegerskaya Sloboda (inclusive), farther to Troitskaya Gora (inclusive), Temyaskino (inclusive).
- To the northwest up to the city Lomonosov (inclusive) and to the shore of the Gulf of Finland.



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Appendix D

A Chronology of Travel Restrictions: Soviet Actions-US Reactions

1941

16 May

Initial Soviet note. Regulations for registration of travel by all diplomatic personnel established. Certain areas and cities of the USSR closed to travel by all foreigners.

7 June

US note. Prior registration of all travel by Soviet Embassy and Consular personnel in the United States required.

23 June

US travel restriction lifted.

1948

30 September

Soviet note. New list of closed areas in the USSR presented.

27 October

Soviet note. Rules governing transit through forbidden areas and travel within 50-kilometer radius from the center of Moscow clarified.

1952

15 January

Soviet note. List of places closed in September 1948 extended.

10 March

US note. Prior registration of travel by Soviet personnel in the United States again required.

1953

22 June

Soviet note. List of areas closed completely revised. System of preliminary registration retained.

12 November

Soviet note. Five port areas added to closed list.

1954

February

Soviet circular note. Regulations restricting photography in the USSR established.

1955

3 January

US note. Areas in the United States closed to Soviet citizens for the first time.

1957

20 July

Peter the Great Bay (Vladivostok) closed to foreign ships and aircraft.

13 August

United States protests closure of Peter the Great Bay.

28 August

Soviet note. June 1953 list of closed areas amended. USSR indicates willingness to discuss reciprocal reductions.

11 November

United States proposes abolition of closed areas.

1958

22 May

United States offers suggestions for reciprocal reduction of closed areas.

1959

18 August

Soviet note. June 1953 list of closed areas amended further.

1961

6 January

US note. Abolition or reduction of US and Soviet travel restrictions proposed. US list of closed areas revised.

1966

22 July

Soviet note. Four previous notes superseded. Comprehensive list of closed areas issued. System of preliminary registration reaffirmed.

1967

26 July

US note. List reduced amount of area closed to Soviet travelers in the United States to match the reduction in the 1966 Soviet note.

1973

23 November

Soviet note. List of travel restrictions of diplomats in Leningrad.

1974

18 February

Soviet note. Defines conditions for filing travel notes with Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defense.

4 April

Soviet note. List of auto routes open to foreigners.

1974

A number of oblasts along the Sino-Soviet border placed off limits to foreigners. United States reciprocates by closing areas in the United States.

1975

16 October

Soviet note. Opens city Vyborg.

1976

United States cancels additional travel restrictions imposed in 1974.

1978

4 January

Soviet note. List of closed areas and cities in USSR completely revised.

1983

16 November

US note. Revised list of closed areas and cities in the United States; reduction of closed territory matches 1978 note.

Secret

12 December

Soviet note. Travel restrictions for Leningrad revised.

1988

29 March

Soviet note. List of closed areas and cities in the USSR revised; refers to April 1974 note for travel routes.

10 May

Soviet note. Soviet travel notification requirements are lifted effective 10 July 1988 for heads of missions, plenipotentiary ministers, counselors, and heads of consular missions. Requirements for all other travelers restated with no change from February 1974 note.



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Appendix E

Table 2
Accessibility of Major Soviet Cities to Government Travelers

City	Apparent Status From Diplomatic Notes		Actual Experience	Last Visited
	1978	1988		
Abakan	Open	Open	Closed ^a	
Achinsk	Open	Open	Open	1979
Aktyubinsk	Open	Open	Open	1988
Aldan	Open	Open	Open	1986
Alma-Ata	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1988
Al'met'yevsk	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Amderma	Open	Open	Closed ^a	
Andizhan	Open	Open	Open	1984
Andropov	Open	Open	Open	1987
Angarsk	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	
Angren	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Anzhero-Sudzhensk	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Arkhangel'sk	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1988
Armavir	Open	Open	Open	1982
Ashkhabad	Open	Open	Open ^c	1988
Astrakhan'	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open ^c	1985
Baku	Open	Open	Open	1988
Balakovo	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Balashikha	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Insufficient data	
Baranovichi	Open	Open	Open	1985
Barnaul	Open	Open	Open ^c	1987
Bataysk	Open	Open	Open	1980
Batumi	Open	Open	Open	1986
Belaya Tserkov'	Open	Open	Open	1985
Belgorod	Open	Open	Open	1987
Belovo	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Bel'tsy	Open	Open	Open	1985
Bendery	Open	Open	Open	1986
Berdiansk	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Berezniki	Open ^b	Open	Open ^g	1987
Biysk	Open	Open	Closed ^a	
Blagoveshchensk	Closed ^f	Open	Insufficient data	
Bobruysk	Open	Open	Open	1984
Borisov	Open	Open	Open	1985
Bratsk	Open	Open	Open ^c	1988
Brest	Open	Open	Open	1987

Footnotes will appear at end of table.

Accessibility of Major Soviet Cities to Government Travelers (continued)

City	Apparent Status From Diplomatic Notes		Actual Experience	Last Visited
	1978	1988		
Bryansk	Open	Open	Open	1986
Bugul'ma	Open	Open	Open ^c	1978
Bukhara	Open	Open	Open ^c	1988
Chardzhou	Open ^b	Open	Open ^c	1985
Cheboksary	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Chelyabinsk	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Cheremkhovo	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Cherepovets	Open	Open	Open	1981
Cherkassy	Open	Open	Open	1983
Chernigov	Open	Open	Open	1979
Chernovtsy	Open	Open	Open	1988
Chimkent	Open	Open	Open	1985
Chirchik	Open	Open	Open	1986
Chita	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Chop	Open	Open	Open	1984
Daugavpils	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Dimitrovgrad	Open	Open	Open	
Dnepropetrovsk	Closed ^c	Open	Open	
Donetsk	Open	Open	Open	1985
Dushanbe	Open	Open	Open ^c	1987
Dzerzhinsk	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Dzhambul	Open	Open	Open	1987
Dzhizak	Open	Open	Open	1984
Elektrostal'	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Engel's	Open	Open	Closed ^h	
Fergana	Open	Open	Open ^c	1987
Frunze	Open ^h	Open ^b	Open	1988
Gomel'	Open	Open	Open	1987
Gor'kiy	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Gorlovka	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Grodno	Open	Open	Open	1986
Groznyy	Open	Open	Open ^c	1975
Gulistan	Open	Open	Open	
Gur'yev	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Irkutsk	Open	Open	Open	1987
Ivano-Frankovsk	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Ivanovo	Open	Open	Open ^g	1987
Izhevsk	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Jurmala	Open	Open	Open	1986
Kalinin	Open	Open	Open	1987

Secret

Accessibility of Major Soviet Cities to Government Travelers (continued)

City	Apparent Status From Diplomatic Notes		Actual Experience	Last Visited
	1978	1988		
Kaliningrad	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Kaluga	Open	Open	Open	1985
Kamenets-Podol'skiy	Open	Open	Open	1983
Kamensk-Ural'skiy	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Kamyshin	Open	Open	Closed ^h	
Kandalaksha	Open	Open	Open	1986
Karaganda	Open	Open	Open ^c	1986
Kashira	Open	Open	Open	
Kaunas	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1986
Kazan'	Open	Open	Open ^c	1987
Kemerovo	Open	Open	Open	1986
Kerch'	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Khabarovsk	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1988
Khar'kov	Open	Open	Open	1988
Kherson	Open	Open	Open	1982
Khmel'nitskiy	Open	Open	Open	1986
Khimki	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Khiva	Open	Open	Open ^c	1984
Kiev	Open	Open	Open	1988
Kineshma	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Kirov	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	
Kirovabad	Closed ^f	Open	Insufficient data	
Kirovakan	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Kirovograd	Open	Open	Open	1982
Kiselevsk	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Kishinev	Open	Open	Open	1988
Kizhi	Open	Open	Open	1984
Klaipeda	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Kokand	Open	Open	Open	1985
Kokchetav	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Kolomna	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Kolpina	Open	Open	Open	
Kommunarsk	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Komsomol'sk-na-Amure	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	
Konstantinovka	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Kopeysk	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Korosten'	Open	Open	Open	1982
Kostroma	Open	Open	Open	1986
Kovrov	Open	Open	Insufficient data	

Accessibility of Major Soviet Cities to Government Travelers (continued)

City	Apparent Status From Diplomatic Notes		Actual Experience	Last Visited
	1978	1988		
Kramatorsk	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Krasnodar	Open	Open	Open	1988
Krasnoyarsk	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	
Krasnyy Luch	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Kremenchug	Open	Open	Open	1983
Krivoy Rog	Open	Open	Open	
Kurgan	Open	Open	Open	1982
Kurgan-Tyube	Open	Open	Open	1985
Kursk	Open	Open	Open	1987
Kustanay	Open	Open	Open	1984
Kutaisi	Open	Open	Open	1988
Kuybyshev	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	
Kzyl-Orda	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Leninabad	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Leningrad	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1988
Leninsk-Kuznetskiy	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Liepaja	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Lipetsk	Open	Open	Open ^s	1987
Lisichansk	Open	Open	Open	1987
Lutsk	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1984
L'vov	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1988
Lyubertsy	Open	Open	Open	
Magadan	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	
Magnitogorsk	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open ^c	1983
Makeyevka	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Makhachkala	Open	Open	Open	1987
Margilan	Open	Open	Open	1978
Mary	Open	Open	Open ^e	1987
Maykop	Open	Open	Open	1986
Melitopol'	Open	Open	Open	1981
Miass	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Michurinsk	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Mineral'nyye Vody	Open	Open	Open	1984
Minsk	Open	Open	Open	1988
Mirnyy	Open	Open	Open	
Mogilev	Open	Open	Open	1980
Moscow	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1988
Murmansk	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open ^{e g}	1986
Murom	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Mytishchi	Open	Open	Open	

Accessibility of Major Soviet Cities to Government Travelers (continued)

City	Apparent Status From Diplomatic Notes		Actual Experience	Last Visited
	1978	1988		
Naberezhnyye Chelny	Open	Open	Open	
Nadym	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Nakhodka	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open ^a	1988
Nal'chik	Open	Open	Open	1986
Namangan	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Narva	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	
Nevinnomyssk	Open	Open	Open	1979
Nikolayev	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	
Nikolayevsk-na-Amure	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	
Nikopol'	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Nizhneangarsk	Open	Open	Open	1987
Nizhnekamsk	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Nizhniy Tagil	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Noril'sk	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	
Novgorod	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1987
Novocherkassk	Open	Open	Open	1982
Novokuybyshevsk	Open	Open	Closed ^h	
Novokuznetsk	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Novomoskovsk	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Novorossiysk	Open ^h	Open	Open	1988
Novoshakhtinsk	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Novosibirsk	Open	Open	Open	1988
Nukus	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Odessa	Open	Open	Open	1988
Omsk	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	
Ordzhonikidze	Open	Open	Open	1987
Orehovo-Zuyevo	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1985
Orel	Open	Open	Open	1988
Orenburg	Open	Open	Open ^e	1987
Orsha	Open	Open	Open	1985
Orsk	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Osh	Open	Open	Open	1987
Ovruch	Open	Open	Open	1984
Panevezys	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Pavlodar	Closed ^f	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	
Pavlograd	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Penza	Open	Open	Open	1985
Pereslavl'-Zalesskiy	Open	Open	Open	1987
Perm'	Closed	Open	Insufficient data	

~~Secret~~**Accessibility of Major Soviet Cities to Government Travelers (continued)**

City	Apparent Status From Diplomatic Notes		Actual Experience	Last Visited
	1978	1988		
Petropavlovsk	Open	Open	Open	1985
Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Petrozavodsk	Open	Open	Open	1987
Pinsk	Open	Open	Open	1986
Podol'sk	Open	Open	Open	1982
Polotsk	Open	Open	Open	1983
Poltava	Open	Open	Open	1988
Poti	Open	Open	Open	1985
Prokop'yevsk	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Pskov	Open	Open	Open ^g	1987
Pushkino	Open	Open	Open	
Pyatigorsk	Open	Open	Open	1987
Riga	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1988
Rostov-na-Donu	Open	Open	Open	1988
Rovno	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1988
Rubtsovsk	Open	Open	Closed ^h	
Rudnyy	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Rustavi	Open	Open	Open	1988
Ryazan'	Open	Open	Open ^g	1988
Saki	Open	Open	Open	1983
Salavat	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Salekhard	Open	Open	Open	1978
Samarkand	Open	Open	Open	1988
Saransk	Closed ^f	Open	Insufficient data	
Saratov	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	
Semipalatinsk	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Serov	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Serpukhov	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1980
Sevastopol'	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	
Severodonetsk	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Severodvinsk	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Shakhty	Open	Open	Open	1978
Shevchenko	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	
Siauliai	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Simferopol'	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1987
Slavyansk	Open	Open	Open	1978
Smolensk	Open	Open	Open	1987
Sochi	Open	Open	Open	1987
Stakhanov	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	

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Accessibility of Major Soviet Cities to Government Travelers (continued)

City	Apparent Status From Diplomatic Notes		Actual Experience	Last Visited
	1978	1988		
Star City	Open	Open	Open	1988
Starokonstantinov	Open	Open	Open	1986
Staryy Oskol'	Open	Open	Open	1986
Stavropol'	Open	Open	Open ^e	1988
Sterlitamak	Open	Open	Open	1978
Sukhumi	Open	Open	Open	1987
Sumgait	Open	Open	Open	1981
Sumy	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Surgut	Open	Open	Open	
Sverdlovsk	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Syktyvkar	Open	Open	Open	1986
Syzran'	Open	Open	Closed ^h	
Taganrog	Open	Open	Open	1985
Tallinn	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1988
Tambov	Open	Open	Open ^g	1986
Tartu	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Tashauz	Open	Open	Open ^c	1987
Tashkent	Open	Open	Open	1988
Tbilisi	Open	Open	Open	1988
Temirtau	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
TernopoI'	Open ^b	Open	Open	1986
Tiksi	Open	Open	Closed ^a	
Tiraspol'	Open	Open	Open	1984
Tol'yatti	Open	Open	Open	
Tomsk	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	Closed ^c	
Tselinograd	Open	Open	Open ^c	1981
Tskhaltubo	Open	Open	Open	1985
Tuapse	Open	Open	Open	1987
Tula	Open	Open	Open	1987
Tyumen'	Open	Open	Open	1979
Ufa	Open	Open	Open ^e	1987
Ulan-Ude	Open	Open	Open	1987
Ul'yanovsk	Open	Open	Open	1986
Uman'	Open	Open	Open	1983
Ural'sk	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Urgench	Open	Open	Open ^e	1987
Usolye-Sibirskoye	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Ussuriysk	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Ust'-Ilimsk	Open	Open	Open	1985
Ust'-Kamenogorsk	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	

Accessibility of Major Soviet Cities to Government Travelers (continued)

City	Apparent Status From Diplomatic Notes		Actual Experience	Last Visited
	1978	1988		
Ust'-Kut	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Uzhgorod	Open ^b	Open	Open	1986
Velikiye Luki	Open	Open	Open	1982
Ventspils	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1987
Vilnius	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1988
Vinnitsa	Open	Open	Open	1987
Vitebsk	Open	Open	Open	1984
Vladimir	Open	Open	Open	1985
Vladivostok	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Volgograd	Open	Open	Open	1987
Vologda	Open	Open	Open	1987
Volzhskiy	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	
Vorkuta	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Voronezh	Open	Open	Open ^g	1986
Voroshilovgrad	Open	Open	Open	1984
Vyborg	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1987
Yakutsk	Open	Open	Open ^e	1987
Yalta	Open	Open	Open	1987
Yelets	Open	Open	Insufficient data	
Yenakiyevo	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Yerevan	Open	Open	Open	1988
Yevpatoriya	Open	Open	Open	1987
Yoshkar-Ola	Open	Open	Insufficient data ^d	
Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk	Closed ^f	Open	Insufficient data	
Zagorsk	Open ^b	Open ^b	Open	1988
Zaporozh'ye	Open	Open	Open	1988
Zelenograd	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Zhdanov	Open	Open	Open	1974
Zhitomir	Open	Open	Open	1985
Zhukovskiy	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	
Zlatoust	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	Closed ^f	

^a Travel requests consistently refused.

^b Specifically excluded from a closed area.

^c Specifically listed as a closed city.

^d Probably open.

^e By air only.

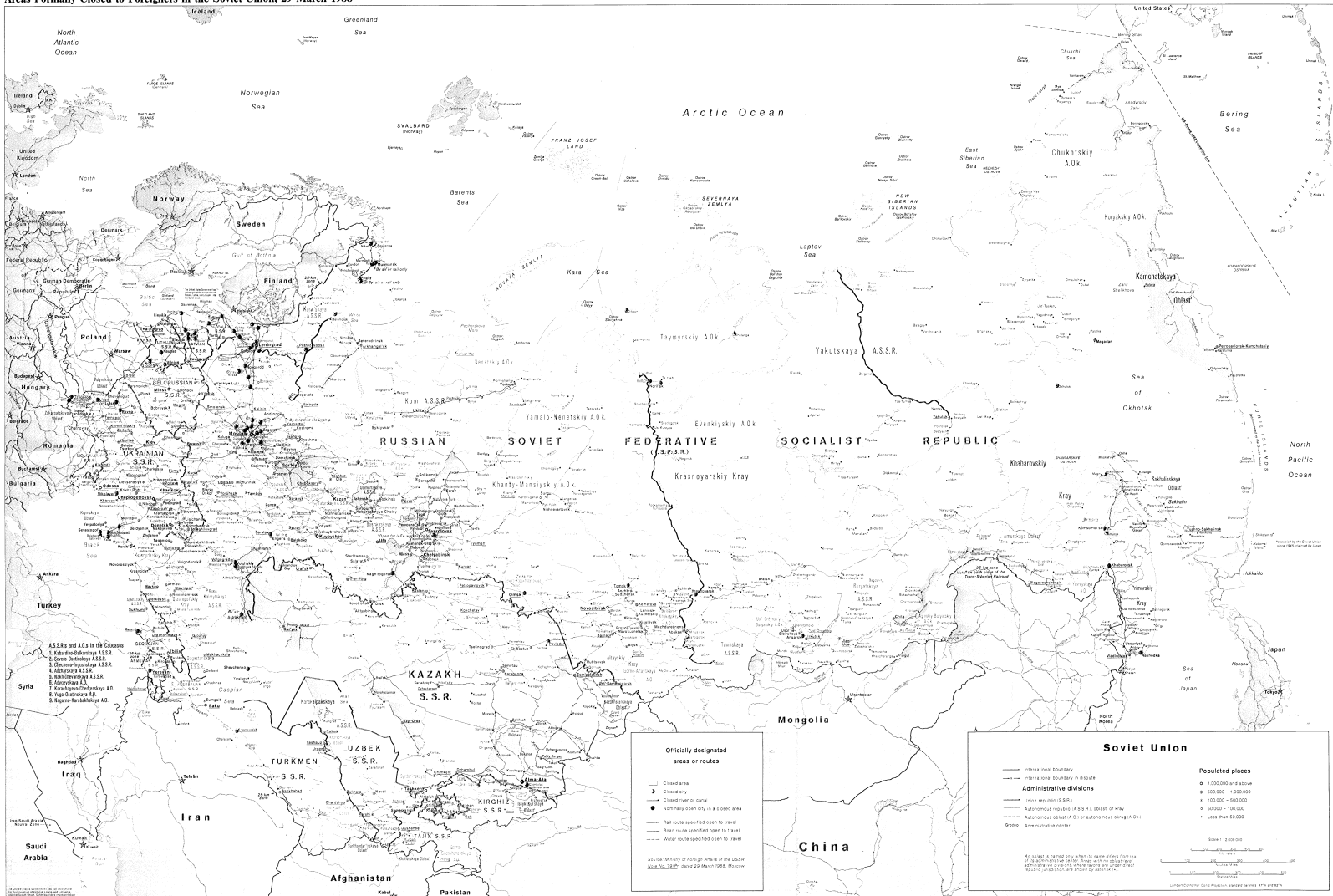
^f Located in a formally closed area.

^g By rail only.

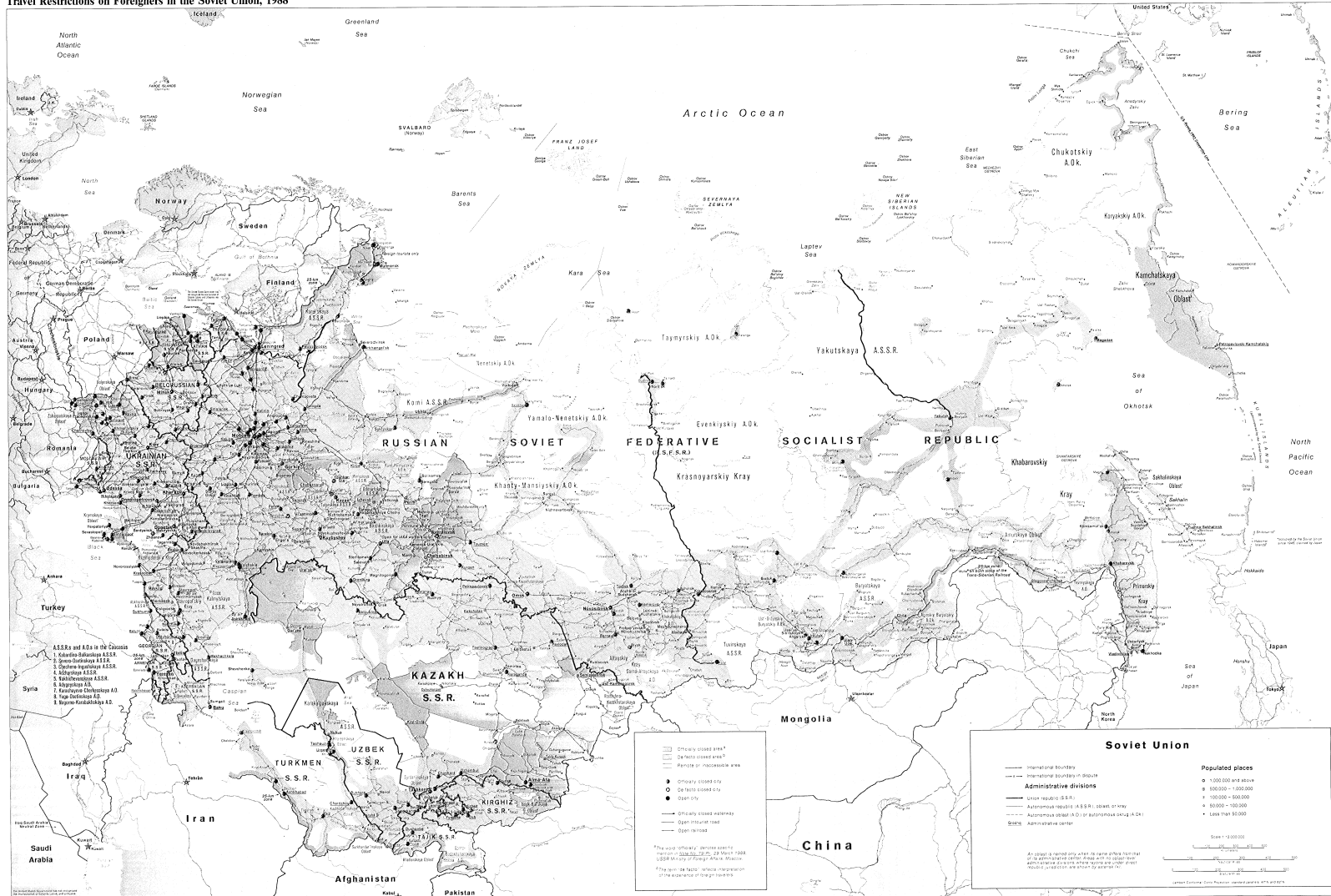
^h Access nodes or routes closed.

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Areas Formally Closed to Foreigners in the Soviet Union, 29 March 1988



Travel Restrictions on Foreigners in the Soviet Union, 1988



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