

# RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

## Part I—Soviet Jewry

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### HEARING

BEFORE THE  
SUBCOMMITTEES ON EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST  
AND ON  
HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATIONS  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
NINETY-NINTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

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SEPTEMBER 11, 1985

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# RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

## Part I—Soviet Jewry

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WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1985

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SUBCOMMITTEES ON EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST AND ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS,

*Washington, DC.*

The subcommittees met at 1:45 p.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Gus Yatron (chairman of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations) presiding.

Mr. YATRON. The Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations and the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East meet today to review again the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union. This is the first of two hearings to be held on religious persecution in the Soviet Union. We will examine current U.S. foreign policy, especially the Jackson-Vanik amendment, and explore new human rights initiatives to address the cruel treatment being leveled against Soviet Jews.

I went to the Soviet Union in January along with my esteemed colleagues, Congressman Lantos and Congressman Gilman, who co-chaired the U.S. congressional group to the European Parliament. We met with refuseniks, as well as Soviet officials. The courage and dedication shown to us by these refuseniks is unparalleled.

They remain loyal to their ideals, despite a repressive Soviet Government determined to destroy every vestige of Jewish culture and identity. After my experience in this Communist country, I am even more convinced that we must continue to speak out against this blatant disregard for fundamental human dignity.

Since the state of détente between the United States and the Soviet Union, of which the Helsinki Accords were a product, we have seen a worsening of East-West relations. Cold war rhetoric and the absence of new arms control measures acceptable to both sides continues. With the upcoming summit meeting in November between Soviet leader Gorbachev and President Reagan, it is crucial that the United States make human rights a central issue. Before any other question can be discussed, whether political or economic, the highest law involving individual rights and freedoms must be addressed.

When there is no response by a country to our quiet expressions of human rights concerns, and when there is no response to our speaking out, it is necessary to reevaluate all aspects of our relationship. Section 402 of the 1974 Trade Act, the Jackson-Vanik amendment, attempted to qualify our economic relationship in these instances. This amendment barred countries which deny citizens the right to emigrate or impose high exit visa fees from access to U.S. Government export credits, or export credit or investment guarantees.

In view of the dramatic decline in emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union, more than 51,000 Jews emigrated in 1979 and less than 1,000 emigrated in 1984, it is time for the United States to heighten its campaign against these policies. The subcommittees will review the Jackson-Vanik amendment and seek new information and ideas from our distinguished witnesses on combating the discrimination, repression, and harassment experienced by the Jewish community in the Soviet Union.

Before we begin this hearing, I would like to ask members to limit their opening remarks. Congressman Derwinski will be testifying at 3:30, so we only have approximately 2 hours for members' opening remarks and the witnesses' statements.

Members from the subcommittees will be called on first, followed by any member present from the full committee, and then other Members will be given an opportunity to speak. I ask your indulgence in making this request, but it is necessary so we can hear from all of our many witnesses who are here today.

The cochairman of these hearings, my distinguished colleague, Congressman Hamilton, is not here because of a scheduling conflict. He is chairing a hearing of the Intelligence Committee, and he may appear during a later portion of our hearing.

I would like at this time to call on the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, Congressman Gerald Solomon.

Jerry, I believe you have an opening statement?

Mr. SOLOMON. Yes, Mr. Chairman. And let me concur with all of your opening statement, and make my statement as brief as possible. I also want to thank the witnesses for coming here today.

I would, like to take the time to make just one quick observation here at the outset, because we have other members who would like to speak, and of course, there are many witnesses to testify before us today. But I do think that we should consider the nature and the origins of Soviet communism. The officially sanctioned persecution of Jews and Christians alike in the Soviet Union today is the logical extension of an ideology that is based on an atheistic interpretation of life. Let's make no mistake about it:

Karl Marx did not become an atheist after he developed his political and economic theories of communism. It is the other way around. Karl Marx's theories on the nature of man and society were derived from his atheism, and communism is rooted in Marx's hatred of Judaism and Christianity.

Since 1917 the leaders of the Soviet Union, those who have claimed to be the heirs of Karl Marx, have engaged in a systematic campaign to obliterate all vestiges of religion and faith.

As a substitute for religious worship, the worship of God, the Soviet leaders have imposed a dogma that compels the worship of man, the idolatry of the State. Soviet communism will not tolerate any source of inspiration and instruction among the people that does not conform to the atheism of Karl Marx. Such is the tragedy that has unfolded in the Soviet Union since 1917. And that is the reason we are here today, to draw the attention of our country, and of the world itself, to the plight of those people in the Soviet Union whose faith and courage have brought them into conflict with the ideology that has sponsored the greatest assault on the human spirit and the Judeo-Christian ethic that the world has ever known.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Mr. Solomon.

Now I would like to call on Congressman Lantos, who led the delegation to the Soviet Union in January.

Mr. Lantos.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I will be extremely brief. At the outset I want to pay public tribute to you for your principled and effective leadership of this subcommittee. You have been exemplary in the delivery and dedication and commitment with which you have pursued human rights causes throughout the globe.

I also want to recognize with great pleasure the distinguished ranking minority member's contribution in this field. No one could be more sincere in his commitment to human rights than Congressman Solomon.

I would like to take the occasion, since I see him sitting with us, to recognize Congressman Hoyer's enormous contribution as the new head of our group within the Helsinki Commission, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] for the outstanding effective and eloquent work he did on behalf of the Helsinki operation at the meeting in Ottawa.

Mr. Chairman, the paramount political event of 1985, if not beyond, is the upcoming Gorbachev and Reagan meeting, and I suspect all of us are viewing with a great deal of concern and anxiety the very unpleasant climate in which that meeting is approaching, and we all must ask ourselves the question, what could be done to improve the climate.

Is there anything in the few short weeks that could make this historic summit between our President and the new Soviet leaders likely to be more productive?

I have asked myself this question many times. There is a tremendous range of issues; 2 or 2½ hours ago in this room we had Ambassador Kampleman and his colleagues, who reported to us in a closed hearing about the unfolding of the Geneva arms reduction discussions. About a half hour ago a number of us had lunch with Ambassador Dobrynin, and a Soviet parliamentary delegation.

There are trade talks going on. Our Secretary of Agriculture just returned. My wife and I had the pleasure of spending some time with the Senatorial delegation that just visited with Mr. Gorbachev in Moscow. I am convinced, Mr. Chairman, that Secretary Gorbachev has a unique historic opportunity to set the right climate for the summit, by making gestures in the human rights field between now and the convening of the summit in November.

We are looking for a signal from Mr. Gorbachev. We are looking to release of Sakharov and Shcharansky, and others, and we are looking for a statement that while he and we view human rights in a very different way, for the sake of creating the appropriate political climate for the summit, he is prepared to make this gesture.

The American people are dead serious about human rights. Whether there is a legal linkage, as we have in Jackson-Vanik, or not, is far less significant than the fundamental psychological linkage in the minds of the American people. We are simply unprepared and unable to hermetically seal arms control discussions from human rights, trade discussions from human rights, agricultural issues from human rights. We simply are constitutionally incapable as individuals dedicated to human rights, isolating that facet of our relations with the Soviet Union from all other facets.

So I really believe that the legal questions involving Jackson-Vanik are really secondary to the fundamental issue, that human rights is at the core of the American experience. It is the cornerstone of our republic, and no administration and no Congress controlled by Republicans or Democrats, can divorce itself from having as our paramount concern the issue of human rights.

I want to again pay tribute to you, Mr. Chairman, for holding these hearings, and I am grateful to the witnesses for appearing.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much Mr. Lantos.

Now I would like to call on our colleague from New Jersey, Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to take this opportunity to commend the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee of which I am a member, Mr. Yatron, for scheduling this hearing on the plight of Soviet Jewry.

Mr. Chairman, it seems clear to me that in the past few years there has been a disturbing trend in the Soviet Union. Human rights violations and religious persecution are on the increase. That which is bad is getting worse.

This is highlighted by the fact that 1984 was the worst year for Jewish emigration since 1979, and 1985 has been no better. As a matter of fact, during 1985 we have been alerted to disturbing reports of stepped up abuse in discrimination targeted at Hebrew teachers and Jewish cultural activities.

To be an active Jew in the U.S.S.R. grows riskier by the day. Along with many other human rights monitors, the State Department reported that, "There can be no doubt that the campaign against Soviet Jewish activities has been consciously directed by the Soviet authorities to discredit and to destroy the revival of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union."

Mr. Chairman, this unseemly trend could have ominous implications for improved relations between the United States and the U.S.S.R. Pervasive human rights violations are stumbling blocks to closer relations between our two nations.

Mr. Chairman, the Kremlin's obligation to ensure, to enhance and to protect human rights within their own borders was voluntarily entered into by the Soviets when they agreed to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, when they signed the Helsinki Act of 1975, and the concluding document agreed to in 1983.

Clearly if the word and commitment of the Soviet Union is to have any meaning at all, it cannot continue to deprive Soviet Jews of their basic human rights.

It is with this concern in mind, Mr. Chairman, that I have introduced House Resolution 74, calling upon the Soviet Union to assess its concentrated and systematic persecution of Hebrew teachers and cultural activities. There are now dozens of cosponsors of that legislation. It is pending before this committee.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, and I will be brief, let the Soviet Union be advised that the United States is more than just a little bit disappointed with their harsh treatment of Jews. We expect a considerably higher standard of conduct.

Unless we can see some genuine improvement, some tangible signs of respect for human rights, Americans have no reason, no reason whatsoever, to expect that Soviet pledges and commitments in other areas, arms control and other treaties and accords, to expect that they have any validity.

If the Soviets want respect and dignity among the nations of the world, they can earn it by respecting the dignity of their own people.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

The gentleman from New York, Mr. Ackerman.

Mr. ACKERMAN. My remarks will be very brief. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Mr. Ackerman's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. GARY L. ACKERMAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS  
FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Today's hearing before the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations exemplifies the commitment of this Congress to secure the human rights of Jews and other oppressed minorities within the Soviet Union. I would like to commend you, Mr. Chairman, for your leadership in organizing this important session. I would also like to welcome today the Coalition to Free Soviet Jews, a New York-based organization that plays an important role in keeping me and other Members of Congress informed on the most recent developments on this vital issue.

The Soviet Jewry question must remain an urgent matter on the human-rights agenda. This hearing provides a vitally important forum for Congress to signal its disapproval of the Soviet government's policy of officially sanctioned anti-Semitism.

For my part, I wish to express deep concern about the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union. This past spring, during the course of a trip to Israel, I had the opportunity to meet with several Soviet emigres who eloquently described their experiences. They told me of their gruesome experiences with the Soviet authorities—the loss of jobs, KGB harassment, discrimination at every level of Soviet society, and, of course, the tremendous pain they suffer from the tragic separation from their families.

While many of us hoped that the ascendance of Michael Gorbachev as Secretary of the Communist Party would produce some positive developments in the Kremlin's treatment of Soviet Jewry, the evidence indicates that the situation remains dismal. In August, only 29 Jews were permitted to leave, a paltry figure compared to nearly 150 Jews allowed to emigrate in April of this year.

We must be concerned with this trend. It should not come as a surprise that the Soviets are quite adept at public relations. Although they appear to raise and then dash expectations in a random manner, I believe the Soviets are cynically calculating in their manipulation of Jewish emigration. We cannot be lulled by small improvements, such as April's, if they are followed by precipitous drops in emigration to the minuscule August figure when the Soviet Union all but slammed the exit door shut.

We must not permit the Soviets to induce the U.S. to make concessions on cultural agreements, scientific exchanges, and particularly trade, without receiving their



commitment for a demonstrated and continuous flow of Jews to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

It is important to remember that we are not dealing exclusively with emigration. Soviet Jews are also facing the most brutal form of internal repression imaginable. In addition to the poor emigration figures, the number of arrests, trials and other forms of harassment of Jewish activists has alarmingly risen.

There have been many cases where the police planted incriminating evidence of imaginary crimes; numerous searches of Jewish homes; and frequent seizures of Hebrew materials, including religious articles and books. Furthermore, every day we learn of even more and newer instances of government-sponsored anti-Semitism in literature, newspapers, film, and other mass media.

Mr. Chairman, today's hearing will highlight many of the points I have touched upon. It is obvious that the Soviets have intensified their public-relations campaign, designed to create the impression that the conditions for Soviet Jews are not nearly as horrendous as the West portrays them—that those Jews who want to leave have already left.

This Congress must ensure that the truth is not distorted. We cannot overlook this issue; we must not dismiss it from the international agenda. It must remain an important part of the U.S.-Soviet dialogue. I welcome the President's commitment to make this issue a priority in the upcoming summit.

Our duty is more than merely to inform; we must also take steps to pressure Soviet authorities to reform their anti-Semitic policies, which crush the basic and fundamental rights of Soviet Jews; who so desperately seek to be reunited with their families abroad.

Mr. YATRON. Let me go to the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Larry Smith.

Mr. SMITH of Florida. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, the policies of the United States as pursued to encourage human rights have not been as effective as we would like them to be or as they should be. In the late 1970's, Soviet officials first crippled the Jewish emigration movement when the number of emigrants began to decline. In 1984 Soviet authorities strived to paralyze the Jewish emigration movement even further.

It dropped to an all-time low of 896. A new stepped up campaign to erase Jewish culture has begun. Disruption of their lives and harassment by authorities are not new to the tens of thousands of refuseniks waiting to emigrate. The latest attempt to eradicate Jewish culture from Soviet society however is new.

Hebrew teachers and the most active political activists were singled out, arrested, and imprisoned on trumped up charges. The leadership of the Soviet Jewish emigration movement may disappear if these Hebrew teachers and activists are eliminated.

Soviet television recently entered a crude documentary on Jews in the Soviet Union mentioning their anti-Soviet tendencies and association with Zionists. This film represents not only an upsurge in anti-Semitism, but also a continuation of the Stalinist mentality of equating any allegiance to Judaism or Israel as acts of treason possibly punishable by death.

If refuseniks leaders are to weather this new Soviet storm, they will need more than of our support and commitment to their cause. The Soviets need to realize that Soviet Jewish emigration is a priority and commitment of the United States.

We should require that all future U.S. delegations make no economic agreements without first obtaining significant human rights improvements. To do this we must institute guidelines, so that our negotiations do not deteriorate into a buying and selling of human beings.

Beyond that, Soviet Jewish and all human rights violations should be considered an essential component of any negotiating agenda, whether it involves trade, economics, or arms. When human rights are included as a nonessential part of negotiations, the subject is too easily erased, then dropped.

The problem should be elevated above the realm of humanitarian appeals, to a integral nondismissal part of any negotiations. I want to say in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, that this is an issue that the Soviets ought to be aware will not go away.

The United States, the people of the United States, the Members of this body, my colleagues all, both sides of the aisle, have a commitment to this issue. As the chairman, Mr. Yatron, has a commitment to this issue, and it will not go away and they ought to be the first to understand that.

This country has a dedication to human rights, and we will raise it at every turn, and they will never be able to stop the voice that produces from the United States the cry for proper treatment of all individuals in the Soviet Union.

Finally, let me just say that I believe that the one thing that is happening right now, I think Mr. Semyonov having a hunger strike in front of the Embassy of the Soviet Union right here in Washington, is graphic proof, and the support that he is getting from all facets of the community is graphic proof that there is in this country, alive and well, a dedication to human rights that will never be silenced by any Soviet actions other than by full compliance with the Helsinki accords.

And I want to congratulate Mr. Hoyer, our colleague, as Mr. Lantos did, for his fine work on that issue, all our voices will only be silenced when full human rights are accorded to Jews and all others in the Soviet Union.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much.

Now the gentleman from California, Mr. Dornan.

Mr. DORNAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to sit in on these important hearings, and I commend you for having them.

Mr. Chairman, it is rare that we have two members of the Soviet Politburo on Capitol Hill at any one time, and this rare occurrence happened last February when we received a delegation of Soviet parliamentarians and had joint sessions with them in the Longworth building next door. The head of the delegation was a very famous Communist from the Ukraine, Mr. Chersherbitski, one of the tougher members of the Politburo, and he had no patience for any discussion of human rights.

One of our colleagues, Mr. Henry Waxman of California, made a statement, a rather lengthy statement, at those hearings that I found was the best, the toughest, the most definitive discussion of all of the abuses of human rights—from Alot Vladivostok to the Berlin Wall—that I had ever heard delineated before Soviets.

He covered the abuse of Catholic priests, of Baptists, Pentacostals, and of Soviet Jewry, which is the focus of our discussion today. It was brilliant.

The most fascinating thing after Mr. Waxman's exposition on man's inhumanity to man was when on walking out, one of our colleagues, Mr. Ben Gilman, was approached by another important,

high-ranking Soviet gentleman that we see on our television far too often, Mr. Georgie Abatov. Mr. Abatov was in a rather foul mood, and said to Mr. Gilman, alluding to his being Jewish, "You do your people no good nor does Mr. Waxman with these statements. You must realize this is a closed book. It is finished." He said, "It is an internal matter."

Now, those attempts at intimidation don't go down with any Congressman or any American or any lover of freedom. In several trips to the Soviet Union with the help of some of our organizations, I visited several Soviet Jews. I was given those little strips of paper with the address in the Cyrillic alphabet with Russian on one side and English on the other. Thank God we share the Arabic numerical system because that is how they order the concentric rings that make up those strange apartments outside of Moscow. I was able to get around pretty good on the subway and find my way in any city, in Leningrad or Kiev or Riga.

In Riga, visiting one of those people, I saw that the mail box was all smashed in. The man had been arrested a few days before, was gone, and I assume he is still languishing cruelly in some Soviet gulag somewhere. Among people I met in Kiev, I remember one young man who asked me continually to use his name, Mark Colyar. He was an inspiration, one of the most high-spirited people I ever met in my life. He kept me up to 7 a.m., dawn, going from person to person's apartment, waking them up to talk. I remember those apartments with their little food crates because most of the furniture had been taken away.

I couldn't believe the morale, the good spirit, the hope of all of these people in every city I visited. They all spoke good English.

I asked why. They said it is the language of liberation. They said, "We are constrained to learn it. If we are going to study Hebrew, we also have to study English so we can communicate with people like you."

What they asked was so small, so tiny. Remember us, they said. Write letters. We love to have the KGB call us in and wave a letter from a Congressman in front of our face. They said at least we won't be forgotten and locked up forever with our names never known.

They said your mail helps us. It causes us small hassles, but it lets the authorities know that we are not forgotten. Nothing is more important than a series of hearings like this, Mr. Chairman, so that we not forget these wonderful, high-spirited people who told me as an American that in spite of the fine organizations in France, the Scandinavian countries, Great Britain and some of the Asian countries, all around the world, which are speaking out, that no nation has the political clout that the United States does. Hence, it makes all the gentlemen before us and the fine organizations they represent that much more important.

The Soviets will carefully peruse every word that is said in this chamber over the next few hearings. They will analyze. They will weigh them. And I hope that the one thing they extract from them is that we will not ever forget those fine citizens and their children who asked us simply to remember them, and by remembering them, to try to secure their freedom some day.

Shcharansky, when he was sentenced years ago, said simply "Next year in Jerusalem," and that cry I have not forgotten for all of the people, although it means next year somewhere in any corner of this world where they can breathe free and not forget those who are left behind.

Thank you.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Dornan.

I just want to say that we welcome your suggestions. As you correctly stated, this is part of a series of hearings that we will be holding; we will also be discussing other religious groups.

Mr. DORNAN. Good.

Mr. YATRON. While I was in the Soviet Union I had an opportunity to talk to Mr. Abatov, and I found him to be very insensitive towards these issues.

Now I would like to call on another gentleman from California, Mr. Levine.

Mr. LEVINE. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

It was a true privilege for me, Mr. Chairman, to be a member of your subcommittee during my first term. I regret that I do not serve on that subcommittee now, but I join with my colleagues in complimenting your courageous leadership and persistent efforts on behalf of all human rights issues and particularly on this issue. We all thank you and commend you for holding this hearing.

Every member of this panel and probably every member of this committee is familiar with the horrors, the abuses, the trauma, and the outrages that attend the life of Jews in the Soviet Union. We know the horror stories, and I applaud those of you who are here on these panels, for your leadership, for your creative thinking, and for your courage in trying to improve the lot of refuseniks in the Soviet Union, and in trying to create an environment in which emigration becomes more likely.

I think that all of us have—and many of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle have already expressed it very eloquently today—a list of grievances with the Soviet Union that is as long as both of our arms.

I would, however, like to add one additional perspective that I, at least, have not yet heard today. It is something that I would like to throw into the conversation in the hope that some of the panelists, particularly those on the first panel, might address.

My perception of the frustrations and disappointments regarding Soviet Jewish emigration is that there appears to have developed a clear correlation between the deterioration of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the diminution of such emigration on the other. I worry that until there is an improvement in relations between our two countries—all the haranguing and rhetoric aside—we are unlikely to see a significant increase in terms of Soviet Jewish emigration. Therefore, one issue that I would like to see addressed is the extent to which the panelists believe there is a relationship between these two issues. I would ask whether you have specific constructive suggestions, perhaps in the context both of the proposed summit meeting, and of other more routine contacts between our two countries, as to how general relations between the United States and the Soviet Union can be improved. I believe that a warming of the relationship will

help to provide the framework and the atmosphere that will make it possible for significant numbers of Soviet Jews to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

With that question of mine in mind, I again want to compliment and commend the panelists and all of you who have been so active and courageous on this issue.

Thank you, again, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

The gentleman from New Jersey, Mr. Torricelli.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Much has been said already by our colleagues. There is little, in fact, to add, but perhaps a few things to briefly note.

It is the nature of these hearings that there is no one here to convince. We share a common conviction or we wouldn't be present. But if these hearings and our remarks serve any purpose, it is that at some point someone somewhere in some Soviet office will leaf through the pages of this report, and let them know a few things.

Chief among these is that the level of our commitment and our belief in human rights and freedom for Soviet Jewry is not limited to either political party or either end of the political spectrum.

The remarks spoken here today could have been made by almost any member of this institution. It is not an issue that divides us in any way.

Through those remarks, there have been several consistent themes. The first is that time is no ally of the Soviet Union. As time passes, our resolve only strengthens.

The second is that American commitment in an attempt to find some resolve must be a part of our broader relations in all negotiations. If the Soviets believe that they can produce good relations with the United States, and their long-sought respect in the world, by achieving merely a military balance, let them think again. Good relations with this country and respect and a place of leadership in the world also depend on the way they treat their people and the rights that they afford to them.

Mr. Chairman, I compliment you on having these hearings, and I thank you for this opportunity to speak.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much.

Now the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. Steny Hoyer, the co-chairman of the Helsinki Commission. Mr. Hoyer.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Yatron, the chairman of this subcommittee, and members of the subcommittee, I first want to thank all of you for allowing me to participate in these very important hearings.

As Cochairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, I feel a deep responsibility as you do, to speak out on behalf of oppressed Soviet Jewry and take advantage of every opportunity to focus world public attention on Soviet attempts to decimate Jewish culture and end emigration. Like all of you here today, who have been so involved in this issue over time, the Helsinki Commission is sadly aware that under the Gorbachev leadership, repression has worsened significantly in the Soviet Union against Jews and others who seek to "know and act upon" their Helsinki rights.

The campaign against Jewish cultural activists continues and escalates. The sentencing in August of Roald Zelichonok to three years in labor camp marks the eighth Hebrew teacher to be tried within the past year, as this committee so well knows.

Leonid Volvovsky, arrested in June, may be the ninth. The Anti-Zionist Committee, as Congressman Smith and others have observed, continues and escalates its vicious propaganda campaign.

Mr. Chairman, the Soviet Government still holds Soviet Jewry hostage as a political pawn. As Mr. Lantos, who joined with us in Ottawa knows so well, Ambassador Shifter, head of the U.S. delegation to the Ottawa Human Rights Convention pointed out that the Soviet Union has specifically stated that until the West treats it better, the Soviet Union will hold hostage the rights of its own citizens as leverage against the West. As Mr. Lantos pointed out so eloquently, this stance is a most cynical approach to the Helsinki undertakings.

The history of the last 12 months is indeed a grim way to start the new year. Over the next 12 months, upcoming meetings of the Helsinki signatory states will be an important means of shedding light on this grim situation as indeed this hearing does.

The Helsinki commissioners and commission staff will serve on the U.S. delegation to these meetings. At the upcoming Budapest Cultural Forum, scheduled for October 15 through November 25 of this year, the United States and other Western delegations will speak out about ongoing Soviet attempts to decimate Jewish culture.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Chairman, last week I met with Ambassador Stoessel, who will head the United States delegation to Budapest, and discussed this point and made it clear that human rights, is central to cultural rights.

In April and May of next year, a Human Contacts Expert's Meeting of the Helsinki signatory states will provide another platform from which to call the U.S.S.R. to account for its repressive emigration policy and practices.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, in the fall of 1986, human rights and Soviet Jewry will be prominently the United States delegation's agenda for the Vienna Review Meeting of the CSCE, the successor to the Belgrade and Madrid Conferences.

Outside the multilateral Helsinki context, Mr. Chairman, the U.S. Commission will continue to do all it can to ensure that concern for Soviet Jewry remains a key component of our foreign policy agenda with the Soviet Union, that this and other human rights issues are raised in connection with a Reagan-Gorbachev summit, and that Soviet Jewry is taken into account when we pursue trade and other bilateral matters with the U.S.S.R.

I think the Secretary of State and the President himself have made it clear that they intend to forcefully raise these issues at the summit, and that the plight of Soviet Jews be taken into account when we pursue trade and other bilateral matters with the Soviet Union. In this respect, Mr. Chairman, let me strongly reiterate my conviction as a Helsinki Commissioner that preservation of the Jackson-Vanik amendment is essential if we are to convince the Soviet Union of the seriousness of our commitment to human rights.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, let me say that I and the members of the Commission will be very interested to hear what our witnesses have to say today about how best the administration and the Congress can employ the available tools of East-West diplomacy to ease the plight of Soviet Jewry in the coming year.

Mr. Chairman, once again I want to take this opportunity to thank you for the opportunity to be here and to make this opening statement.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Mr. Hoyer.

Before we begin with our witnesses, I want to acknowledge the presence of members of the Soviet Parliamentarians who have just arrived, including their Speaker. We welcome you gentlemen, and are happy to see you.

We have a very long list of witnesses today, so we recommend that each witness limit his or her oral statement to 5 minutes or less. The entire text of your written statements will be included in the record.

Our first witnesses today will testify as a panel. They are Mr. Morris Abram, chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry; Mr. Israel Singer, secretary general of the World Jewish Congress, who has not yet arrived; Mr. Herb Kronish, chairman, Coalition to Free Soviet Jews; Mr. Morey Schapira, president, Union of Councils for Soviet Jews; and Mr. Isi Leibler, member, International Council of the World Conference on Soviet Jewry.

Before I ask you gentlemen to proceed, I would like to ask my colleague from New York, Congressman Gilman, if he has an opening statement he would like to make at this time?

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am particularly pleased that a Soviet parliamentary delegation that is in Washington headed by the Speaker of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, Mr. Lev Tolkunov, is here with us today at this hearing, and we hope that they could stay for a few moments. I know they have a busy schedule.

We have just finished a meeting with them in which we have raised the human rights issue, and I think it would be particularly important if they could listen to some of our witnesses today and hear firsthand our concerns. This issue is an extremely important issue, as we try to bring both of our nations closer together.

I hope that the Soviets will recognize that human rights is an intense, important, and critical issue in our Nation, and a very critical issue in the discussions between both of our nations, as we try to find common grounds of agreement.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Gilman.

Our first witness will be Mr. Abram.

Mr. Abram, will you please proceed with your statement?

**STATEMENT OF MORRIS B. ABRAM, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY, ACCOMPANIED BY JERRY GOODMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**

Mr. ABRAM. Mr. Chairman, I join with all of your colleagues in commending you for holding these hearings and for the character and leadership you have shown. I have listened with great interest

and found that the degree of the Members of Congress who are here assembled have deeply considered these issues and I want to come to some very pregnant points, inasmuch as you have already acknowledged the filing of formal testimony.

There is no need to dwell on the terrible figures. There is no need to dwell on the fact that under the current regime and previous regimes, anti-Semitism has become an instrument of national policies in the Soviet Union, both domestically and abroad, in the form of the campaign of Zionism as racism.

There is no need to dwell on the fact that they are arresting now one Hebrew teacher a month, as a symbol of the fact that they are determined to crush the passage of a cultural tradition from father to son and from mother to daughter.

It is remarkable that one a month, like a metronome, they are arresting Hebrew teachers for teaching a sacred language. There is no cheer as a result of the access of Mr. Gorbachev.

As a matter of fact, despite the fact that Time magazine gave him a megaphone to speak to the American people, he did not raise and no one else raised one single human rights question in that long, long interview. Can you imagine the President of the United States not being asked a question of that type under those circumstances?

Mr. Chairman, in answer to the question that was put whether or not Jackson-Vanik is an obstacle, let me say simply this. There is no magic bullet in the repeal of Jackson-Vanik or in the amelioration of it.

The highest Soviet Jewish emigration occurred in 1979 when Jackson-Vanik was in place. The repeal of Jackson-Vanik would be unilateral disarmament. The National Conference of Soviet Jewry is perfectly willing to consider waivers of Jackson-Vanik on a year-by-year basis as in the case of Romania and the case of China.

Pari Passu, step by step with the improvement of relations with the Soviet Union on these and other questions, but I am bound to tell you despite the facts that have outlined the terrible condition that exists now, I do not believe that there is need for total despair.

Why? Well, in the last decade 250,000 Jews were permitted to leave the Soviet Union, and if it can happen one time, it can happen again.

The question is now, since they are not needed by virtue of need of manpower, inasmuch as they are no longer totally assembled into the system as a cookie-cutter type of standardized Soviet man, because they wish to express themselves in a cultural tradition and in a religious tradition, the question is, why are they being held, and I would suggest to you, sirs, they are being held simply as hostages, and the question is how much ransom is demanded?

Now they can be redeemed, I believe, as hostages, but the question is, what is the price, should it be paid, and should we ask that it be paid?

Now, let me illustrate with I mean by price. If the United States were prepared in these upcoming talks to say we would dispense with the strategic defense initiative if you would let the Jews go, I am sure if that were done silently and behind closed doors there could be a trade, but who would ask that a matter of vital security, however you consider it, be a part of the negotiation.



If we would remove the missiles from Europe as quid pro quo in some silent agreement, undoubtedly that might produce a result and maybe the Armenians would be thrown in, too, but who would ask that these matters be tied into vital interests of the security of the free world on which our freedom and the freedom of all living people in the West depends.

So the question is, if there is a price, what do we do now? The day before yesterday Mr. Liebler and I and a delegation of Jewish leaders from five continents, consisting of 20 nations, saw the President of the United States, and I should be happy to share with you what we said to him.

We said, Mr. Chairman, there cannot be any formal linkage. We do not ask it in these important negotiations on which the fate of the world depends, no formal linkage, but Mr. President, you should say to Mr. Gorbachev what you know as the leader of free people. That ultimately any agreement depends upon trust in the Soviet word. If there be not that trust, there will be no ratification of that agreement by the American public or the U.S. Senate, if there should be a treaty.

Now we said, Mr. President, we do not know, we have not the means of knowing whether the Soviet Union is in violation of any of its existing arms arrangements, but we do know this: It is a matter of public record that they are in flagrant violation of the Helsinki accords. That violation is read in the pitiful number of figures of those who are emigrating.

It is read in the repeated arrests, trials and imprisonment of refuseniks. It is read in the arrest and the persecution of their own Helsinki monitors. These are matters of public record on which there can be no doubt, and the question must be put to Mr. Gorbachev at every level.

If you cannot, sir, be trusted on a matter which is merely humane, and does not affect your vital interests, how can the free world trust you on matters that do affect our vital interests.

In short, Mr. President, we said, these negotiations and the success of them lie in Soviet hands, not yours. Until they can be trusted, they will not be trusted.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I would only like to conclude by saying the President said to us, and we believe him, that the element, that is the element of the plight of human rights in general and the Soviet Jews in particular will be raised by him.

I am convinced, as I said to the press, that the matter is in his mind, on his heart, and it will be on his lips, and the fact is this is the window of opportunity, and the Soviet Union holds the ability to make these talks a success by restoring trust in their plighted word.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Abram follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MORRIS B. ABRAM, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON  
SOVIET JEWRY

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittees:

As chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry (NCSJ), I welcome this opportunity to appear today and present some views concerning matters pending before these Committees. With me is Billy Keyserling, the Director and Mark Levin, the Associate Director of our Washington Office.

For those who are not familiar with the NCSJ, the membership of 42 national organizations, and nearly 300 local community councils, federations and committees comprise our constituency. This represents the largest network in the world, and through it we are able to reach every corner of organized Jewish life in the United States. For the record, I enclose a list.

Our concern for human rights reflects the historic Jewish concern for people whose rights have been trampled. We have learned from history that when the rights of a minority, such as those of the more than 2,000,000 Jews in the USSR, are threatened, all people are threatened. By securing those rights we are, in fact, helping secure rights for all people. Their struggle then becomes our struggle.

The National Conference on Soviet Jewry, as the major, single-purpose agency in this country, representing the bulk of this community's work for the Jewish minority in the Soviet Union, supports efforts to achieve a

meaningful detente. In our view, the hopes of all people, including those of minorities like the Jews of the Soviet Union, will have a better opportunity to achieve security and self-expression in an atmosphere of diminished tensions. In our view, however, good bilateral relations between this nation and the Soviet Union also demand reciprocal obligations. It is not a one-way street.

In the matter of discrimination, the suppression of Jewish religion and culture, and emigration from the Soviet Union, issues of critical concern to millions of people, we are actively pursuing the goal of change. We believe this goal is consistent with basic U.S. foreign policy objectives.

For too many people, the importance of Soviet Jewry is neither understood nor adequately felt. Soviet Jewry comprises one-sixth of world Jewry. That a people, which lost one-third of itself a generation ago, simply cannot allow the disappearance of nearly 20 percent in our time, is self-evident to us, even if it is not self-evident to all Americans. Perhaps it is because the threat to Soviet Jews is often hidden from view, and only surfaces when someone is imprisoned and the Western press is willing to write about it. Regrettably, this is not always the case.

The condition of the Soviet Jewish population has continued to deteriorate especially in recent months. This is most evident in the virtual halt in emigration

and in the heightened intimidation and harassment of Soviet Jews. Most observers agree that the Jewish religion is singled out by Soviet authorities for more intensive oppression than other religious groups. The climate in the Soviet Union has evolved into one in which anti-Semitism thrives and progressively greater injustices are permitted.

As we meet today, we look forward to the arrival in this country of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, as well as the November summit meeting between President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, with some hope. We are painfully aware, however, that since Mr. Gorbachev became the First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, there has been no significant improvement in the position of Soviet Jewry. In some respects, the situation has deteriorated even further. The hopes inspired by the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975 have thus been further dimmed, even as the decade of its signing has been celebrated.

#### EMIGRATION

With respect to emigration, the same general level has been maintained for the last two years, as evidenced by the attached statistics. A comparison of the emigration figures for the first eight months of 1985 (during which a total of 702 Jews were allowed to leave) with those of the same period last year (when 652 received exit permits) demonstrates clearly the continuity of the extremely

restrictive Soviet policy, under which an average of less than 100 Jews per month are being permitted to leave. With rare exception, even those few Jews allowed to leave still do not include those veteran refuseniks (who have been waiting 10 years or more), although a number of Jews who had been refused for two or three years were given permission in recent months. This, of course, is welcome news - as is the fact that permission was also given to refuseniks like Lev Tukachinsky and Anatoly Khazanov who were initially refused in the late 1970's. With the sole exceptions of Isaak Shkolnik, who just arrived in Israel, and Mark Nashpitz, whose arrival there is expected within the next two weeks, all former Prisoners of Conscience continue to be denied exit permits. I have attached a list of those people who have already paid their dues, and are still being punished.

Of those denied emigration, various justifications are employed to substantiate the arbitrary rejections. Throughout much of the seventies, emigration pursued for the purpose of reunification of families was deemed valid. The 1979 doctrine of "primacy" circumscribed the applicability of this justification, permitting only emigration to rejoin immediate family members, or "first degree" relatives. However, even primacy now appears insufficient, and eligibility for applying has been further narrowed. Soviet authorities have continued to insist, as they have for several years, that there is no reason for immediate family members, such as parents and children, to be reunited if there is no economic dependency between the individuals.

The refusenik community, comprised of Jews whose applications for emigration have been rejected at least twice, numbers approximately 15,000. Nearly 50 families have been struggling for their right to leave for 10 years, while more than 150 families have been waiting between five and 10 years.

#### ARRESTS/IMPRISONMENTS INTENSIFY

While emigration has been kept to a fairly constant token level, the number of arrests, trials and other forms of harassment of Jewish activists has risen alarmingly. During the past year, 10 activists have been sentenced to prison or labor camp terms, while two others presently await trial. As documented by the U.S. State Department, the major thrust of the arrests has been directed at Jews trying to study or teach Hebrew. They are the "chief victims in what appears to be an official Soviet campaign against the current revival of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union."

Regrettably, the accession to power of Mr. Gorbachev, on March 11 of this year, did not change the situation in any basic way. As the attached document illustrates, 12 of the present 21 Jewish Prisoners of Conscience were arrested or tried in the last 12 months -- since September 1984. The methods employed in a number of these cases have been crude, even by Soviet standards, and have involved, among other things, the planting of

incriminating evidence by the police, without even a serious attempt to conceal their misdeeds. Wide-ranging searches have been conducted in the homes of scores of Jews in connection with these cases, and have involved the seizure not only of Hebrew instructional materials, but also of religious articles and books.

Further evidence of the hardening of the attitudes of the authorities can be seen in the brutal beatings by the police last October and November of Yakov Mesh in Odessa, and Mikhail Elman and Evgeny Lein in Leningrad, as well as in the shocking treatment of Iosif Berenshtein by criminals while in police custody (and quite possibly at police instigation). In his case this resulted in near total blindness.

The treatment of Prisoners of Conscience in the prisons and labor camps has also taken a sharp turn for the worse, with such prisoners as Zakhar Zunshain, Iosif Begun, Yuli Edelshtein, Simon Shnirman and Anatoly Shcharansky being subjected to varying degrees of maltreatment. This has ranged from violations of their rights to correspondence and visits, to long periods in isolation and punishment cells, as well as beatings and other forms of physical and psychological abuse by guards and fellow prisoners.

#### MOUNTING ANTI-SEMITISM

This past year has also seen no diminution in the onslaught of vicious articles and television broadcasts

attacking Israel, Zionism, Judaism, and individual Jews. While there was a temporary abatement of such attacks this Spring, they have now resumed their former level of frequency and intensity. Reports in the Soviet media brand Hebrew teachers and other Jewish cultural activists, often by name, as "Zionist" subversives. In November, Lev Shapiro and Aba Taratuta were among two refuseniks singled out in "Hirelings and Accomplices," a Soviet television feature aired in Leningrad which equated Jews seeking to emigrate to Israel with "traitors who betray and defame the Soviet Union." In August, the Soviet magazine Ogonek, which is circulated widely throughout the Soviet Union, attacked Evgeny Lein as a "Zionist agent of the West."

Clearly, the aim of these attacks against refuseniks, as individuals and as a group, is to isolate them from Soviet society in general, and to portray them as "criminals" whose maltreatment is justified. Our State Department accurately noted the effects of such a propaganda campaign, and reported that "there is no doubt that repeated irresponsible charges like these can fan the ugly flames of anti-Semitism."

#### BAN ON HEBREW/CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

As a signatory to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Soviet Union is bound to the minority rights clause of Article 27:



In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right in community with other members of their group to enjoy their own culture, to profess their own religion or to use their own language.

Despite this commitment, the Soviet government has long pursued a policy aimed at suppressing Jewish culture and at severing Soviet Jewry from its heritage. This policy is made particularly apparent in the government's dealings with the Hebrew language.

Hebrew, the language of the Bible and of the State of Israel, is the only language which historically has been the common property of Jews everywhere. Knowledge of the language is an integral part not only of Jewish liturgy and sacred texts, which are written in Hebrew, but also of secular Jewish culture. Nevertheless, it has been rendered virtually inaccessible to Soviet Jews through an unpublicized ban.

As noted earlier, harassment of those who have attempted to make the study of Hebrew possible has intensified. Jews attempting to function as Hebrew teachers have fallen victim to this new crackdown, their activity placing

them at risk of being imprisoned on spurious and fabricated charges which thus enables Soviet authorities to maintain the myth that the study of Hebrew by Jews is permissible.

Similar prohibitions cut off access to Jewish history and culture. There are no Jewish schools in the Soviet Union, even in the so-called Jewish "autonomous region" of Birobhidzhan. Books which deal with any aspect of the Jewish experience are not published in any language. Private seminars in Jewish culture and Torah readings face intimidation tactics similar to those levied against Hebrew seminars. Not a single Jewish press organ is permitted in the Russian language.

Specifically encouraged in the Helsinki Final Act is the development of contacts and cooperation among persons active in the field of culture. Nevertheless, attempts to send to Soviet Jews books or teaching manuals, on completely non-political subjects, are thwarted by Soviet authorities. They are either confiscated or simply disappear in the mail, thus indicating interference with postal privacy and communication, which is guaranteed both in the Soviet Constitution and in international agreements.

About 60 synagogues are known to serve Soviet Jews, and only a few have a rabbi. Those Jews seeking to learn more about their religion are targeted for harassment. Ironically, the 1936 Soviet Constitution only "recognized" the right to religious worship, whereas the more recent 1977 Constitution "guarantees" the right to "conduct

religious worship." In practice, however, nothing has changed. KGB officers repeatedly force their way into the homes of Jews holding private gatherings, threatening them with the accusation of holding "illegal" religious meetings. Participants in such gatherings are forced to present their identity papers and make themselves known to the authorities, placing them in future, if not immediate, jeopardy.

#### JEWISH ACADEMICIANS AND SCIENTISTS

Selected for special harassment and public degradation, Jewish scientists and academicians who wish to go to Israel experience extreme difficulty. The refusenik scientists see themselves as a "High Risk Group" -- not permitted to emigrate, but simultaneously destroyed within Soviet society. The Jewish scientist who seeks to emigrate risks not only a present job, but academic credentials as well. Since 1981, unsuitable political beliefs can destroy a degree retroactively; application for emigration to Israel, defined as an "anti-patriotic" act, is grounds for the revocation of higher degrees. In a recent crusade against Jewish academicians, several scientists have been stripped of their degrees.

#### DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION

Discriminatory entrance examinations are responsible for shutting increasing numbers of qualified Jewish students out of higher education. As an urban population, with high educational standards, Jews feel this discrimination especially harshly.

Jewish high school graduates from Moscow, Leningrad and Novosibirsk, applying for admission to state universities, are examined by 'special persons' and told they are 'not wanted.' Particularly hard hit are those qualified for advanced studies in mathematics. Students who received top marks and are awarded prizes in their high school years are subjected to discriminatory examinations. While written examinations are common to all applicants for a particular institution, the oral examination, usually of one to one and a half hours duration, was redesigned for Jewish applicants to last up to five hours and pose problems of inflated difficulty. Occasionally, Jewish students already enrolled in the highest educational institutions are expelled and made to enroll in lesser or secondary institutions.

#### THE ROLE OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

While no one can predict the future, it appears that the coming months may represent a thaw in the present US-USSR relations, or at least, a window of opportunity. If so, we have an important agenda for the next few months.

The organized Jewish community has delegated to the National Conference on Soviet Jewry the leadership role in the development and implementation of efforts to remove Soviet Jews from special persecution within the Soviet Union, and permit those who wish to be repatriated to Israel, and be reunited with relatives, to do so.

The NCSJ strongly supported the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which took note of human rights violations and imposed restraints on East-West trade until the states affected ceased the most grievous violations of minimum human rights standards established in principles to which these states had publicly subscribed. It did not support the Stevenson Amendment, which placed a ceiling on credits to the USSR.

Segments of American opinion believe that no trade should be fostered with a government which, even tangentially, strengthens its grip on the population within its own borders or abroad. In this context, as someone aptly put it, even the sale of kitchen sinks may be against American interests.

If a total ban on U.S. trade with the Soviet Union could change its totalitarian nature, we might support such a policy. But, we know that such hopes are fatuous, possibly dangerous, and in the long view inimical to American interests. Reflecting the views of millions of Americans, we do not oppose trade with the Soviet Union, so long as it does not include items of strategic value. Kitchen sinks, yes; laser technology, no.

Trade, in a large category of materials, products, and services, reasonably screened for American security concerns is in the interest of the United States, enlarges our markets, employs our people, reduces our trade deficits and enriches our economy, while increasing the stakes both sides have in peaceful coexistence.

American trade policy with the Soviet Union, as expressed in the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, is not based, however, on "bread alone." While the Soviet Union persecutes expressions of Jewish life and culture, and clamps down on emigration, the NCSJ would not support either a repeal of the trade legislation in place, or executive waivers as provided in statutes. However, the NCSJ is on record that its attitude is not inflexible, and that it would favor a modification of U.S. trade restrictions in non-strategic items as permitted by law. This could be step by step with Soviet action, to restore relations to those which existed in 1979.

We have noted, though we are not necessarily persuaded by, arguments that Soviet policy links several issues, including arms talks, to emigration. As one expert has opined, "Jackson-Vanik is not of great concern, except as one of several interlocking interests of the Soviet Union -- including those with geo-political considerations."

If this be the case, we address "linkage."

One must not lose sight of President Kennedy's statement shortly before his death: "What is peace, after all, but a matter of human rights?" President Kennedy's words are not merely a rhetorical flourish. They have a very present relevance as the USA and the USSR lumber to the summit.

Our presidents must ever be mindful of American opinion as they negotiate on a variety of issues, particularly for arms control. Treaties must be bottomed on what the Senate will approve. American support of arms control, particularly in the absence of on-site inspections, will depend on faith in Soviet pledges. For several years there has been an acrimonious debate as to whether the Soviets have violated existing arms limitation arrangements. Such questions are not easily settled, making credibility of the Soviet plighted word even more significant.

In Helsinki, only 10 years ago, the Soviets agreed, among other things, to abide by certain human rights standards. Compliance with this agreement can be accurately measured by the numbers who emigrate, the public record of refuseniks (i.e. those deprived of jobs or education), and police actions and trials of Hebrew teachers and Jewish cultural activists.

If the Soviets link a range of issues to be resolved in tandem they should realize that, while the United States may not formally link arms control and human rights, it is an ineradicable fact that Americans will more readily trust the Soviet word affecting our security when Moscow gives credible evidence that they will comply with previous human rights undertakings which do not affect their security interests.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Chairman:

Every facet of Soviet Jewish life has been touched by a series of actions which contradict those rights guaranteed the Soviet Jewish minority. The effects of an increasingly repressive and discriminatory policy are seen in the plunging statistics of emigration, and in the quiet desperation of Soviet Jews.

Despite more than a decade of sustained activity, the member organizations and affiliated community groups in the National Conference on Soviet Jewry have sustained their vigor and commitment.

We shall continue to strive to realize our essential goals of permitting Jews to leave in accordance with international law and standards. We shall continue to pursue for those who have not decided upon their future, or who choose to remain, the right to live as Jews within Soviet society and with the full rights of every other Soviet nationality -- the rights of their cultural, historical and religious heritage.

We welcome all initiatives by the Congress and the Administration in support of these goals.

Thank you.



Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Mr. Abram.

Our next witness is Mr. Herb Kronish.

Mr. Kronish, please go ahead. The entire text of your written statement will be printed in the record.

#### STATEMENT OF HERBERT KRONISH, CHAIRMAN, COALITION TO FREE SOVIET JEWS

Mr. KRONISH. Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of this committee, today and in testimony previously given to your committee, the Soviet Jewry organizations have described many of the actions of the Soviet Government which violate international agreements and which make life unbearable for Soviet Jews today: The shutoff of the flow of emigration, particularly under Andropov, Chernenko, and Gorbachev; the state-sponsored anti-Semitism; the religious and cultural oppression; the repression of and violence against Jews; the planting of drugs, guns, and contraband by the KGB followed by charges and arrests; and the forced confessions of illegal acts and the consequent fear and divisions created in all the Jewish communities of the Soviet Union.

I would like to focus my remarks at this time on the plight of the prisoners of conscience—that is, those individuals who have been arrested, tried, and imprisoned in complete disregard of due process of law for simply attempting to live according to the dictates of their conscience and beliefs and in accordance with the Soviet Constitution and Soviet law.

First, some statistics: A 10-year tally reveals that the Soviet Government has imprisoned no less than 58 men and women of Jewish conscience, with the rate of imprisonment rising in the past 5 years. Fifty-eight may not seem like an overwhelming number, but we are not talking about abstract numbers; we are talking about living people, people whose minds and energies have been cut off from their families, communities, and nation. And we are talking about the impact and the shock waves that such arrests and imprisonments have on virtually all Soviet Jews.

The prisoners of conscience comprise the cream of the crop, the present and future leadership of Soviet Jewry—the heart and soul of the Jewish community in the Soviet Union.

A sample profile of two prisoners of conscience will be helpful in conveying the pathos of their collective situation. The cases of Anatoly Shcharansky, Ida Nudel, and Iosif Begun are, relatively speaking, well known.

Less known, but equally poignant, is the case of prisoner of conscience Dr. Leonid Volvovsky. Dr. Volvovsky was a specialist in the design and application of large-scale, integrated computer systems. He was and is a family man—married, with one child.

In 1974, he applied to emigrate to Israel and was immediately dismissed from his professional position as Senior Researcher at the Institute of Automation and Mechanization for the Soviet Oil and Gas Industry. After his dismissal, Soviet authorities precluded him from securing other professional work. His application to emigrate was, of course, rejected on grounds of secrecy and he has been consistently rejected on those grounds for 11 years, despite frequent reapplication attempts.

After 1974, Dr. Volvovsky's interest in Jewish culture and in the teaching of the Hebrew language incurred the wrath of Soviet officials. His apartment was searched and ransacked. His Moscow residency permit was revoked. He was forced to live a life of borderline poverty and isolation in the city of Gorky. And he has been frequently harrassed, physically threatened and periodically detained by Soviet authorities. In June of this year, Dr. Volvovsky, at the age of 43, was arrested and awaits trial and imprisonment on unspecified charges in a KGB prison in Gorky.

But that is not all. Since his arrest, his wife, Ludmilla, has also come under increasing harassment. Anti-semitic slogans calling for "Death to the Jews" and "Jews to the Prisons" have been spray-painted on her door. KGB officials recently warned her to keep quiet and stop trying to get support for her husband or she, too, "would end up in a prison cell."

In addition, she was summoned to KGB headquarters and forced to sign a document acknowledging that she had been "warned" of her liability to prosecution on charges of allegedly "defaming the Soviet State and Social System."

And then there is the case of a younger prisoner of conscience, 27-year-old Yuli Edelshtein, a Hebrew teacher—married, living in Moscow. Edelshtein first applied to emigrate to Israel in 1978. His application was denied because of his father's access to "secret information"—this, despite the fact that Yuli had had no contact with his father for over 20 years.

As a Hebrew teacher, Edelshtein also became the victim of KGB harassment and confiscation of all his religious materials. And then, last year, drugs were planted by KGB agents in his apartment. This led to his receiving a 3-year prison sentence which he is currently serving.

While in prison, Edelshtein has been the victim of repeated beatings by prison inmates who were encouraged by camp authorities to "exorcise his religious fanaticism." He has also developed a lung ailment because of his harsh working conditions.

How can we respond to these sadistic acts of oppression by Soviet authorities? How are we to approach the systematic violation of human rights, of legal rights, contained in international agreements which the Soviet Union has committed itself to uphold?

While we welcome renewed talks and improvement in relations with the Soviet Union, we believe that the United States, as the leader of the free world, must take and maintain a strong stand on the issues of the treatment of the Jews in the Soviet Union and Soviet Jewish emigration if it is to maintain its moral leadership in the world arena and in the annals of history.

This stand can find particularly meaningful expression in the course of the next 3 months in the high level meetings scheduled to take place between United States and Soviet Government officials, and particularly in the upcoming summit meeting between President Reagan and Secretary-General Gorbachev in November.

We respectfully request that the United States make its position abundantly clear that: One, the issue of Soviet Jewry and human rights must be more than a perfunctory part of the meetings between our respective government officials. Placing human rights on

the "official agenda" and sidetracking that issue in actual talks simply will not do. The talks must be substantive and serious.

The issue of Soviet Jewry must not be subsumed by other areas of bilateral concern. We must make it understood that substantial progress on this nonsecurity issue which is required by international agreements is a critical first step of the many that must be taken by both sides in order to restore mutual confidence and understanding before there can be a significant improvement in United States-Soviet relations.

Two, we must overcome the lack of trust and credibility that has been engendered by Soviet violations of international agreements. How can we believe the Soviet Union will uphold agreements on issues of vital security to the United States if it does not comply with international agreements on nonsecurity issues like Soviet Jews, human rights, and the Helsinki Final Act?

The issue of Soviet Jewry is therefore a litmus test of Soviet credibility to the free world which the Soviets must pass before they can gain the trust and confidence of the American people and the American administration. A nation which is not faithful to its international commitments toward human rights raises serious doubts in the minds of its negotiating partners as to its trustworthiness in other areas of bilateral concern.

Let us not forget that Nazi Germany in the 1930's targeted its own citizens for abuse before targeting the nations of Europe and the world. That precedent should not escape the historical memory of Western civilization; it certainly will never escape the historical consciousness of the Jewish people.

Three, we oppose the premature offering of concessions on the issue of Jackson-Vanik. The Jackson-Vanik amendment to the 1974 Trade Act has flexibility built into the Presidential waiver provision. That provision should be invoked only after significant Jewish emigration—at the rate of 100,000 Jews per year—and a significant improvement in the living conditions of Soviet Jews, including the right to practice their religion and to study their language and culture, is allowed to proceed for a predesignated period of time, and not prior to that time.

The Soviet Union must show by actions—not by rhetoric—its intentions to cooperate with the community of nations in building a safe and civilized world.

I would suggest, Representative Levine, in answer to your question, that the Jewish community today is prepared to act favorably and responsibly in respect of Jackson-Vanik and other issues of vital concern to the Soviet Union, as well as to those of the United States. And we can suggest some phasing of small steps to be taken at first, and larger steps to be taken later, as we see positive movement on the part of the Soviet Government in which the United States and the free world can rely and believe instead of false promises and the failure of the Soviet Union to live up to commitments in the past.

In staking out these positions, we believe that the United States may be able to effect a significant improvement in the overall plight of Soviet Jews and be particularly helpful in freeing those Soviet Jewish Prisoners of Conscience who find themselves isolated and on the precipice of despair.

Forty years ago, 6 million Jews were exterminated while the U.S. Government did too little, too late. To mitigate the burden of guilt, politicians of the day claimed that they simply did not know the magnitude of what was happening in Europe.

Today, we cannot say that we do not know what is happening in the Soviet Union. The very fact that my colleagues and I sit here before you offering testimony is proof that we know what is happening.

This time, there can be no excuse for a lack of forthright action by our Government on behalf of Soviet Jews, on behalf of human beings who are being persecuted, on behalf of human beings who are being oppressed, on behalf of Jews who are once again the victims of genocide, cultural and spiritual genocide.

On behalf of the coalition, I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and your committee, for the privilege of being here, and your committee for its time and kind attention.

[The appendix to the statement of Mr. Kronish follows:]

## APPENDIX TO HERBERT KRONISH'S STATEMENT

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

The following chronological chart lists the names and terms of imprisonment of Jewish activists who were tried and convicted as Prisoners of Conscience after August 1, 1975--the date of the signing of the Helsinki Accords--until the present:

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P.O.C.'S CONVICTED 8/75 - 8/85

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1975

Anatoly Malkin	8/75	3 years prison
Lev Roitburd	8/75	2 years prison
Aleksandr Silnitsky	11/75	2 years exile
Yakov Vinarov	8/75	3 years prison
Boris Zaturensky	12/75	3 years prison

1976

Amner Zavurov	12/77	3 years prison
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1977

Iosif Begun	3/77	2 years exile
Anatoly Shcharansky	3/77	3 years prison and 10 years special regime camp

1978

Iosif Begun	5/78	2 years exile
Grigory Goldshtein	1/78	1 year prison
Ida Nudel		4 years exile
Mikhail Roiz	8/78	1 year prison
Vladimir Slepak	6/78	5 years exile

1979

Igor Guberman	3/11/80	5 years and confiscation of property
Boris Kalendariov	5/79	2 years prison
Aleksandr Vilig		1½ years prison

1980

Victor Brailovsky	6/17/81	5 years exile
Grigory Geishis	8/08/80	2 years labor
Aleksandr Magidovich	1/10/81	2½ years labor
Valery Pilnikov		5 years labor
Dmitri Shchiglik		1 year prison
Moisey Tonkonog		1 year prison

1981

Boris Chernobilsky	12/09/81	1 year labor
Kim Fridman		1 year labor
Vladimir Kislik	05/26/81	3 years labor
Evgeny Lein		2 years labor
Osip Lokshin	09/22/81	3 years labor

Aleksandr Paritsky		3 years labor
Lev Shefer		5 years prison
Vladimir Tsukerman	09/22/81	3 years labor
Stanislav Zubko	07/21/81	4 years labor

1982

Iosif Begun	1983	7 years labor and 5 years exile
Boris Kanevsky		5 years exile
Feliks Kochubievsky	12/06/82	2½ years labor
Valery Senderov	1982	7 years labor and 5 years exile

1983

Moshe Abramov		3 years prison
Lev Elbert		1 year prison
Mark Ocheretiansky	10/83	1 year prison
Aleksandr Panarev		1 year prison
Simon Shnirman	1/12/83	3 years labor
Yuri Tarnopolsky		3 years prison

1984

Iosif Berenshtein		4 years labor
Aleksandr Cherniak		4 years labor
Yuli Edelshtein		3 years prison
Nadezhda Fradkova	12/84	2 years prison
Aleksandr Kholmiansky	7/25/84	1½ years prison
Yakov Levin		3 years prison
Mark Nepomniashchy		3 years prison
Aleksandr Yakir		2 years prison
Iosif Ziselis	4/10/84	3 years prison
Zakhar Zunshain		3 years prison

1985

Yevgeny Aizenberg	6/06/85	2½ years prison
Vladimir Brodsky	8/85	3 years prison
Yevgeny Koifman		Awaiting trial
Yakov Rosenberg	01/85	3 years prison
Dan Shapiro	6/26/85	3 years suspended sentence
Leonid Shrayer	1/03/85	3 years labor
Anatoly Virshubsky		2 years prison
Leonid Volvovsky		Awaiting trial
Roald Zelichonok		3 years prison

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The cases of Anatoly Shcharansky, Ida Nudel and Iosif Begun are appended to this testimony.

Coalition to Free Soviet Jews - September 1985

SOVIET JEWRY: AN OPPRESSED COMMUNITY

Introduction

This memorandum summarizes the current plight of Soviet Jews. It provides background on the issue, focusing specifically on a) demographics; b) the question of emigration; c) the situation of the long-term refuseniks and Prisoners of Conscience; d) Jewish religious and cultural activities in the USSR; and e) Soviet anti-Semitism;

I. Factual Background on Soviet Jewry

A. Demographics

The 1983 American Jewish Year Book estimates that there are more than 2,600,000 Jews in the Soviet Union. Other estimates have ranged as high as five million, taking into account that many Soviet Jews have not publicly identified themselves as Jews. The Soviet Jewish community, which is approximately one percent of the total Soviet population, is the third largest Jewish population in the world, behind only the United States and Israel.

Soviet Jews are concentrated in the Soviet Union's major cities. The combined Jewish population of Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev is probably close to one million. By and large, Soviet Jews are better educated and older than average Soviet citizens, but unfortunately Soviet authorities have never afforded the vast majority of Soviet Jews the opportunity to develop a Jewish identity.

B. The Question of Emigration

Since the Leningrad Trials of 1970, more than 260,000 Soviet Jews have been allowed to emigrate. This unprecedented exodus came in response to a huge public and private outcry from the organized Jewish community in the West. The total has fluctuated from year to year, partly as a function of the state of Soviet-American relations. The peak figure was 51,320 in 1979, and since then it has declined precipitously. The totals for the succeeding years were 21,471 in 1980, 9,447 in 1981, 2,688 in 1982, 1,314 in 1983, and 896 in 1984. During the first four months of 1985, only 412 Soviet Jews were granted exit visas.

It has been estimated that approximately 400,000 Soviet Jews have begun the emigration process and are now trapped in limbo. Of this number, some 20,000 have been formally refused, many of them repeatedly. These Jews are commonly called "refuseniks." Since the death of Leonid Brezhnev in 1982, the Soviet authorities have adopted new emigration application procedures which make the process significantly more difficult. Refusals are commonly issued without valid reasons, and the act of applying exposes the applicant and his or her family to various forms of harassment. Some of the reasons given for refusals include Soviet assertions that the applicants had access to classified information, that they had served in the Soviet military, that their emigration would be contrary to state interests, or that their invitation from abroad was not from a sufficiently close relative. In 1983, an "Anti-Zionist Committee" composed of Jewish apologists, speaking at the behest of the Soviet government, declared that "almost all of the Soviet Jews who wanted to leave have left." This statement is an outright lie. The Soviet Union's practice of

systematically denying Soviet Jews exit visas also represents a violation of solemn international legal commitments undertaken by the USSR when it signed the Helsinki Final Act, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and other related instruments.

#### C. The Situation of the Long-Term Refuseniks and Prisoners of Conscience

As noted above, many of the 20,000 long-term refuseniks have received multiple refusals. Some have been waiting for 12-15 years, and many have been separated from spouses, children, parents, or brothers and sisters. The ranks of these long-term refuseniks include many of the trailblazers of the Soviet Jewish emigration movement, individuals like Dr. Aleksandr Lerner and Vladimir Slepak, who were among the first to demand the right to live in Israel. Throughout the past 15 years, the Soviet Union has targeted Jewish leaders and subjected them to a systematic pattern of harassment and intimidation. They and many fellow refuseniks have been fired from their jobs and denied the opportunity to work in their professions. They have been placed under surveillance, their apartments have been searched and personal materials seized, and the Soviets have repeatedly interfered with their postal and telephone communications with friends abroad. They have also been threatened with arrest, some have been physically assaulted and many have served prison terms as "Prisoners of Conscience" (POCs) in the inhospitable Soviet gulag. Some of the latter, including heroic figures like Ida Nudel, Evgeny Lein, Viktor Brailovsky and Aleksandr Paritsky, have finished their terms but still live under constant threat of re-arrest.

As of this writing, there are 27 Soviet Jews currently classified as POCs. These are Jews who have been imprisoned on charges stemming from Jewish activities. Some, like Anatoly Shcharansky, Iosif Begun and Zakhar Zunshain, were convicted of political crimes. Others, like Aleksandr Yakir, Moshe Abramov and Simon Shnirman, are serving terms on trumped-up charges of draft evasion, hooliganism or parasitism. All of these Prisoners of Conscience were engaged in activities protected by international treaties and agreements like those cited above. All are now hundreds or thousands of miles from home, some in the far reaches of Siberia.

In October 1983, the Soviets adopted a new law with especially disturbing implications for these POCs. The law provides for the extension of prison sentences of prisoners who "misbehave," and can apparently be applied retroactively and arbitrarily. Recent reports also indicate that the POCs have been denied adequate medical care, and several are seriously ill. These include Shcharansky, Begun, Berenshtein, Kholmiansky and Yuri Tarnopolsky. Tarnopolsky has never fully recovered from a hunger strike which he launched last year to protest his complete isolation from family and friends. Shcharansky, probably the best known Jewish POC, has spent most of his sentence languishing under exceptionally brutal conditions in the notorious Christopol Prison, and his ability to survive until his scheduled release in 1990 is open to question.

One of the most important trials in recent years was that of Iosif Begun in October 1983. Begun, a charismatic Hebrew teacher and symbol of the Soviet Jewish culture movement, received an unusually harsh 12-year sentence for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." It was his third conviction, and a prosecution widely interpreted as an attack on the whole Jewish culture movement in the USSR. Recently he was transferred to Christopol Prison as a form of increased punishment. Officials have not said how long this punishment will last, but they did imply that it may be for the remainder of his sentence.

In the Spring of 1985 several other Soviet Jewish activists have been arrested. On April 18, Aaron Munblit was arrested and taken to KGB headquarters while



placing a phone call to Israel. He was threatened with 3-years imprisonment for "having connections with foreigners which jeopardized state security and defame the Soviets." Natan Virshulsky was arrested in Kiev on charges of allegedly "stealing books from a synagogue library in Moscow." His trial is scheduled for Tuesday, May 7, with an expected punishment of 3-years imprisonment. Evgeny Eisenberg was arrested in March 1985, on the charges of "spreading false information defaming the Soviet Union." His trial has been postponed to late May, to allow for further investigation. At least five families, including Eisenberg's parents, have had their homes searched in connection with the case. Iosif Ziselis of Cherniovits, was sentenced to 3-years imprisonment on the trumped-up charges of "defaming the Soviet State and social system". In February 1985, Moscow Hebrew teacher Aleksandr Kholmiansky was sentenced to 18 months in labor camp for allegedly "possessing ammunition. Kholmiansky, weak from his 6-month hunger strike, is currently being force fed in a prison hospital. Several months earlier, in December 1984, Yuli Edelshtein, a former student of Kholmiansky, received a 3-year sentence on the trumped-up charge of "drug possession".

In December 1984, Kiev refusenik Iosif Berenshtein was sentenced to four years in a labor camp for "resisting arrest". As a result of his treatment in prison, he has become virtually blind. Leningrad activist Nadezhda Fradkova was sentenced to two years for "parasitism." In November, Yakov Levin of Odessa was sentenced to three years in a labor camp for "the circulation of fabrications known to be false which defame the Soviet State and social system." He was arrested last August, just seven days prior to his scheduled marriage to Yehudit Nepomniashchy, another Odessa refusenik. Yehudit's father Mark Nepomniashchy was arrested in October on charges stemming from his involvement in Jewish activities. He came to trial in February 1985 and was sentenced to three years in a labor camp for allegedly "defaming the Soviet state." Yakov Mesh, also of Odessa, was arrested and beaten by local police for refusing to testify against his friend Yakov Levin. Because he was so severely attacked, he was released from prison and has not yet been brought to trial. In January 1985, Leonid Shrayor of Chernovtsy was sentenced to three years imprisonment for "defaming the Soviet state."

All of these cases suggest that the Soviets have added a disturbing new direction to their policy, targeting not just Jews who have been prominent in the emigration movement but also traditionally observant Jews and Jews desiring to lead Jewish lives within the USSR.

#### D. Jewish Religious and Cultural Activities in the USSR

At present, Soviet Jews are not allowed either to leave the USSR or to live as Jews within the USSR. The Soviet attitude toward Jewish culture is epitomized by official and unofficial restrictions which severely limit the use and instruction of Hebrew, which is the language of the Jewish people, the Bible, and the State of Israel. The Hebrew language, an integral and essential part of Judaism and the Jewish culture, has been rendered almost totally inaccessible to Soviet Jews.

In the Soviet Union today, the authorities will allow no teachers of Hebrew to be trained, no Hebrew books to be published and no Soviet publications to be translated into Hebrew, and in those few Soviet academic institutions where Hebrew is taught, only KGB officials, diplomats, and non-Jewish theologians are permitted to enroll. No Jewish prayerbook has been printed in the USSR in over twenty years, no Hebrew Bible has been published since 1917, and materials published abroad are rarely allowed into the country. Furthermore, there is no free circulation or publication of Jewish religious, literary, or historical works written in any language. Efforts by Soviet Jews to gather privately and

informally to study Hebrew have been ruthlessly suppressed by Soviet officials, and as noted above, self-taught Hebrew instructors are commonly arrested or threatened with arrest. Since the Soviet authorities permit instruction in English, French, Chinese, and other foreign languages, they have in effect deemed Hebrew a non-language; no other national minority in the USSR has had its language suppressed in this fashion.

In addition to the suppression of Hebrew, with occasional token exceptions, no Jewish choral groups, theatre groups, or other cultural assemblages are tolerated in the Soviet Union today. Attempts to study the Jewish religion, the history of the Jewish people, Jewish culture, and Jewish traditions are also normally prohibited. Religious articles are scarce and can only be obtained with great difficulty, and there is a tremendous thirst for Jewish artifacts. Jewish holiday observances are frowned upon, and many holiday ceremonies and major life cycle events like Bar Mitzvahs or religious weddings are barred or prevented through surveillance or other forms of official pressure. Almost all of the Soviet Union's synagogues have been closed, and Jewish scholarly activity is virtually non-existent. In Moscow, it has even become difficult to be buried in a Jewish cemetery.

Soviet authorities also will not allow the existence of a central Jewish organizing body. The Jewish cultural heritage is being smothered in the USSR because there is no training for rabbis, Jewish functionaries, and communal leaders. There are also no adult education programs, no social organizations, no camps, and no youth groups for Jews, and even informal study groups are harassed. Some of the activists mentioned above have served prison terms largely because of their efforts to fill this tremendous void.

#### E. Soviet Anti-Semitism

Although anti-Semitism has been prevalent in Russia since tsarist times, it became particularly virulent in recent months and has now become a regular feature of the state-controlled Soviet media. Articles published in major Soviet papers have linked Zionism to Nazism, and attacked specific activists like Iosif Begun and Grigory Vasserman by name. In addition to attacks in the press, in November 1934 the Soviets aired a virulently anti-Semitic television program in Leningrad which attacked several refuseniks by name and called on Soviet citizens to "beware of the danger posed by Zionism."

A Decade of Promise and Despair:

SOVIET JEWRY

and the

HELSINKI PROCESS,

1975 - 1985

Report presented to  
Senator Alfonse D'Amato,  
Chairman of the United States  
Helsinki Commission  
Prepared by:  
The Coalition to Free  
Soviet Jews  
July 02, 1985

## INTRODUCTION

The Helsinki Final Act signed by the Soviet Union in 1975 provides that "the participating States will respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion, or belief, for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." The Act also states that the participating governments "will deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family."

As this report will demonstrate, in its treatment of Soviet Jews, the Soviet government has made a mockery of these provisions. As a result, much of the optimism and promise felt when the Final Act was signed has given way to discouragement and despair.

## I. EMIGRATION

1. The Promise

Principle VII of the Helsinki Final Act committed the participating states, including the Soviet Union, to act in conformity with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to fulfill their obligations set forth in the International Covenant on Human Rights.

The Madrid Concluding Document reaffirmed the particular significance of both the Universal Declaration and the International Covenant and called again on all participating states to act in conformity with those international instruments.

Both instruments clearly provide for free emigration. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states: Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own... (Article 13(2)). The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), (to which the USSR is also a party) similarly stipulates: Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own (Article 13(2)).

The Helsinki Final Act not only re-affirmed the norms contained in those international instruments but also declared in the "Human Contacts" section of Basket Three, that the participating states made it their aim to "facilitate freer movement and contacts, individually and collectively...among persons of the participating states." To this end, a special sub-section dealing with Reunification of Families stated that the participating States would deal "in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of persons who wished to be reunited with members of their family."

In Madrid, this last commitment was further strengthened. To the words 'will deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit' with applications for exit permits, the phrase 'will favorably deal' was added, thus making it an obligation on the States to approve such applications, unless there were serious obstacles in individual cases. Both the Final Act and particularly the Madrid Concluding Document also set out the procedural requirements the States had to observe to give effect to those obligations.

## 2. The Despair

Taking the first decade of Helsinki as a whole, the Soviet Union has flagrantly violated the commitments which they undertook--both explicitly and implicitly--at Helsinki in regard to the emigration of its Soviet Jewish citizens.

As the following chart indicates, although Jewish emigration rose during the years 1975-1979 to a peak of 51,320, it has since plummeted 98% to a negligible 896 in 1984.

TABLE 1: JEWISH EMIGRATION STATISTICS--1975 - 1985

1975 - 13,221			1979	
1976 - 14,261				
1977 - 16,736				
1978 - 28,864		1978	1980	
1979 - 51,320				
1980 - 21,471		1977		
1981 - 9,447		1976		1981
1982 - 2,688	1975			1982
1983 - 1,314				
1984 - 896				1983
1985 - ?				
				1984

One might think that the precipitous drop in Soviet Jewish emigration over the past 6 years has been due to a decrease in emigration applications--as Soviet officials have often arrogantly maintained. Yet, the facts tell us otherwise. At present, there are an estimated 400,000 Soviet Jews who have begun the emigration application process, of which 20,000 have been repeatedly refused the right to emigrate (hence, the name "refusenik").

Moreover, aside from the peak year of 1979, the emigration figures for 1975-1978 represent an actual decline in emigration from the pre-Helsinki emigration figures for 1972-73 when 31,000 and 34,000 Soviet Jews emigrated, respectively.

Even during that one year, 1979, in which actual Soviet Jewish emigration "rose", the Soviet Union instituted a series of procedural roadblocks to the emigration process which made it increasingly difficult to even initiate the emigration process (e.g. demanding invitations from "first degree relatives", opening emigration offices at erratic hours, etc.). These administrative roadblocks have intensified and expanded in the ensuing years to actual punitive measures taken against applicants including summary dismissal from their jobs, impoverishment, threats, arrests, imprisonments, and identification

in the government controlled media as traitors, etc. (see section on anti-semitism & discrimination). Clearly the Soviet Union, in the major part of this first decade of Helsinki, has violated the spirit and letter of the emigration provisions of the Helsinki Accords.

## II. PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

### 1. The Promise

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights contain elaborate provisions about the physical and legal integrity of all, their freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention (UDHR, Articles 3 and 9; ICCPR, Articles 9 and 10), and their fair trial in case of criminal charges against them (UDHR, Articles 10 and 11; ICCPR, Article 14). During the ten years reviewed in this report, there have been a steadily increasing number of instances in which these guarantees have been ignored in relation to the so-called Jewish 'activists' in the Soviet Union, i.e. Jews who actively demand recognition of and respect for their rights to emigration, to the enjoyment and fostering of their Jewish culture, and to the study of the Hebrew language (more will be said later about these cultural activists). In other words, Jews who have attempted to put into practice the words of Principle VII of the Helsinki Final Act--that the individual has 'the right...to know and act upon his rights'--have been systematically persecuted with complete disregard of the principles of due process of law. These Jews are called "Prisoners of Conscience".

### 2. The Despair

The following chronological chart lists the names and terms of imprisonment of Jewish activists who were tried and convicted as Prisoners of Conscience after August 1, 1975--the date of the signing of the Helsinki Accords--until the present:

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TABLE 2: P.O.C.'S CONVICTED 8/75 - 6/85

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#### 1975

Anatoly Malkin	8/75	3 years prison
Lev Roitburd	8/75	2 years prison
Aleksandr Silnitsky	11/75	2 years exile
Yakov Vinarov	8/75	3 years prison
Boris Zaturensky	12/75	3 years prison

#### 1976

Amner Zavurov	12/77	3 years prison
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#### 1977

Iosif Begun	3/77	2 years exile
Anatoly Shcharansky	3/77	3 years prison and 10 years special regime camp

#### 1978

Iosif Begun	5/78	2 years exile
Grigory Goldshtein	1/78	1 year prison
Ida Nudel		4 years exile

1978 (con't)

Mikhail Roiz	8/78	1 year prison
Vladimir Slepak	6/78	5 years exile

1979

Igor Guberman	3/11/80	5 years + confiscation of property
Boris Kalendariov	5/79	2 years prison
Aleksandr Vilig		1½ years prison

1980

Victor Brailovsky	6/17/81	5 years exile
Grigory Geishis	8/08/80	2 years labor
Aleksandr Magidovich	1/10/81	2½ years labor
Valery Pilnikov		5 years labor
Dmitri Shchiglik		1 year prison
Moisey Tonkonog		1 year prison

1981

Boris Chernobilsky	12/09/81	1 year labor
Kim Fridman		1 year labor
Vladimir Kislik	05/26/81	3 years labor
Evgeny Lein		2 years labor
Osip Lokshin	09/22/81	3 years labor
Aleksandr Paritsky		3 years labor
Lev Shefer		5 years prison
Vladimir Tsukerman	09/22/81	3 years labor
Stanislav Zubko	07/21/81	4 years labor

1982

Iosif Begun	1983	7 years labor and 5 years exile
Boris Kanevsky		5 years exile
Feliks Kochubievsky	12/06/82	2½ years labor
Valery Senderov	1982	7 years labor + 5 years exile

1983

Moshe Abramov		3 years prison
Lev Elbert		1 year prison
Mark Ocheretiansky	10/83	1 year prison
Aleksandr Panarev		1 year prison
Simon Shnirman	1/12/83	3 years labor
Yuri Tarnopolsky		3 years prison

1984

Iosif Berenshtein		4 years labor
Aleksandr Cherniak		4 years labor
Yuli Edelshtein		3 years prison
Nadezhda Fradkova	12/84	2 years prison
Aleksandr Kholmiansky	7/25/84	1½ years prison
Yakov Levin		3 years prison
Mark Nepomniashchy		3 years prison
Aleksandr Yakir		2 years prison

1984 (con't)

Iosif Zielis	4/10/84	3 years prison
Zakhar Zunshain		3 years prison

1985

Yevgeny Aizenberg	6/06/85	2½ years prison
Yevgeny Koifman		Awaiting Trial
Yakov Rosenberg	01/85	3 years prison
Dan Shapiro	6/26/85	Probation
Leoid Shrayner	1/03/85	3 years labor
Anatoly Virshubsky		2 years prison
Leonid Volvovsky		Awaiting Trial
Roald Zelichonok		Awaiting Trial

It would be impossible in this report to discuss in detail all these P.O.C. cases of the past 10 years, but it is useful to look at a few individual cases in order to understand the nature of the battles being fought continuously by Jewish activists in the Soviet Union. Towards that end the biographies of three paradigmatic Prisoners of Conscience are appended to this report.

For the moment, suffice it to say that the stories of Begun, Shcharansky and Volvovsky shatter the facade of Soviet commitment to human rights contained in the Helsinki Accords.

In addition to the listing of Jewish Prisoners of Conscience convicted from August 1975 to the present, there have been tens of other Jewish activists who were convicted prior to August 1975 for the "crime" of wanting to live freely as Jews. These prisoners unjustly remained languishing in Soviet prisons and labor camps long after 8/75 despite the Soviet signing of the Helsinki Accords. Most prominent among those were the prisoners of the Leningrad trials of 1970-71, one of whom remains in Soviet prisons to this very day.

### III. RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL OPPRESSION

#### 1. The Promise

The Soviet Union, as a signatory to the Helsinki Accords, committed itself in Principle VII to "respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion, and belief." This principle goes on to commit the participating states to recognize and respect "the freedom of the individual to profess and practice his religious beliefs, either alone or in the community with others."

Basket III of the Helsinki Final Act, Paragraph 11 of the Madrid Concluding Document, and Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to which the Soviet Union is party, collectively guarantees respect for the interests of national minorities, the enjoyment of one's own culture and the use of one's own language.



### The Despair

Over the past decade, the Soviet Union, far from keeping its commitments to respect religious practice, minority rights and cultural expression, has instead been engaged in a methodical effort to sever Soviet Jewry from its cultural and religious heritage, and to obliterate its collective identity through enforced assimilation. Although the Soviet government regards Jews as one of the more than 100 officially recognized Soviet nationalities, it denies them the cultural rights enjoyed by all other ethnic minorities in the USSR and guaranteed by the Helsinki process.

The attitude of the Soviet authorities toward the study of the Hebrew language among Jews epitomizes their attitude toward Jewish religion and culture generally. Hebrew, the language of the Bible and of the Jewish people in the State of Israel, is the only language which has always been the common property of Jews everywhere. Knowledge of Hebrew is an integral and essential part not only of the practice of Judaism but also of secular Jewish culture. Yet, Hebrew has been rendered virtually inaccessible to Soviet Jews over the past 10 years through the vigorous enforcement of an unpublished ban on their study of the language.

Thus, Jews, as a rule, are excluded from those few courses which exist in Soviet universities to train selected Soviet officials in the use of Hebrew. In the USSR, no textbooks of the Hebrew language are published, no teachers of Hebrew are trained, no books in Hebrew have been published for many years, and there are no Soviet newspapers or periodicals published in Hebrew. Efforts to teach Hebrew to Jews privately, unlike the private teaching of other languages, have been ruthlessly suppressed by the police and teachers of Hebrew have been threatened with punishment on trumped-up charges if they do not cease teaching Hebrew. No other national minority in the USSR has its language suppressed in such a fashion.

Apart from the study of their national languages, Soviet Jewry has not a single school where it can study, in any language at all, its own religion, history, literature, or culture. Such facilities are accorded all other Soviet nationalities, including some who are both more widely dispersed and less numerous than the Jews.

Attempts by Jews to study their own religion and culture in private seminars and study groups have been broken up by the authorities and the participants have been harassed by the police and the KGB.

Particularly alarming, has been the increased Soviet targeting in recent years, of young Jewish cultural and religious teachers for arrest and imprisonment, on trumped-up criminal charges ranging from "defaming the Soviet state" to (planted) "possession of drugs and ammunition". In truth these individuals were guilty only of attempting to exercise their rights of freedom of culture and religion guaranteed in the Helsinki Accords.

No books on Jewish history, religion, or culture are published in the USSR in any language including Russian. Attempts to send books of Jewish content to the USSR by mail lead regularly to their confiscation.

In sum, the all-embracing denial to Soviet Jews of the entire gamut of cultural rights by the Soviet government outlined above, can only be described as cultural genocide, i.e. a deliberate policy aimed at spiritual annihilation of the Jews of the USSR, and a flagrant violation of the Helsinki Final Act.

#### IV. ANTI-SEMITISM AND DISCRIMINATION

##### 1. The Promise

Few actions could be more contrary to the spirit, character and thrust of the Helsinki Final Act--especially Principle VII--as racist discrimination and anti-semitism.

Principle VII obligates the participating states to "respect human rights and fundamental freedoms...without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." More specifically and concretely, Principle VII obligates fulfillment of international human rights treaties to which the participating States are contractually bound, and at least two of these treaties pointedly condemn and prohibit racism and overt bigotry. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, specifically mentioned in the Final Act, stipulates in its Article 20(1): "Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law." The second pertinent international agreement bearing upon the subject is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Its Article 4(a) requires contracting States to eradicate "incitement" to "racial hatred" and to halt "attempts to justify or promote racial hatred or discrimination".

##### 2. The Despair: Anti-Semitism

Notwithstanding these international norms, an antisemitic propaganda campaign which has been conducted in the Soviet mass media since 1967, has continued, and in fact been intensified, during the last ten years.

This campaign is allegedly directed against Zionism but, in fact, it contains a venomous assault upon Judaism, Jewish tradition and Jews at large and has assumed an increasingly anti-semitic character which is only thinly disguised. Stereotypical images of the Jew dominate the descriptions of Zionism. Indeed, the distinction between Jew and Zionist has become blurred and the words interchangeable.

As we all know, all printing in the Soviet Union, of newspapers, periodicals, books and other publications, as well as all productions of the electronic media are under state control. It follows that whatever material is distributed to the general public through these print and electronic media is officially authorized; it constitutes the point of view with which the government wants to indoctrinate the people. It is because the Soviet media reflect the government's point of view that the further increase, over the past 10 years, of anti-semitic propaganda is of particularly serious concern.

Several illustrative examples of this vicious campaign, chronologically cited, follows:

1975: There are frequent cartoons--in the official Soviet press portraying Jews with large hooked noses and evil-looking unshaven jowls. Indeed, in September 1975, after the Helsinki Final Act was signed, the Kazakhstanskaya Pravda reproduced a cover cartoon of the 1934 edition of the notoriously poisonous "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," depicting an evil-appearing Jewish figure under the caption, "The Jewish Peril," digging his fingers into a globe of the world and making it bleed.

1977: 150,000 copies of a book published in Moscow in 1977 and republished in 1979, written by Vladimir Begun and entitled Invasion Without Arms, characterizes the Torah, the Old Testament of the Bible, as, among other things, "an unsurpassed textbook (of)...hypocrisy, treachery, perfidy and moral degeneracy--all of the basest human qualities." He writes: "Jewish and Christian hypocrites alike keep silent over this."

1978: A television program entitled "Traders of Souls" was broadcast on prime-time throughout the Soviet Union. The constant theme of this documentary was the Jew as moneychanger: "a trader of souls." Every Jew who was pictured on that program was subsequently arrested, tried, and imprisoned by Soviet authorities.

1979: Soviet authorities in 1979 issued the White Book, which purported to reveal, "Espionage and Deception in the Name of Defense for Human Rights." Instead, the publication is replete with preposterous accusations and anti-Semitic attacks on Soviet Jewish activists and Western correspondents of Jewish origin. The White Book was first published by the Juridical Literature Printing House and edited by the director of the prestigious Association of Soviet Jurists. Even after this dispicable work received worldwide condemnation, a second edition was released on December 1979.

1982: Lev Korneev, one of the leading Soviet anti-semitic propagandists published his "magnum opus"--a book entitled "The Class Essence of Zionism". In this 'classic' work of Soviet anti-Zionism/antisemitism, which was reviewed before publication in the mass-circulation media, Korneev, inter alia, went beyond the customary allegations of Zionist-Nazi collaboration. He made the startling claim--analogous to that made by neo-Nazi 'revisionist' historians in the West--that the Zionists had deliberately inflated the number of Jewish victims of Nazism for their own cynical ends. In another publication several weeks later, he specified that the Zionists had inflated the figures 'at least two- or three-fold' ('On the Path of Aggression and Racism', Moscow: Biblioteka Ogonek, 1982, 31).

1983: The "Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public" was formed by the Soviet Union to intensify ideological warfare against Zionism. Composed of Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality to give it an appearance of legitimacy, its activities included holding press conferences to "announce" that all Soviet Jews who wanted to leave had left, the publishing of blatantly anti-semitic letters linking Zionism and Nazism, and a media attack on the Jewish leadership of the West.

1984: Soviet television aired a program entitled "Hirelings and Accomplices" which attacked several refuseniks by name and called on Soviet citizens to "beware of the danger posed by Zionism."

These are but a handful of a whole spate of anti-semitic propaganda that has been generated with government sanction over the past 10 years.

#### The Despair: Discrimination

The consequences of this officially sanctioned anti-semitic propaganda campaign are felt throughout Soviet society. The campaign has the effect of causing members of the general public to subject Jews to verbal and sometimes physical abuse, and for children to suffer opprobrium in school. It also has the effect of passing the word to all government institutions that Jews are not entitled to the same rights as the rest of the population. As government controls all aspects of economic life and education, Jews increasingly find themselves passed over for promotions, shut out from certain types of employment, and discriminated against when they seek admission to particularly desirable educational institutions.

In practicing or permitting such discrimination, the USSR is, of course, violating not only the Helsinki Final Act, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights but also, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the ILO Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, and the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education--all of which have been ratified by the Soviet Union.

In the political field, a clear indication of growing discrimination towards Jews can be detected in the local Soviets. The following numbers of Jews in all local Soviets from village and borough level to krai and oblast level can be found in Soviet publications, as shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3: JEWS IN LOCAL SOVIETS

Year	Number
1967	7,881
1971	6,030
1975	4,519
1983	3,685

These figures show that in 1983, Jews elected to all levels of Soviet local government constituted less than half (46.8 per cent) of their number in 1967. Even if adjusted to the diminished number of Jews, this represents a decline of 40 per cent.

Jews are also almost completely excluded from the centralized Soviet power structure. Since 1957, there have been no Jews in the CPSU CC Politburo and Secretariat. There is one Jew, Deputy-Premier V.E. Dymshits, in the government and another, V.M. Volodarsky, is the head of the Central Statistical Directorate. There are but a handful of Jews in the second and third tiers of the high bureaucracy, e.g. A. Chakovsky, the editor of Literaturnaya gazeta. According to recent testimonies,

there are no Jews in the Central Committee apparatus, only one in the Foreign Office and some in "secondary" positions in the KGB.

As far as employment in the workforce is concerned, the testimonies of numerous emigrants indicate that discrimination prevails both in hiring practices and in promotion. Aside from the numerous complaints about actual dismissals from employment following applications for emigration, there are two other negatives operating in regard to Jews in posts of importance: not to hire them and not to promote them.

The typical scenario most frequently related by emigrants is that of young Jewish graduates who have been offered jobs but have had the offer withdrawn once their Jewish nationality has become known. The reason for the withdrawal is often not even concealed.

The statistically and factually best documented case of discrimination is in admissions to institutes of higher education. The last official general statistical data on the number of Jews in the student body were published for the academic year 1976/77 and these show a decline in the number of Jewish students from a peak figure of 111.9 thousand in 1968/69 (they constituted at that time 2.5 percent of all Soviet students) to 66.9 thousand in 1976/77 (1.35 per cent of all Soviet students).

There are some more recent unofficial data from which conclusions about the approximate number of Jewish students can be drawn. From data given in Jews in the USSR: Figures, Facts, Comments by Avtandil Rukhadze (Moscow, Novosti, 1982, 47), it can be deduced that there were 59,500 Jewish students in 1978/79. Similarly, from data given in 'Moscow in Figures, 1981', the number of Jewish students in 1980-81 can be estimated as between 50,000 and 55,000. These figures show a further swift decrease in the strength of the Soviet Jewish student body. (An extrapolation will give a figure of about 40,000-45,000 Jewish students in 1984/85).

The rapid decline of the Jewish student population is about three times greater than the rate of decline of the Soviet Jewish population in general. It must inevitably be concluded that the reason for the decline is anti-semitic discrimination.

Moreover, the figures do not tell us how many of the Jewish students were admitted to day studies, as distinct from evening courses, or how many to the leading universities and institutes, as distinct from inferior ones. But, in the absence of such statistics, one cannot ignore the consistent eye-witness reports that a major way of discriminating against Jews in education is the difficulty they experience in being accepted for day studies or in gaining admittance to the better educational institutions. It has been reported in particular that the number of Jews admitted to medical institutes in Moscow has been sharply reduced, that no Jews have been admitted to the Institute of International Relations for a very long time, and that in recent

years the Department of Translators and Interpreters of the Moscow Institute of Foreign Languages has been virtually inaccessible to Jews.

The secrecy in which anti-Jewish discrimination is shrouded and the lack of concrete evidence, except for case histories, induced a group of Moscow mathematicians to conduct a study of admissions to the Mathematics and Mechanics Department of Moscow State University of graduates from five leading physics and mathematics schools of Moscow.

TABLE 4: PERCENTAGE OF APPLICANTS FROM LEADING MOSCOW SCHOOLS ADMITTED TO LEADING MOSCOW INSTITUTIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Year	Institution	Percentage of applicants admitted	
		Non-Jews	One or more Jewish grandparent or Jewish nationality on passport
1979	MSU Mathematics and Mechanics Faculty	85.1	15.0
1980	Moscow Institute of Physical Engineering	66.7	10.3
1980	Moscow Institute of Physics and Technological Engineering	70.1	11.5
1981	MSU Mathematics and Mechanics Faculty	83.7	13.5
1983	MSU Mathematics and Mechanics Faculty and Moscow Institute of Physics and Technological Engineering	51.9	14.9

As Table 4 shows, the percentage of Jews admitted was strikingly smaller than the admission ratio of non-Jews; it varied between 10 and 15 percent over the four years studied, as against 66 to 85 percent among non-Jewish applicants. The studies also contain a wealth of material with regard to the methods of discrimination in practice.

Their authors concluded: 'An analysis of the appended material leaves no doubt concerning the purely racist standards of the enrollment Commission' (The Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group, Doc. 112 of 5 November 1979, 'Discrimination against Jews enrolling at Moscow University, 1979'--Samizdat Archives, no. 4695).

The Helsinki process, to which the Soviets claim to be attached, is based on the desire to promote better, closer relations and solidarity and understanding among peoples. Nothing undermines this process more than vicious allegations against the members of one people, to

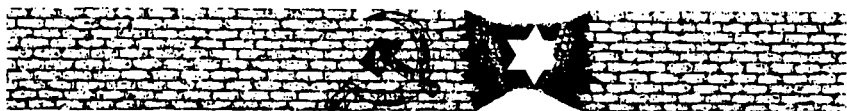
the point where these allegations become outright incitement to hatred, or the cause for substantial social discrimination.

#### V. CONCLUSION

The issues highlighted in this report, represent an analysis of four crucial areas of Soviet non-compliance of the Helsinki accords over the past ten years.

These issues were selected not because they were the only areas of Soviet disregard of its human rights commitments, but because they are the issues which impact most significantly on the lives and hopes of Soviet Jews.

When reviewed against the background of the relevant language of the Helsinki Final Act, Madrid Final Document, and other international agreements to which the Soviet Union are party, these violations raise serious, fundamental questions about the Soviet Union's depth of commitment to human rights and the Helsinki Process.



## COALITION TO FREE SOVIET JEWS

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8 West 40th Street, Suite 602, New York, N.Y. 10018 (212) 354-1316

### PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE IOSIF BEGUN

BORN:	July 9, 1932
FROM:	Moscow
WIFE:	Inna Shelmova Raketny Bulvar 11/1/15 Moscow 129243 RSFSR, USSR
OCCUPATION:	Mathematician, Hebrew Teacher
1st ARREST:	March 3, 1977
CHARGES:	Parasitism
TRIED:	June 1, 1977
SENTENCE:	Two years internal exile; released early 1978
2nd ARREST:	May 17, 1978
CHARGES:	Internal Passport violations
TRIED:	June 28, 1978
SENTENCE:	Three years internal exile; released August 1980
3rd ARREST:	November 6, 1982
CHARGES:	Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda
TRIED:	October 12-14, 1983
SENTENCE:	12 years--7 imprisonment and 5 internal exile
PRISON ADDRESS:	Chistopol Uch. UE 148/ST4 Tatarskaya ASSR USSR 422950



PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE  
IOSIF BEGUN

Iosif Begun's key role in the Jewish emigration movement and all he stands for in relation to Jewish culture have made him a special target of the Soviet authorities.

In October 1983, he was convicted of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" following an unprecedented third trial. The Soviets accused him of "producing, spreading and transferring abroad slanderous information about Soviet life on instructions from foreign subversives." He received the maximum sentence: seven years in prison, followed by five years of internal exile.

A 51-year-old mathematical engineer, Begun was educated at Moscow University and worked for the State Planning Agency, where he was allegedly exposed to classified information. After submitting an application to emigrate to Israel in 1971, he was promptly dismissed from his job and at the same time was denied the visa because of the "secret" information to which he had been privy. Unable to find work in his field, he took a job as a watchman on a construction site.

Begun then began privately teaching Hebrew. He applied for an official teaching certificate but was refused when the authorities claimed that Hebrew was not a recognized subject in the USSR.

Begun was responsible for developing the interests of his colleagues in Jewish culture and history. Together with a group of other prominent Jewish activists, he undertook the task of reviving Jewish culture. They published a samizdat magazine called Tarbut, and organized unofficial seminars, exhibitions, and study groups. Their attempt at an international seminar, the Moscow Culture Symposium of 1976, was broken up by the KGB.

In January 1977, a nationwide television program was broadcast from Moscow, depicting Soviet Jewish refuseniks and activists as "soldiers of Zionism inside the Soviet Union," and accusing them of being part of a Western-based anti-Soviet conspiracy. The documentary, "Traders of Souls," took the unprecedented step of naming several activists and showing others carrying out allegedly "subversive" activities. Begun, together with Anatoly Shcharansky, Vladimir Slepak and Yuli Kosharovsky, filed a suit against the television authorities accusing them of defaming the honor of Soviet Jews.

On March 3, 1977, Begun was arrested and charged with "parasitism," the crime of avoiding socially useful work. He had lost his job as a night guard after participating in a hunger strike outside the Central Telegraph Office in 1973, for which he served a 15-day sentence. After his arrest, Begun again embarked on a hunger strike that lasted more than 100 days. Nevertheless, Begun was convicted and sentenced to two years of internal exile. He served a year of the sentence and was released in early 1978.

Only a few months after his release, Begun was arrested again for internal passport violations. He was convicted in June 1978, and sentenced to three years of internal exile. He was released in August 1980.

In 1981, Iosif divorced his wife Alla Drugova in order to expedite her visa application. She was allowed to emigrate in November 1982.

Despite continuous harassment, KGB interrogations and searches of his apartment, Iosif Begun continued his involvement in the Jewish culture movement and persisted in teaching Hebrew. Throughout his ordeal Begun had the support of his friend Inna Shlemova and his son Boris. In return for their friendship, both have been subjected to similar KGB harassment.

In November 1982, Begun was arrested and held for nearly a year in Vladimir prison while awaiting trial. He dismissed his court-appointed lawyer and defended himself. The trial finally took place behind closed doors on October 12, 1983. He was sentenced to seven years imprisonment and five years of Siberian exile. For seeking to emigrate and to teach Hebrew openly Iosif Begun became the first refusenik to be sentenced to three terms in the Soviet Gulag.

Following the trial, on October 31 and November 1, the Communist Party newspaper in Vladimir published a two-part article about Begun entitled "Formula for Treason: The Failure of Another International Zionist Operation." The article justified the trial's outcome, declaring that Begun was originally refused an exit visa for "security reasons," and he then committed serious crimes against the Soviet Union.

Another development following Iosif's trial was the dismissal of his son Boris from the Moscow academic institute in which he was enrolled. Boris was informed that he had "too many absences" in the period prior to his father's trial.

On a positive though somewhat ironic note: after his conviction the Soviet authorities granted Begun and Inna Shlemova permission to register their marriage. Several months later, in April 1984, they were formally married. Their marriage made it legally possible for Inna to visit Iosif at the prison camp to which he has been sent in the Perm Region. The prison was one of the harshest in the USSR.

On May 9, 1984, Begun was placed in solitary confinement for "violating" the camp's disciplinary code and not "completing" his work quota. He was told he would remain there for six months, and was denied a June visit with Inna.

Just prior to these developments, Begun was the subject of a lengthy attack in an official Soviet English language journal. The May issue of Soviet Weekly, published in London, accused him of "disseminating Zionism's racist ideology" and engaging in "deliberate libel." To protest these developments, Iosif staged a hunger strike which lasted until June 28, when he was hospitalized inside the Perm labor camp. The prison authorities denied Inna permission to visit Iosif and would not describe his condition. It has since been learned that Begun is suffering from a heart condition known as "Ischemia".

After his hospitalization, Begun was returned to the internal prison in Perm. Over 100 fellow prisoners began a rotary hunger strike on his behalf to protest the harsh treatment he was receiving. Consequently, on December 12, 1984 he was released from the prison and returned to the camp.

Throughout the winter of 1985 he was not allowed any communications or visits from his family. In protest, his 19 year old son, Boris began a 45 day hunger strike which was halted only at the urgent request of Israel's two chief Rabbis who feared for his life.

Rather than improve the elder Begun's treatment, Soviet authorities had him transferred to the infamous Chistopol Prison in the spring of 1985. He is expected to remain there for at least three years.

On July 25, 1985, Inna received an urgent summons to go to Chistopol. Inna and Boris went immediately, and on August 2, they were allowed to see Iosif. Iosif had been deprived of visits for more than two years. And only now is he permitted to borrow books from the prison's library.

9/85

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Suite 602  
New York, NY 10018  
(212) 354-1316



## FORMER PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE IDA NUDEL

BORN:	April 27, 1931
FROM:	Moscow
MARITAL STATUS:	Single
OCCUPATION:	Economist
FIRST APPLICATION:	May 1971
REFUSAL:	No written refusal
OTHER REFUSALS:	Repeatedly
REASONS:	State Interest
ARREST:	June 2, 1978
CHARGE:	Malicious Hooliganism
SENTENCE:	Four years internal exile
DATE RELEASED:	March 1982
SISTER IN ISRAEL:	Ilana Friedman Ramat Hagolan 17/10 Kiryat Sharett Holon
ADDRESS:	ul. Sovetskaya 69/2 Bendery 278100 Moldavskaya SSR USSR

FORMER PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE  
IDA NUDEL

On June 1, 1978, Ida Nudel hung a banner from her Moscow flat window reading "KGB, give me my visa." KGB agents standing in the street tore the banner with long poles, but she had hung a cloth with a Star of David over her smashed window. She was placed under house arrest and then arrested on charges of "malicious hooliganism." Her trial on June 21, 1978, was closed -- she was escorted forcibly into the court after refusing to enter without her friends who waited outside. Her final words after hearing the four-year sentence were, "I am standing trial for all the past seven years, the most glorious years of my life. During these seven years I have learned to walk proudly with my head high as a human being and as a Jewish woman."

Ida Nudel has long been known for her selfless and tireless campaign on behalf of Soviet Jewish Prisoners of Conscience. She was acknowledged as the "guardian angel" of those prisoners to whom she wrote, even after she herself was sent into exile. Ida regularly provided them with the emotional and material support necessary for their survival.

Ida filed numerous visa applications after her first application in May 1971. They were all refused for reasons of "state interests." She did not receive any written answers to her numerous appeals and, in January 1974, was told by KGB officials that permission to emigrate would be given only in the remote future, if ever. Ida did not possess knowledge of any secret information at her former place of work. She was dismissed shortly after applying to emigrate, and later found work as a nanny.

Ida lived alone in Moscow. Her flat was often raided and searched. Personal books, letters and photographs were confiscated. She was also seized and searched in the street. Ida's only close relative -- her sister Ilana -- was permitted to leave the USSR in 1972. The KGB persecuted Ida continuously but nevertheless she wrote hundreds of letters of protest and appeal to the Soviet authorities and the outside world. She took part in demonstrations and met with tourists.

In October 1973, Ida was arrested and imprisoned for 15 days, one month after writing a letter to Leonid Brezhnev. During her imprisonment, as well as later in Siberian exile, Ida was subjected to horrifying abuse. She was placed in a detention cell with common criminals.

In November 1973, Ida entered a medical clinic to be treated for a heart condition. The authorities wanted to write in her medical file that she was an alcoholic. As such, she would have been sent to a psychiatric hospital for treatment. Ida's friends sent letters to the KGB protesting this fabricated charge, which was subsequently dropped. Ida also suffered from ulcers but refused to be hospitalized for fear of what might happen to her there.

In March 1977, Moscow's newspaper, Izvestia, carried an article accusing Ida Nudel and six other leading Jewish activists of being CIA agents involved in collecting military secrets for the USA. Later in the year, Ida's name appeared again -- in an article in a Kiev newspaper accusing Jews of being foreign agents. Several months later, Ida was interrogated for twelve hours in Lefortovo Prison in connection with the investigation of Anatoly

Shcharansky. She still carried on her campaign to win the release of all POC's and stop harassment of Jewish activists. By June 1978, Ida herself had become a Prisoner of Conscience.

Ida served her sentence of exile in Krivosheino, a remote Siberian village over 6,000 miles from Moscow, whose swampy climate is hot and humid in the summer, frigidly cold and windy in the winter. The bulk of the population is comprised of exiled criminals or their descendants, many of whom are prohibited from settling in populous regions.

Upon arriving in exile, Ida was placed among 60 violent men in a male hostel four miles from Krivosheino. These men constantly threatened her with physical harm and tried to break into her room at night. In the summer of 1979, with the help of friends from Moscow and as a result of worldwide appeals on her behalf, Ida moved from the hostel to a one-room hut in Krivosheino. Despite her heart trouble, Ida had to carry water, firewood and other provisions a long distance to her hut. As soon as it was dark, Ida locked herself indoors for protection. Thus Ida spent the long, Siberian cold nights in complete isolation. During her exile, Ida was denounced in the local press. She sent cables to senior Soviet officials protesting such attempts to incite her neighbors against her.

Ida has ulcers, kidney and heart trouble, and is in constant pain. Although she was hospitalized in Tomsk, she was declared healthy and refused permission to travel to Moscow for extensive medical tests.

Ida Nudel completed her four year term in Siberia in March, 1982, and returned to Moscow, hoping to leave for Israel at last.

In early April, Ida was called in to the local police station and informed that she would not be allowed to emigrate. She was also denied a "propiska" (residency permit) for Moscow despite the fact that she owns an apartment there. Forced to leave the city, Ida spent the summer wandering around. She went first to Riga and then to other cities and towns in search of a place to live.

By mid-July, Ida felt desperate. During a telephone conversation with her sister in Israel, Ida admitted she had spent several nights sleeping in train stations.

In early September, Ida thought she found a place to live at last. Authorities permitted her to stay with friends in Strunino, a small town located about 60 miles outside of Moscow. They forbade her to re-enter Moscow until at least July 1983. But in early November 1982, just as Ida was hoping to regain some semblance of a normal life, authorities informed her she would not be allowed to buy a place to live in Strunino, and must therefore leave. Finally, in December 1982, she was granted a residency permit to live in Bendery, a small town in Moldavia.

Since the beginning of 1983, Ida Nudel has lived by herself in Bendery. Only occasional visits from Moscow friends and letters from the West have eased her sense of isolation and helped her keep her dream of emigrating alive.

The highlight of Ida Nudel's life to date in Bendery was undoubtedly a

surprise visit by actress Jane Fonda on the occasion of her 53rd birthday in April 1984. Ms. Fonda was the first Westerner to visit Ida in six years, and for Ida, the visit was proof that she had not been forgotten. Returning from the Soviet Union, Ms. Fonda told reporters that she had appealed personally to Soviet officials on Ida's behalf, adding that Ida told her that the visit had given her strength and made her feel safer.

At a news conference in New York upon her return, Ms. Fonda declared: "Ida Nudel is a woman whose case has deeply touched my heart, a woman of great courage and determination. She has risked much to stand up to the Soviet authorities, to practice her faith and to celebrate her Jewish heritage. She continues to be a source of spiritual support for many other refuseniks and Prisoners of Conscience."

In February 1985, Soviet authorities took possession of Ida's apartment in Moscow. Also in February, Ida Nudel was honored with the "Golda Meir" award, presented to her sister, Ilana Fridman, in Israel.



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### ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY

**Born:** January 20, 1948

**From:** Moscow

**Marital Status:** Married

**Wife:** Avital Shcharansky

**Occupation:** Mathematician, specializing in automation, computers, cybernetics, and engineering; chess master

**Arrested:** March 15, 1977

**Charges:** Treason, espionage (Articles 64a, 70)

**Tried:** July 10, 1978

**Sentence:** 13 years - 3 years imprisonment followed by 10 years special regime camp (to March 1990)

**Prison:** UCHR/5110-1 U.E.  
Moscow

**Relatives:**

- Wife:** Avital Shcharansky  
Shderot Herzl 34  
Jerusalem, ISRAEL
- Mother:** Ida Milgrom
- Brother:** Leonid Shcharansky  
3A Moskovskaya Street Apt. 12  
Luberts1  
Moskovskaya Oblast 140011  
RSFSR, USSR





## ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY

On July 10, 1978, Anatoly Shcharansky was tried on charges of "Treason and Espionage" and "Anti-Soviet Agitation." He was sentenced to three years imprisonment and 10 years special regime camp (to March 1990).

\* \* \*

Shcharansky, born in 1948 in Donetsk, graduated from Moscow Institute's Physics Department of Computers and Applied Mathematics in June 1972, with a specialty in applied mathematics. A chess master, he is an expert in computer technology and cybernetics. Soon after graduation he was employed as a computer programmer at the Moscow Research Institute for Oil and Gas.

In 1973, Anatoly submitted his first request for a visa to Israel. He was refused on the grounds that he was in "possession of classified information." He was repeatedly denied permission to emigrate on the same grounds regardless of the known fact that the Institute in which he worked was unclassified. Two years after applying he was dismissed from the Institute and began tutoring individuals in English, mathematics and physics.

On July 4, 1974, Avital and Anatoly Shcharansky were married in Moscow according to Jewish law. "It was very difficult to find a rabbi who would marry us," Avital said. "The Soviet authorities claimed a civil marriage was impossible because Anatoly was three years older than me. The excuses were absurd." Avital was forced to leave the Soviet Union one day after their marriage; she now resides in Jerusalem.

Shcharansky became a key figure in the "refusenik" community, lecturing on cultural and scientific topics and serving as an English interpreter at informal gatherings of refuseniks and visitors from the West. He was actively involved in meetings with visiting American government officials who had expressed interest in Soviet Jewish emigration problems. He and other Moscow refuseniks sponsored press conferences. Anatoly was fundamental in composing written summaries demonstrating the situation of Soviet Jewish emigration from 1974-76, all of which were published in the U.S. Congressional Record.

After participating in a number of demonstrations protesting emigration conditions, Anatoly was warned by the KGB against joining in any future protests. The KGB continued to assert its pressure by arresting Shcharansky for 15-day periods or detaining him for one or two days. He was under constant KGB surveillance. Accused of helping to organize the Moscow Cultural Symposium which was to have taken place in December 1976, Shcharansky was told that, if he did not stop his activities, ways would be found to stop him.

Anatoly's name was mentioned several times in the Soviet press which labeled him a "hooligan capable of using any means including force, and receiving handouts from the West." One of the main subjects in the anti-Semitic television program "Traders of the Souls," Shcharansky was called a "soldier of Zionism." After the airing of the show in February 1977, Shcharansky, along with activist Vladimir Slepak, filed a suit for defamation based on the program.

Soon after Anatoly became a member of the Helsinki Watchdog committee in 1976, the KGB increased their pressure against him. Beginning in March 1977, Anatoly was held under constant KGB guard with six to eight agents who followed him, caged him in, and kept him under surveillance day and night.

On March 14, the Soviet newspaper, Izvestia, published the first in a series of articles accusing Anatoly of being employed by the CIA and gathering information for the U.S. Soon after the appearance of these articles, Shcharansky was arrested on alleged charges of "treason." He was placed in Moscow's Lefortovo Prison in solitary confinement. A six-hour search of his elderly parents' apartment was conducted by the Soviet authorities in the hope of finding foreign currency or classified materials.

On April 22, Tass reported that Shcharansky had been charged in accordance with Article 64a (treason). He was accused of joining a group of Soviet Jews in collecting information about classified institutions. While the Soviet press maintained its slanderous campaign against Anatoly throughout the year, he was not formally charged by the procurator's office.

On June 13, 1977, President Carter stated his support for Anatoly Shcharansky in a press conference held in Washington. At that time he said, "Contrary to the allegations that have been reported in the press, Mr. Shcharansky has never had any sort of relationship to our knowledge with the CIA."

Under Soviet law a prisoner may be detained without formal charges for nine months. On December 17, 1977, the Soviet authorities allowed the Procurator's office an additional six months to complete its investigation. Ida Milgrom, Anatoly's mother, was called on January 8, and told to find defense counsel for her son. More than 140 lawyers turned down the case. Lawyers who applied from the West were denied permission to represent Anatoly. Dina Kaminskaya, a Soviet attorney was willing to serve as Anatoly's lawyer at the family's request. She was "advised" against doing so by the authorities. Kaminskaya was told to leave the Soviet Union with her husband in November 1977 or face arrest and trial herself.

On February 23, Mrs. Milgrom was told that a lawyer had been appointed to represent her son: 68-year-old Sylvia Dubrovskaya, a close friend of Konstantin Apraksin, Chairman of Moscow's Bar Association. Her name does not appear on the roster of working Soviet lawyers. At the same time, Mrs. Milgrom was informed that the investigation against Anatoly, on charges of treason, had been completed. Anatoly's family was not given the right to consult with him about his legal defense. The Shcharansky family refused to formally recognize this appointment.

After almost 16 months imprisonment incommunicado, Anatoly Shcharansky was tried on July 10, 1978. He was charged with violations of Article 64a, "treason and espionage" and Article 70, "anti-Soviet agitation," and sentenced to 13 years imprisonment.

Upon being sentenced, Anatoly Shcharansky declared: "For more than 2,000 years the Jewish people have been dispersed. But wherever they are, every year they have repeated, 'Next year in Jerusalem.' Now, when I am further than ever from my people and facing many arduous years of imprisonment, I say, turning to my people, to my Avital, 'Next year in Jerusalem.'"

Anatoly was placed in Chistopol's Prison for Hardened Criminals. During the first 30 months of prison confinement, Anatoly's health deteriorated. He suffered from terrible headaches and could not read or write for more than 10 minutes at a time.

In March 1980, Shcharansky was transferred to the Perm Labor Camp to serve the second part of his sentence. In April, his mother and brother spent 24 hours with him, the first time he was permitted to see relatives since his trial. In a letter received by his mother on September 26, 1980, Anatoly said that he was being hospitalized after falling and losing consciousness during work. He was suffering from back and stomach pains and was receiving antibiotics in the prison hospital. He also wrote that the authorities had cancelled his next meeting with relatives which had been scheduled for January 1981.

In 1981, Anatoly spent 185 days in a punishment cell, 75 of which were consecutive. Fed the meager rations only once every 2 days, Anatoly finally collapsed and was hospitalized for a month. Commenting on the severity of her son's punishment, Ida Milgrom said, "Each time it was a different provocation. One time he lit Hanukkah candles. Another time he was ordered to work in a forbidden zone, where political prisoners have traditionally refused to work. Another time he was assigned a latrine job which carries extra rations, only to learn that an old sick man had been kicked off the job. Of course he refused to do it."

In November 1981, Anatoly was sent back to Chistopol prison for three years for "continuing to consider himself not guilty." Conditions in prison are much harsher than those in labor camp.

In January 1982, Anatoly's mother and brother were able to see him for two hours. They were the first visitors allowed to see Anatoly in 16 months. Ida Milgrom confirmed that the severe headaches and eye disorders which plagued Anatoly during his first three years in prison had returned.

Since March 1982, Anatoly has been kept under the "strictest regimen," which include isolation, meager food rations and permission to write one letter every two months. However, he was not allowed to send or receive any letters all year long.

In September 1982, the eve of Yom Kippur, Anatoly began a hunger strike to protest the extremely harsh treatment he has endured at Chistopol and to call attention to the fact that he has been totally cut off from the outside world. He remained on the hunger strike for 109 days. During the strike, his health deteriorated rapidly and he was brutally force-fed every three days by prison authorities.

On January 13, 1983, Anatoly's brother and elderly mother made the long and difficult journey to Chistopol, 800 miles east of their home in Moscow. However, when they arrived the prison manager denied them permission to visit with him. On January 20, 1983 prison authorities permitted Anatoly to send a heavily-censored note to his mother. In this note, the first communication from him in 13 months, Shcharansky complained of a total absence of strength, constant headaches, fever, and dizziness. Mrs. Milgrom was able to win this note only after she stood for ten days in the brutal cold outside the walls of Chistopol.

Based on information in Anatoly's latest letters, cardiologists are very concerned that Anatoly may be suffering from a heart ailment and have recommended that he be hospitalized.

In June of 1983, Avital, his wife, spoke by telephone to Anatoly's mother in Moscow. In this conversation, Avital learned that Anatoly had recently suffered an allergic drug reaction, which caused him to break out in painful sores all over his body.

A month later, on July 5, 1983, Anatoly's mother and brother again traveled to Chistopol. On this occasion, he was allowed to meet with them for the first time in over a year and a half. They spoke to each other through a glass partition. Anatoly told Mrs. Milgrom that during the hunger strike he lost 70 pounds and most of his hair fell out. He subsequently regained 40 pounds.

It was not until August of 1984, after years of waiting, that Avital Shcharansky finally received a letter directly from Anatoly.

In late October 1984, Anatoly Shcharansky completed his second three-year term in prison and was returned to Perm labor camp where he is to serve the remainder of his 13-year sentence.

In January 1985, Anatoly Shcharansky was finally granted a two-day meeting with his mother, and brother. They reported that Anatoly reached Perm Labor Camp on schedule, but because of his "pre-heart attack" condition, he was immediately hospitalized.

In July 1985, Avital Shcharansky held a press conference on the eighth anniversary of Anatoly's imprisonment. She reported that neither she nor Ida Milgrom had received mail from Anatoly since February 1985.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much.  
 Our next witness is Mr. Morey Schapira.  
 Will you please proceed with your statement, sir?

**STATEMENT OF MOREY SCHAPIRA, PRESIDENT, UNION OF  
 COUNCILS FOR SOVIET JEWS**

Mr. SCHAPIRA. Mr. Chairman, honorable members of the subcommittees, thank you for the opportunity to testify here today on behalf of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews.

The situation facing Jews in the Soviet Union is more difficult than in any time in recent memory. Of those presently serving terms in prison for their desire to study their culture and practice their faith, 70 percent have been arrested and convicted in the last 2 years, and 30 percent in this calendar year. There are nearly 400,000 Jews who have already requested the necessary documentation to begin the process of applying for emigration, but only 896 were allowed to leave last year. So far this year, only 702 have been allowed to leave. Members of the subcommittees may recall that in 1979, more than 51,000 Soviet Jews were allowed to emigrate.

It is ironic and disturbing that in this year, when we celebrate the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Accords, Soviet human rights performance is at its worst. Anti-Semitic literature is being published regularly by the Soviet press, and vicious cartoons which hark back to medieval blood libels appear regularly. Official institutions such as the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public, and the Association of Soviet Lawyers, with whom our own American Bar Association has recently signed a cooperative agreement, continue to publish vituperative lies.

Within a matter of weeks, the President of the United States will meet with the new Secretary-General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This summit meeting will offer an opportunity for the United States and the Soviet Union to exchange views on a broad range of issues. This unique opportunity must not be lost.

We hope that our President will reiterate the long-standing view of his and previous administrations that human rights constitute a fundamental element of American foreign policy. It must be made clear, once again, that if the freely given word of the Soviet Union in the area of human rights is not reliable and cannot be trusted, it will have an impact on all aspects of United States-Soviet relations, and no doubt will influence Members of Congress in considering possible arms control, trade, and other agreements with the Soviet Government.

The keystone to the Soviet human rights performance, especially in the area of emigration, has been the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which links emigration to human rights performance. The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews was not only active in assuring the passage of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, but continues to support it strongly and in its original form.

Recently, we have published a comprehensive statement of policy on emigration and the treatment of Soviet Jews, which describes in clear terms and with documentation our views on reasonable standards for Soviet human rights performance, and delineates a

minimum level of performance which might indicate an acceptable change in Soviet practice. It was written with the advice and guidance of refuseniks and activists in the Soviet Union.

I am submitting the complete text and annotations for the record, but will summarize by saying that it is based on the "continuing substantial performance" language of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, and sets among its priorities the release and emigration of prisoners of conscience, of former prisoners of conscience, of refuseniks waiting for a long period of time, and calls for regular and fair emigration procedures.

It is our belief that the United States must be firm and patient in dealing with the Soviet Union; and only through persistence and the commitment of our political leaders, including the honorable members of these subcommittees, will there be any change in the current dismal situation.

I thank you for the opportunity to appear before the subcommittees and to express the views of our membership.

[The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews' statement of policy follows:]

# UNION OF COUNCILS FOR SOVIET JEWS

## Statement of Policy

on

### Emigration and the Treatment of Soviet Jews

The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews is the umbrella organization for 38 local Soviet Jewry organizations throughout the United States. We have over 50,000 members nationally, and have long been dedicated to furthering the rights and interests of Soviet Jews in two critical respects: first, for those Soviet Jews who desire to do so, to be able to emigrate from the Soviet Union to another country; and second, for those Soviet Jews who desire to remain in the Soviet Union, or who are awaiting permission to emigrate, to be able to study and express their religious and cultural heritage, free from persecution and intimidation.

The Union of Councils believes that official dealings between the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union provide an extremely important forum for expressing the strong concern of the American people over Soviet transgressions of fundamental human rights. We fully recognize the need on the part of the U. S. government to maintain a flexible approach in dealing and negotiating agreements with the Soviet Union. However, within this framework of "flexibility", we urge that the issues of emigration and fundamental human rights not be forgotten, diluted or bargained away. More specifically:

- I. We believe that continuing substantial performance by the Soviet Union in permitting Jewish emigration must be considered a prerequisite to the granting of waiver privileges under the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, a law which proudly reflects the fundamental philosophy of the American people and its government to protect and foster respect for human rights and personal liberty throughout the world.

The Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the Trade Act<sup>1,2</sup> took effect on January 3, 1975. The Amendment assured "...the continued dedication of the United States to fundamental human rights..." and denied Most Favored Nation (MFN) status and the extension of credit guarantees by the Export-Import Bank to any country that:

- a) "denies its citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate;
- b) imposes more than a nominal tax on emigration or on the visas or other documents required for emigration, for any purpose or cause whatsoever; or
- c) imposes more than a nominal tax, levy, fine, fee or other charge on any citizen as a consequence of the desire of such citizen to emigrate to the country of his choice..."

In addition, in an exchange of letters between Senator Henry M. Jackson, one of the principal authors of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, and then



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Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, dated October 18, 1974, further assurances were given that the USSR would not punish individuals seeking to emigrate. Among the abuses that were understood by the Soviets and Kissinger and Jackson to be abandoned were: (a) criminal prosecution, (b) punitive draft, (c) loss of job or demotion, (d) withholding of documents, and (e) requirement of parental permission for adult applicants. The punitive actions specified in this exchange of letters were not considered a complete listing, and additional actions taken by the Soviets were not to be condoned simply because they were absent from these letters. Hardship cases were to be processed sympathetically. Persons become eligible for emigration within three years of their exposure to such material. Prisoners, on their release, were to be given prompt consideration for emigration and might even be given an early release. The rate of emigration from the USSR would begin to rise promptly from the 1973 level to correspond to the number of applicants.

As Senator Jackson himself noted a few years later in a speech delivered in Washington, D. C., June, 1979,<sup>4</sup> "We have seen how cruel and capricious their (Soviet) emigration policies can be, sometimes permitting the numbers to rise, sometimes holding them down.... We have seen enough in short to know that without a firm commitment to a freer emigration from the Soviets themselves, any concessions on trade or credits would be leaping in the dark with consequences for the prisoners and refuseniks and all who desire to emigrate that cannot be foreseen."

In this connection, "substantial performance" on the part of the Soviet Union would be evidenced, we believe, by the following actions:

**A. The prompt release and emigration of the Prisoners of Conscience listed on Appendix A.**

A prisoner of Conscience is a person imprisoned for political and/or religious views. Many of these individuals have been tried under the pretext of economic crimes (bribery, dealing illegally on the black market), malicious hooliganism, parasitism (being without a job), anti-Soviet slander, drug abuse, and in the case of Anatoly Shcharansky, treason. In reality, the true reason for conviction was the individual's beliefs and not an illegal activity. These individuals are deliberately used as examples to others who may contemplate applying to emigrate, or merely consider gathering a few friends to celebrate the Sabbath.

Prisoners who protest the illegal, harsh treatment in the labor camps where they serve long terms on fabricated charges are further penalized by confinement in even more barbaric punishment cells within the camps, where food and warm clothing are withheld.<sup>5</sup> Letters to and from prisoners are regularly intercepted and confiscated. The pitifully small, legally allowed packages of food, warm clothing or medicine are often confiscated. Permitted family visits are suddenly cancelled without



explanation. Several prisoners have resorted to protest by long hunger strikes, as have their spouses and children at home.

One of the more alarming aspects of the plight of Soviet Jews is the recent increase in arrests and trials on trumped up charges and the deliberate campaign of physical abuse against Jews who have tried to maintain a sense of community while waiting to emigrate. Hebrew teachers in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Odessa have been arrested, and some have been assaulted by persons who deliberately beat healthy men to the point of a nearly total loss of eyesight or hearing; two have been injured within hours of peaceful arrests,<sup>8</sup> and their families told they resisted arrest or inflicted the wounds upon themselves. Their elderly parents have been threatened and beaten for daring to inquire about extensive, illegal searches of their apartments and unlawful confiscation of books and belongings.<sup>9</sup> Several refuseniks have been imprisoned after Soviet authorities planted drugs or firearms in their apartments. Jews who refuse to testify as witnesses against friends under arrest on trumped up charges are themselves arrested and fined.<sup>10</sup>

Young men are punished by being drafted into the Soviet army,<sup>11</sup> often after being denied admission to the university or being expelled before graduating. Several have served prison terms for refusing to be drafted, and one young man is serving a second term in a labor camp for refusing to serve in the army.

Jews arrested with non-Jews for similar offenses notice that the non-Jews never come to trial, but the Jews receive stiff prison sentences.<sup>12</sup> Families are torn apart deliberately and cruelly by a regime that punishes Jews for wanting to emigrate to a country where Judaism is not a crime.

**B. The prompt release and emigration of the former Prisoners of Conscience listed on Appendix B.**

Ex-prisoners, who in the early 1970s might have been allowed to emigrate after serving long and brutal prison terms, now are released from labor camps but are not permitted to return to their homes, and settle hundreds of miles from their family and friends.<sup>13</sup>

- C. The prompt emigration of all Refuseniks who have been waiting for visas for ten years or more.**
- D. The expeditious emigration of all Refuseniks who have been waiting for visas for five years or more.**
- E. The expeditious emigration of all Refuseniks who were refused permission to emigrate prior to April 1982.**

The Soviet Jewish refusenik (a refusenik is a Soviet Jew who has applied to emigrate and been turned down) community has itself requested that the United States Congress remain firm on the emigration provisions as outlined in the Jackson-Vanik Amendment.<sup>14</sup> Speaking on behalf of refuseniks at their request, the UCSJ shares in their determination to urge the Soviet government to comply with established law as a prerequisite for increased trade benefits.

In testimony before House Subcommittees on International Trade in July, 1979,<sup>15,16</sup> two past presidents of the UCSJ, Robert Gordon and Irene Manekosky stated:

"...The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews welcomes the search for understanding with Moscow, which would create more beneficial conditions for U. S.-Soviet cooperation, trade, and human rights. Our organization has sufficient flexibility in approaching this complex task. Nevertheless, it is our firm position that some form of linkage between trade benefits for the USSR and Soviet emigration policies should be preserved. The fate of courageous individuals fighting for free emigration should not be sacrificed to promote superpower accommodation." (Robert Gordon)

"...It is not the Union of Councils' position that the Soviets' treatment of emigration issues to date qualified them for a waiver, even if the requirement of assurances is removed and replaced with an emphasis on performance. While we are, of course, encouraged by the increase in the number of Soviet exit visas, as well as by the release of some prisoners of conscience, it is our firm belief that we are talking about only the first and most modest Soviet steps, which deserve recognition and encouragement, but surely not a waiver at this point. This is particularly true since the encouraging signs are mixed with some very disturbing signals, including an apparent growth in official Soviet anti-Semitism, restrictions on Jewish college enrollment, and limitations on professional employment, actually forcing many people to emigrate. We also have not yet forgotten the outrageous political trials of last summer (editor's note: the trials of Vladimir and Maria Slepak, Ida Nudel and Anatoly Shcharansky), which indicated to many Soviet Jews that they could not feel safe in Russia...." (Irene Manekosky)

According to statistics published in the Congressional Record,<sup>17</sup> between 1968 and 1981, 630,414 first affidavits were sent from Israel to Jews in the Soviet Union. In other words, over 630,000 Jews in the USSR were sent invitations from Israel -- the first step in the application process to emigrate from the USSR. It is also known from published figures,<sup>18,19</sup> that 250,187 Jews had left the USSR by 1981, and another 4,899 left between 1982 and 1984; a total of 255,086.

Thus, if the total number of those individuals who actually emigrated is subtracted from the number of Jews who received invitations from Israel, that would leave 374,328 Jews who are still in the USSR, the majority of whom have at least begun the emigration process.

Number of invitations from Israel, 1968-1981:	630,414
Number of emigres, 1968-1984:	<u>-255,086</u>

Approximate number of Jews who have applied to emigrate and are awaiting permission:	374,328
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The total number of Jews residing in the Soviet Union is estimated to be between two and three million.

In 1979, the high point of Soviet Jewish emigration, over 50,000 were allowed to leave. Since then the rate of emigration has dropped sharply. In 1984, only 896 Jews were permitted to leave and in the first five months of 1985, only 463 individuals emigrated. Thus, although thousands of Jews are known to have requested permission to leave the Soviet Union, relatively few have actually been granted permission to do so, despite the claim of an official of the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Union, Samuil L. Zivs,<sup>20</sup> that all who wished to emigrate have already left.

In addition to those Jews who have already requested invitations from Israel, many more would probably apply to emigrate if they felt it possible to do so without risking years of unemployment, harassment and perhaps even arrest, with no assurance that permission to leave would ever be granted.

F. The emigration hereafter of substantial numbers of Soviet Jews who desire to emigrate, in accordance with procedures fairly and consistently applied irrespective of age, sex, family status or place of residence, including --

- (1) Applications for emigration shall be considered in order of receipt, including those previously filed. Applicants will be notified of decisions within three months of submission of documents. Applicants refused permission to leave due to security factors will be informed of the date on which they may expect to become eligible for emigration; the security period shall not exceed three years.
- (2) Applicants for emigration will not be subject to unreasonable or onerous procedural requirements or to other unlawful impediments for completion of the application process. Invitations from abroad will be requested and delivered without interference. Authorities will provide all required documentation. OVIR offices will be open to receive and process applications at reasonable times during normal working hours and on a regular schedule. Jews residing in areas where no OVIR office is located will be permitted to apply through the nearest OVIR office without impediment.

- (3) Parental permission to emigrate shall not be required for persons eighteen years of age and older.
- (4) Officially sanctioned punitive actions shall not be initiated against persons seeking to emigrate, including: dismissal from work; demotion in work; public incrimination; disconnection of telephone service or interception of mail; physical and psychiatric abuse; intimidation; military conscription of persons who have sought to emigrate or are beyond normal conscription age; and the bringing of baseless or trumped-up criminal charges.
- (5) Recognition shall be given to the distinct and separate rights of repatriation and family reunification (regardless of the country involved), either of which shall alone be sufficient grounds to emigrate. The repatriation of Soviet Jews to Israel shall be permitted regardless of whether the applicant has family in Israel.
- (6) The so-called "first-degree relative" requirement shall be abolished.
- (7) The practice of causing families to be separated by allowing some, but not all, individual members the right to emigrate shall cease.
- (8) Applications of separated families, Holocaust survivors, World War II veterans, and hardship cases (including, especially, people with special medical problems) shall be processed sympathetically and on a priority basis.
- (9) Collection of the so-called "education tax" shall remain suspended.

#### Constitution of the USSR<sup>21</sup>

Chapter 4, Article 29: "The USSR's relations with other states are based on observance of the following principles: ...respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; the equal rights of peoples and their right to decide their own destiny; cooperation among states; and fulfillment in good faith of obligations arising from the generally recognized principles and rules of international law, and from the international treaties signed by the USSR."\* (editor's note: This includes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords.)

#### Universal Declaration of Human Rights<sup>22</sup>

- a) Article 13 (2): "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."\*

\*(emphasis added)

- b) Article 14 (1): "Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution."\*

Helsinki Accords<sup>23</sup>

- a) "Reunification of Families: The participating States will deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family," with special attention being given to requests of an urgent character such as requests submitted by persons who are ill or old.

They will deal with applications in this field as expeditiously as possible.

They will lower where necessary the fees charged in connection with these applications to ensure that they are at a moderate level.

Applications for the purpose of family reunification which are not granted may be renewed at the appropriate level and will be reconsidered at reasonable short intervals by the authorities of the country of residence or destination, whichever is concerned; under such circumstances fees will be charged only when applications are granted.

Until members of the same family are reunited, meetings and contacts between them may take place in accordance with the modalities for contacts on the basis of family ties.

The participating States will support the efforts of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies concerned with the problems of family reunification."

- b) "Marriage between Citizens of Different States: The participating States will examine favourably and on the basis of humanitarian considerations requests for exit or entry permits from persons who have decided to marry a citizen from another participating State.

The processing and issuing of the documents required for the above purposes and for the marriage will be in accordance with the provisions accepted for family reunification."

- II. In addition to the foregoing, in determining whether to cooperate with or grant benefits to the Soviet Union in connection with trade, scientific and cultural exchange, and other areas of mutual interest, the U. S. Government should consider as an important factor the continuing violation of fundamental human rights in the USSR. Specifically, assurances should be sought that, in compliance with its own Constitution, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Accords, the

\*(emphasis added)

Soviet Union will promptly terminate, and take action to rectify, injustices suffered by Soviet Jews as a result of the following official policies and practices:

- A. The arrest and prosecution of law abiding Refuseniks and Hebrew teachers based on fabricated charges or "planted" evidence of criminal activity.

FREEDOM FROM UNFAIR ARREST, PROSECUTION AND SENTENCING

Constitution of USSR<sup>21</sup>

- a) Preamble: "...The Soviet Government carried through far-reaching social and economic transformations, and put an end once and for all to exploitation of man by man, antagonism between classes, and strife between nationalities."
- b) Chapter 7, Article 50: "...Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations."

Universal Declaration of Human Rights<sup>22</sup>

- a) Article 5: "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment."
- b) Article 9: "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile."
- c) Article 11 (1): "Everyone charged with a penal offense has the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has all the guarantees necessary for his defense."
- d) Article 13 (2): "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state."

FREEDOM FROM ILLEGAL SEARCH OF HOME AND CONFISCATION OF PROPERTY

Constitution of USSR<sup>21</sup>

Chapter 7, Article 55: "Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed inviolability of the home. No one may, without lawful grounds, enter a home against the will of those residing in it."

Universal Declaration of Human Rights<sup>22</sup>

Article 12: "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honor and reputation...."

**B. The publication and distribution, or any other communication, of anti-Semitic propaganda.**

Excerpts from a speech by U. S. Ambassador Max M. Kampelman at the Madrid review of the Helsinki Accords; December 1, 1981:

"It is with regret that our delegation has concluded that the Soviet Union is clearly identified with a pattern of anti-Semitic behaviour that could not function without government support and acquiescence.... During the past fifteen years, a total of at least 112 Soviet books and brochures with anti-Semitic overtones of various degrees have been identified, some of them printed and reprinted in editions of 150,000 -- 200,000 copies. Anti-Semitic propaganda is also carried out through lectures, stimulated by the Communist Party and the state.

Soviet anti-Semitism is not limited to domestic consumption. It is also widely exported to Arab, African and other Third World countries. The writings of outspoken Soviet anti-Semites -- Kichko, Begun, Korneyev and others -- have been featured prominently in publications of the PLO, for instance. In addition, their writings are often published in English and distributed throughout the English-speaking world.

...There are many other instances of blatant government-condoned anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. These are accompanied by harassment and imprisonment of Jewish leaders, discrimination against Jews in education and employment, active and frequently violent interference with the study of Hebrew and the possession of articles of prayer, and by a drastic reduction in the number of Jews being allowed to escape this pervasive anti-Semitism through emigration."

Antisemitica Sovietica: New Intensity in an Old Campaign: excerpts from an article by Betsy Gidwitz; Spring, 1982:

"The latest Soviet anti-Jewish campaign dates from the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. ...As the propaganda campaign intensified, it soon became obvious that Soviet anger embraced more than 'international Zionism' and Israel. The term 'Zionist' being employed as a euphemism persists to this day, it has been joined since the mid 1970s by blatant racist attacks on Jews and Judaism without anti-Zionist camouflage.

The Soviet Union has mobilized mixed mass media and personnel to disseminate its anti-Semitic disinformation and propaganda to the far reaches of the USSR and even beyond its borders. Articles appear frequently in newspapers, including such national stalwarts as Pravda and Izvestia; republic and local newspapers; and special interest newspapers, ranging from the intellectual Literaturnaya Gazeta to the narrowly-focused Gudok (Whistle) newspaper for railroad workers....Of special note are the youth and military publications that carry either especially strong or exceptionally large numbers of anti-Semitic articles. The publishing house of the prestigious Academy of Sciences, Nauka (Science), has issued at least half a dozen anti-Semitic books, each in the style of a scientific treatise.

...In addition to conventional printed media attacks on Jews and Judaism, Soviet authorities also exploit television and film for propagation of anti-Semitism. A notorious television special called 'Traders of Souls' was shown twice during prime time in 1977. In this special, a number of Soviet Jewish activists, identified by name and address, were portrayed as currency speculators, hooligans, drunks, and CIA agents. Another anti-Semitic television special, 'Lies and Hatred,' was aired in 1980. A limited circulation film, 'Secret and Open Things,' has been shown in some public theatres, but its main audiences are closely-controlled groups, such as army units....

Disinformation and propaganda form only one component of the Soviet anti-Semitic assault. Intensified application of anti-Semitic quotas in educational institutions and in career selection is widespread. False charges, rigged judicial proceedings, and subsequent harsh prison sentences have claimed a number of Jewish victims, of whom Anatoly Shcharansky is the best known. Punitive military conscription has been applied much more frequently to would-be Jewish emigrants than to others desiring to leave, such as Volga Germans. Jews are subject to frequent anti-Semitic verbal attacks by passersby on the street and fellow employees at places of work. Physical assaults, especially on children, are not uncommon.

Although permission to travel abroad is tightly controlled for all citizens, opportunities to travel outside the Soviet Union are even more circumscribed for Soviet Jews. Jewish specialists invited to present papers or receive awards at various conferences abroad are frequently denied the right to attend these events.

Considered by official Soviet ideology to constitute both a religious group and a nationality, Jews are accorded the rights of neither. Unlike other religious groups in the Soviet Union, Jews have no national organization, no institution for the training of clergy, no relevant publications, and no contacts with co-religionists abroad. Unlike other groups regarded as nationalities in the Soviet Union, Jews alone lack an infrastructure that would facilitate and encourage the development of their national heritage.

...Related to the historical expression of anti-Semitism is a deep-rooted popular sense of Russian cultural identity -- a perception of homogeneity so strong that non-Russians are viewed not only as others, but also as aliens.

...The proclamation of Birobidzhan as an area of Jewish settlement in the Soviet Far East (1928) and the establishment of the Jewish anti-Fascist Committee (1942-1948) followed in the same path of centrally-operated (and manipulated) national Jewish associations. The latter organization was clearly designed to encourage domestic and foreign Jewish support for the Soviet armed forces during World War II. Both the organization and the Jewish intellectuals around



it were liquidated when their services were no longer required. Birobidzhan still exists in 1982 as the Jewish Autonomous Oblast, something of a farce as Jews constitute only 5.4 percent of its total population. Jewish ethnicity remains an official Soviet nationality and one's nationality is still inscribed in the fifth paragraph of the internal passports (identity cards) carried by Soviet citizens. Jews, however, are permitted none of the infrastructure promoting national identity (publications in a widely understood language, national organizations, etc.) which is provided other Soviet nationalities."

- C. The arbitrary denial or discontinuance of telephone service applied for or previously granted Soviet Jews; and the illegal interference with postal, telephone and telegraphic communications between Soviet Jews and persons in foreign countries.

#### FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION

Constitution of USSR<sup>21</sup>

Chapter 7, Article 56: "The privacy of citizens and of their correspondence, telephone conversations and telegraphic communications is protected by law."

Universal Declaration of Human Rights<sup>22</sup>

Article 12: "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honor and reputation...."

- D. Restrictions on the admission of Jews to Soviet universities and institutes; and the arbitrary removal of academic degrees, titles and honors held by Soviet Jews.

#### RIGHT TO EDUCATION

Constitution of USSR<sup>21</sup>

Chapter 7, Article 45: "Citizens of the USSR have the right to education... by the free issue of school textbooks, by the opportunity to attend a school where teaching is in the native language; and by the provision of facilities for self education."

Universal Declaration of Human Rights<sup>22</sup>

Article 26 (1): "Everyone has the right to education. ...Higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit."

- E. Attempts to discourage or prohibit private visits to Soviet Jews by invited foreign citizens.

# RIGHT TO VISIT CITIZENS OF ANOTHER STATE

Helsinki Accords;<sup>23</sup> "Contacts and Regular Meetings on the Basis of Family Ties: ...participating States will favourably consider applications for travel with the purpose of allowing persons to enter or leave their territory temporarily, and on a regular basis if desired, in order to visit members of their families."

Helsinki Accords;<sup>23</sup> "Travel for Personal or Professional Reasons: The participating States intend to facilitate wider travel by their citizens for personal or professional reasons...."

- F. **Attempts to discourage or prohibit the unhindered and open practice of Judaism — including education in Judaism and Jewish culture and instruction in, and use of, the Hebrew language.**

# RIGHT TO PRACTICE THE JEWISH RELIGION AND CULTURE, INCLUDING THE STUDY OF HEBREW AND THE RIGHT TO ASSEMBLE PEACEFULLY FOR RELIGIOUS OR CULTURAL PURPOSES

Constitution of USSR<sup>21</sup>

- a) Chapter 7, Article 52: "Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess or not to profess any religion and to conduct religious worship....Incitement of hostility or hatred on religious grounds is prohibited."
- b) Chapter 7, Article 50: "...Citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations."
- c) Chapter 3, Article 27: "The State concerns itself with protecting, augmenting and making extensive use of society's cultural wealth for the moral and aesthetic education of the Soviet people, for raising their cultural level. In the USSR, development of the professional, amateur and folk arts is encouraged in every way."
- d) Chapter 6, Article 34: "Citizens of the USSR are equal before the law, without distinction of origin, social or property status, race or nationality, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, type and nature of occupation, domicile, or other status."

The equal rights of citizens of the USSR are guaranteed in all fields of economic, political, social and cultural life."

- e) Chapter 6, Article 36: "Citizens of the USSR of different races and nationalities have equal rights."

Exercise of these rights is ensured ...by the possibility to use their native language and the languages of other peoples of the USSR.

Any direct or indirect limitation of the rights of citizens or establishment of direct or indirect privileges on grounds of race or nationality, and any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt, are punishable by law."

- f) Chapter 7, Article 46: "Citizens of the USSR have the right to enjoy cultural benefits.

This right is ensured by broad access to the cultural treasures of their own land and of the world that are preserved in state and other public collections; by the development and fair distribution of cultural and educational institutions throughout the country; by developing television and radio broadcasting and the publishing of books, newspapers and periodicals; and by extending the free library service; and by expanding cultural exchanges with other countries."

#### Universal Declaration of Human Rights<sup>22</sup>

- a) Article 18: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom either alone or in community with others and in public or private to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance."
- b) Article 20 (1): "Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association."

Helsinki Accords, I, a, VII:<sup>23</sup> "Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief.

...The participating States will recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to profess and practice, alone or in community with others, religion or belief acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience.

The participating States on whose territory national minorities exist will respect the right of persons belonging to such minorities to equality before the law, will afford them the full opportunity for the actual enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms....

...In the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the participating States will act in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the Declaration of Human Rights."

#### RIGHT TO WORK AT A DECENT JOB, INCLUDING RIGHT TO TEACH HEBREW AS A PROFESSION

##### Constitution of USSR<sup>21</sup>

- a) Chapter 7, Article 40: "Citizens of the USSR have the right to work..., including the right to choose their trade or profession, type of job and work in accordance with their inclinations, abilities, training and education, with due account of the needs of society."

- b) Chapter 2, Article 17: "In the USSR, the law permits individual labor in handicrafts, farming, the provision of services for the public and other forms of activity based exclusively on the personal work of individual citizens and members of their families."

Universal Declaration of Human Rights<sup>22</sup>

Article 23 (1): "Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment."

## Background Material on UCSJ Policy Statement

**FOOTNOTES: BACKGROUND MATERIAL ON UCSJ POLICY STATEMENT**

1. Trade Act of 1974, Chapter 12, Subchapter IV, "Trade Relations with Countries Not Currently Receiving Nondiscriminatory Treatment." 19 & 2432, "Freedom of Emigration in East-West Trade, pp. 237-242.
2. Eizenstat, Stuart & Gagne, Kim; Memorandum to UCSJ; "Legal Aspects of the Jackson-Vanik and Stevenson Amendments;" 4/16/85.
3. Washington Post, "Emigration Assurances are Spelled Out," Text of Letters by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and Senator Henry J. Jackson, 10/19,74.
4. Polakoff, J.; JTA; "Jackson Demands Soviet 'Commitment' on Emigration before U.S. Eases Trade Bans;" 6/11/79.
5. \*Cases of Shcharansky, Tarnopolsky, Begun, Paritsky (ex-POC)
6. \*Cases of Kholmiansky, Edelshtein, Berenshtein, Mesh, Nepomniashchy, Lein
7. \*Cases of Mesh and Berenshtein
8. \*Cases of Kholmiansky and Shapiro
9. \*Cases of Kholmiansky and Lubman
10. \*Case of Soloveichik
11. \*Cases of Kalendarov, Geishis, Yakir, Elbert, Taratuta, Shnirman
12. \*Cases of Kremen (school prank) and Felman, Groberman and Milner (fight in cafe)
13. \*Cases of Nudel, Nashpitz, Begun (since re-arrested), Bakhmin (also re-arrested)
14. Vigil, #49, February-March, 1979 (Newsletter of Washington Committee for Soviet Jewry); Appeal signed by leaders of refusenik movement in USSR to members of U.S. Congress; 2/11/79.
15. Manekofsky, Irene; Testimony before the Subcommittee on International Finance, Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs; U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.; 7/23,79; p. 3
16. Gordon, Robert; Testimony before the House Banking Committee, Subcommittee on International Trade; U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.; 7/24/79; p. 5.

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\* (Case Information supplied by UCSJ.)

## Background Material on UCSJ Policy Statement

17. Hamilton, Lee H.; Congressional Record, Extension of Remarks; "Soviet Jewish Emigration;" 6/22/81; E 3111.
18. Hamilton, Lee H.; Congressional Record, Extension of Remarks; "Soviet Jewish Emigration;" 6/22/81; E 3111.
19. Listing of Emigration Figures by Year (UCSJ)
20. Schmemman, Serge; New York Times; "Moscow Sess Exit of Jews Near End;" 6/7/83.
21. Constitution of the USSR, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, Adopted at Seventh (Special) Session of Supreme Soviet of USSR, Ninth Convocation, October 7, 1977.
22. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations Office of Public Information, Adopted by General Assembly, December 10, 1948.
23. Helsinki Accords, Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Final Act, Helsinki, 1975 (our copy is from U.S. Department of State).
24. Kampelman, Ambassador Max M.; Alert, "Speech on Anti-Semitism;" Vol. 1, No. 4, Passover, 1982; p. 3 (a publication of UCSJ).
25. Gldwitz, Betsy; Alert, "Antisemitica Sovietica: New Intensity in an Old Campaign;" Vol. 1, No. 4, Passover, 1982; p. 3 (a publication of UCSJ).

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\* (Case information supplied by UCSJ.)

Revised August 15, 1985

PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCERABBI MOSHE ABRAMOV

ARRESTED: December 19, 1983  
 CHARGE: Malicious Hooliganism  
 DATE OF TRIAL: January 23, 1984  
 SENTENCE: 3 Years Labor Camp  
 PRISON: Katta-Kurgan  
 Uzbekskay 9, SSR, USSR

EVGENY AISENBERG

ARRESTED: March 19, 1985  
 CHARGE: Spreading False Information and Defaming the Soviet Union  
 DATE OF TRIAL: June 6, 1985  
 SENTENCE: 2½ Years Labor Camp, Reduced on Appeal to 1 Year  
 WIFE'S ADDRESS: Marina Borishcheskaya  
 Ul. Dzerzhinskogo 97, Kv. 57A  
 Kharkov 310023, Ukr. SSR, USSR

IOSIF BEGUN

ARRESTED: November 1982  
 CHARGE: Anti-Soviet Agitation and Propaganda  
 DATE OF TRIAL: October 14, 1983  
 SENTENCE: 12 Years -- 7 Imprisonment, 5 Internal Exile  
 April 7, 1985 -- Sentenced Chistopol Prison 3 Years  
 PRISON: Chistopol Prison  
 Uchrezhdnie 5110/1, Moscow, RSFSR, USSR

YOSIEF BERENSHTEIN

ARRESTED: November 12, 1984  
 CHARGE: Resisting the Authorities  
 DATE OF TRIAL: December 10, 1984  
 SENTENCE: 4 Years Labor Camp  
 PRISON: Zheltyevodi  
 Dnepropetrovsk Rayon, Ukr. SSR, USSR

VLADIMIR BRODSKY

ARRESTED: May 16, 1985  
 CHARGE: Malicious Hooliganism  
 DATE OF TRIAL: August 15, 1985  
 SENTENCE:  
 PRISON:



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PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCEALEXANDER CHERNIAK

ARRESTED: March 1984  
 CHARGE: Misuse of Government Property and Forging Certificates  
           at His Place of Work  
 DATE OF TRIAL: March 1984  
 SENTENCE: 4 Years Labor Camp and Confiscation of Personal Property  
 PRISON: Donetskaya Oblast, Ukr. SSR, USSR

YULI EDELSHTEIN

ARRESTED: September 4, 1984  
 CHARGE: Trafficking in Drugs  
 DATE OF TRIAL: December 20, 1984  
 SENTENCE: 3 Years Labor Camp  
 PRISON: Pervy Otryad, Pos. Vidrino OV. 94/4  
           Kebanski Rayon, Buryatskaya ASSR, USSR

NADEZHDA FRADKOVA

ARRESTED: May 1984  
 CHARGE: Parasitism  
 DATE OF TRIAL: December 1984  
 SENTENCE: 2 Years  
 PRISON: UG 42/15, Severo Onetsk, Plesetsky Rayon PGT,  
           164 Arkhangelskaya Oblast, USSR

BORIS KANYEVSKY

ARRESTED: June 17, 1982  
 CHARGE: Defaming the Soviet State  
 DATE OF TRIAL: January 21, 1983  
 SENTENCE: 5 Years Internal Exile  
 WIFE'S ADDRESS: Elizabeta Kanyevsky  
                   1-Oi Mosfilmovskiy per. 5/14, Apt. 176  
                   Moscow, RSFSR, USSR

ALEXANDER KHOLMIANSKY

ARRESTED: July 25, 1984  
 CHARGE: Hooliganism and Illegally Possessing a Gun and Ammunition  
 DATE OF TRIAL: January 31 - February 5, 1985  
 SENTENCE: 18 Months Labor Camp  
 PRISON: Sverdlovskaya Oblast, U. SHCH 349/47  
           Kamensk-Uralski

\*EVGENY KOIFMAN

ARRESTED: Week of June 19, 1985  
 CHARGE: Possession of Drugs  
 DATE OF TRIAL:  
 SENTENCE:  
 PRISON:

\*Awaiting trial



PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCEYAKOV LEVIN

ARRESTED: August 10, 1984  
 CHARGE: Dissemination of Anti-Soviet Propaganda  
 DATE OF TRIAL: November 15-19, 1984  
 SENTENCE: 3 Years Labor Camp  
 PRISON: YU. E312/2 A-16  
 343550 Dzerzhinks - 2, Donnetskaya Obl.  
 Ukr. SSR, USSR

\*ALEXEI MURZHENKO

(RE)ARRESTED: June 1, 1985 (Imprisoned 1970-1984)  
 CHARGE: Parole Violations  
 DATE OF TRIAL:  
 SENTENCE:  
 Prison: URP IO 4, 45/183  
 Ulitsa Parkomienko 13  
 Kiev 50, USSR

MARK NEPOMNIASHCHY

ARRESTED: October 12, 1984  
 CHARGE: Defaming the Soviet State  
 DATE OF TRIAL: January 31, 1985  
 SENTENCE: 3 Years Labor Camp  
 PRISON: 04-8578 2/22, Simferopol 333000,  
 Krimskaya Oblast, USSR

ANATOLY SCHARANSKY

ARRESTED: March 15, 1977  
 CHARGE: Espionage, Anti-Soviet Agitation  
 DATE OF TRIAL: July 10, 1978  
 SENTENCE: 13 Years Prison -- 10 Years Labor Camp  
 PRISON: Uchr. V.S. 389/35  
 Stantsiya Vsesvyatskaya, Tchusovskoy Rayon  
 Permskaya Oblast 618810, RSFSR, USSR

LEV SHEFER

ARRESTED: September 1981  
 CHARGE: Anti-Soviet Propaganda  
 DATE OF TRIAL: April 1982  
 SENTENCE: 5 Years Imprisonment, Strict Regime  
 PRISON: Stansya Vsesvyatskaya 385/19, Chusovsky Rayon  
 Permskaya Oblast, RSFSR, USSR

SIMON SHNIRMAN

ARRESTED: January 12, 1983  
 CHARGE: Draft Evasion  
 DATE OF TRIAL: January 26, 1983  
 SENTENCE: 3 Years Labor Camp, Strict Regime  
 PRISON ADDRESS: Otryad 11, Brigada 111  
 Uchr. l.v. 301/86  
 Vinnitsa, Ukrainian SSR, USSR

\*Awaiting trial

PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCEYURI TARNOPOLSKY

ARRESTED: March 15, 1983  
 CHARGE: Defaming the Soviet State  
 DATE OF TRIAL: June 30, 1983  
 SENTENCE: 3 Years Prison  
 PRISON: 5 - aya Brigada  
 p/a Ya. 6. 14/6, Chita 672022, RSFSR, USSR

ANATOLY (NATAN) VIRSHUBSKY

ARRESTED: February 19, 1985  
 CHARGE: Misappropriation of State or Public Property by Theft  
 DATE OF TRIAL: May 7, 1985  
 SENTENCE: 2 Years Prison  
 PRISON: Unknown

\* LEONID (ARI) VOLVOVSKY

ARRESTED: June 26, 1985  
 CHARGE: Anti-Soviet Agitation and Propaganda  
 DATE OF TRIAL:  
 SENTENCE:  
 PRISON:

ALEXANDER YAKIR

ARRESTED: June 19, 1984  
 CHARGE: Refusal of Military Service  
 DATE OF TRIAL: August 2, 1984  
 SENTENCE: 2 Years Labor Camp  
 PRISON: Unknown

ROALD (ALEC) ZELICHENOK

ARRESTED: 2nd Week of June 1985  
 CHARGE: Anti-Soviet Slander  
 DATE OF TRIAL: August 8, 1985  
 SENTENCE: 3 Years  
 PRISON: Investigating Prison, Uchrezhdnie 45/1  
 Leningrad 195009, RSFSR, USSR

ZACHAR ZUNSHAIN

ARRESTED: March 4, 1984  
 CHARGE: Defaming the Soviet State  
 DATE OF TRIAL: June 1984  
 SENTENCE: 3 Years Forced Labor Prison Camp  
 PRISON: U Ch. 272/23  
 Chusovski Rayon, Poselok Oktiabrsky  
 Irkutskaya Oblast, USSR

\*Awaiting trial

Revised August 15, 19

FORMER PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

	<u>Arrested</u>	<u>Released</u>
VIKTOR BRAILOVSKY	1980	1984
BORIS CHERNOBILSKY	1981	1982
LEV ELBERT	1983	1984
YURI FEDEROV	1970	1985
ARKADY FELDMAN	1979	1983
KIM FRIDMAN	1981	1982
GRIGORY GEISHIS	1980	1982
SEMION GLUZMAN	1972	1982
GRIGORY GOLDSHTEIN	1978	1979
YANKEL GROBERMAN	1978	1983
BORIS KALENDARIOV	1979	1981
VLADIMIR KISLIK	1981	1984
FELIX KOCHIUBIEVSKY	1982	1985
EVGENY LEIN	1981	1982
OSIP LOKSHIN	1981	1984
ALEXANDER MAGIDOVICH	1980	1982
MARK NASHPITZ	1975	1979
IDA NUDEL	1978	1982
MARK OCHERETYANSKY	1983	1985
ALEKSANDR PANAREV	1983	1984
ALEXANDER PARITSKY	1981	1984
VALERY PILNIKOV	1980	1984
DMITRI SHCHIGLIK	1980	1981
ISAAK SHKOLNIK	1972	1979
VICTOR SHILBANS	1970	1971
VLADIMIR SLEPAK	1978	1982
MOISEY TONKONOGY	1980	1981
VLADIMIR TSUKERMAN	1981	1984
ALEKSANDR VILIG	1979	1980
STANISLAV ZUBKO	1981	1985

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Schapira; your entire text will be printed in the record.

Our final witness on this panel is Mr. Isi Leibler.

Mr. Leibler, we look forward to hearing your statement.

#### STATEMENT OF ISI LEIBLER, MEMBER, INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY

Mr. LEIBLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and distinguished members of the subcommittees. It is an honor for a non-American to testify to a U.S. congressional subcommittee. It is my privilege to represent here the World Council on Soviet Jewry, an organization representing virtually all Jewish communities in the free world, spanning over five continents.

Mr. Morris Abram, in his testimony, has already informed you concerning the highly successful meeting the Council held here in Washington and the favorable response to our objectives which we received yesterday personally from President Reagan.

Mr. Chairman, as a citizen of a country which has been a close ally of the United States in war and peace, and as a representative of a Jewish community which, like its American counterpart, is a beneficiary of liberty, I am particularly sensitive to an opportunity such as this.

We know, only too well, that Soviet Jewry, the third largest Jewish community outside the United States and Israel, does not benefit from such a tradition. Despite the liberally worded sentiments of the Soviet Constitution and the commitments to human rights which the Soviets signed at Helsinki a decade ago, Soviet Jews remain the victims of other traditions—those of Russian anti-semitism and the totalitarian repression of human rights.

The U.S. Congress has a long and proud tradition of acting on behalf of Soviet Jewry, indeed a tradition going back to the days of the czars in the 19th century.

In our own time, the Congress has been at the forefront of those developments which led to the historic breakthrough of emigration of hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews. I need only mention the Jackson-Vanik amendment, the visits to the Soviet Union by Congressmen and Senators, the personal intervention by many of your distinguished legislators, the many statements of concern and protest read into the Congressional Record.

Mr. Chairman, they have inspired other legislators and parliaments to take action; they have galvanized public opinion in the United States and in other Western democracies; they have strengthened the hand of American Presidents and members of the executive in negotiations with the Soviets on these issues; and they have maintained the hope and spirit of the refuseniks and others who lead the struggle for Soviet Jewry. Above all, they have been critical in maintaining pressure on the Soviet Union.

This last point is sometimes not fully appreciated. However depressing and disturbing the conditions of Soviet Jews are today, we shudder to think what they might be like if bodies such as the U.S. Congress had not encouraged Moscow, in its desire for legitimacy and respectability in the world community, to avoid some of the worst excesses of the Stalinist era. In this context, I want to em-

phasize that we are once more at a critical juncture and possibly facing a window of opportunity.

Whatever the rest of us in the West might do, I agree with Mr. Dornan when he said here that it is here in Washington where the decisive initiatives will be taken. The lead given here in the U.S. Congress reverberates throughout the free world and sets the tone for other governments and public opinion.

In my own country, I am proud to say that going back to the early sixties, Australia has been in the vanguard on the Soviet Jewry issue. Australia was the first government to raise the plight of Soviet Jewry at the United Nations in 1962. It has since become a bipartisan commitment which has mainstream support.

The Liberal government under Malcolm Fraser, and now the Labor government under Bob Hawke, have both shown a special interest in the plight of Soviet Jewry and undertaken diplomatic and other efforts on their behalf. Indeed, prior to becoming Prime Minister, Bob Hawke undertook two visits to Moscow in an unsuccessful effort to alleviate the plight of Soviet Jewry with the Soviet authorities.

In 1979, after a unanimous resolution of the Australian Parliament, the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee set up an extensive inquiry into the human rights in the Soviet Union which today still remains one of the authoritative studies on the subject.

May I stress that while every initiative for Soviet Jewry is important, we feel that the lead and example given here remain absolutely critical—today, more than ever before. As South Africa has demonstrated in recent days, in a world made smaller by satellite television, the issues which are taken up by your legislators and your news networks are seen and felt by every one of us around the world where free public opinion is still operating.

Mr. Chairman, as a non-American but as someone who has been to the Soviet Union on three occasions, I want to emphasize this last point. We are all aware of what has led to the forthcoming summit between President Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev. We know, also, that the great issues of nuclear disarmament and tension between the superpowers over the Middle East, Central America and other regions must be uppermost on the agenda.

But we believe it is essential that the rights of Soviet Jewry should also be on that agenda. Not only is it vital for Soviet Jewry, but I would suggest it is a critical benchmark for measuring real progress towards the improved relationship between the superpowers.

It is vital for Soviet Jewry because unless Moscow sees that we in the West still take seriously the issue of human rights for its Jewish citizens, any remaining hopes for an improvement in those rights will be severely set back. To this extent, I say to Mr. Levine it is a question of putting the cart before the horse, if there is a suggestion that improvement in relations with the Soviet Union can be looked at in isolation from this human rights issue.

In these circumstances, Mr. Chairman, I believe that any progress toward other goals, however important and desirable for all of us who want to see a reduction in tension in world affairs, will be short-lived and illusory. If we do not impress upon the Sovi-

ets our concern for human rights matters, then we will be sending them the wrong signals at this crucial moment in superpower relations.

Mr. Chairman, a final word: There is a human and historic dimension to all this which you and your colleagues will undoubtedly appreciate. The renaissance of Soviet Jewry is one of the great inspirational sagas of the 20th century. After 60 years of Communism, Stalinist repression and systemic discrimination, the rebirth of Jewish identity in the Soviet Union has been a triumph of the human spirit and a testament to the persistence of faith, tradition, and civilization over tyranny, ideology, and the police state.

The Soviet Jewry human rights movement, in that sense, is unique. It is the only movement since the Russian revolution to force real and fundamental change, albeit temporary, in the Soviet system.

Those who accomplished this in the Soviet Union were ordinary human beings who rose to extraordinary heights. What they achieved on their own, which led to the emigration of so many Jews, was truly remarkable. But they were sustained then, and have been sustained since, by the knowledge that their fellow Jews and, above all, men and women of goodwill everywhere, but particularly in this country, had not forgotten about them and cared about their fate.

I have met many of the refuseniks. I am privileged to number some of their leaders amongst my closest friends. I can tell you from many of my conversations with them that everything you and others on Capitol Hill say and do is eventually known to them. And when you show that their condition still matters, it lights their way.

Mr. Chairman, may you continue to light their way and inspire others to do so in the important weeks and months that lie ahead.

Thank you.

[Mr. Leibler's prepared statement follows:]

#### PREPARED STATEMENT OF ISI LEIBLER

Mr. Chairman, It is an honour for a non-American to testify to a United States Congressional subcommittee.

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In our own time the Congress has been at the forefront of those developments which led to the historic breakthrough of emigration of hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews. I need only mention the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, the visits to the Soviet Union by Congressmen and Senators, the personal intervention by many of your distinguished legislators, the many statements of concern and protest read into the Congressional Record.

Mr. Chairman, they have inspired other legislators and parliaments to take action; they have galvanized public opinion in the United States and in other Western democracies; they have strengthened the hand of American presidents and members of the Executive in negotiations with the Soviets on these issues; and they have maintained the hope and spirit of the Refuseniks and others who lead the struggle for Soviet Jewry; above all they have been critical in maintaining pressure on the Soviet Union.

This last point is sometimes not fully appreciated. However depressing and disturbing the conditions of Soviet Jews are today, we shudder to think what they might be like if bodies such as the United States Congress had not encouraged Moscow, in its desire for legitimacy and respectability in the world community, to avoid some of the worse excesses of the Stalinist era.

In this context I want to emphasize that we are once more at a critical juncture and possibly facing a window of opportunity.

Whatever, the rest of us in the West might do, it is here in Washington where the decisive initiatives will be taken. The lead given here in the United States Congress reverberates throughout the free world and sets the tone for other governments and public opinion.

In my own country, I am proud to say that going back to the early sixties, Australia has been in the vanguard on the Soviet Jewry issue. Australia was the first government to raise the plight of Soviet Jewry at the United Nations in 1962. It has since become a bipartisan commitment which has mainstream support. The Liberal Government under Malcolm Fraser and now the Labour Government under Bob Hawke have both shown a special interest in the plight of Soviet Jewry and undertaken diplomatic and other efforts on their behalf. Indeed, prior to becoming Prime Minister, Bob Hawke undertook two visits to Moscow in an unsuccessful effort to alleviate the plight of Soviet Jewry with the Soviet authorities. In 1979, after a unanimous resolution of the Australian Parliament, the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee set up an extensive enquiry into the human rights in the Soviet Union which today still remains one of the authoritative studies on the subject.

May I stress that while every initiative for Soviet Jewry is important, we feel that the lead and example given here remain absolutely critical today more than ever before. As South Africa has demonstrated in recent days, in a world made smaller by satellite television, the issues which are taken up by your legislators and your news networks are seen and felt by everyone of us around the world where free public opinion is still operating.

Mr. Chairman, as a non-American but as someone who has been to the Soviet Union on three occasions, I want to emphasise this last point. We are all aware of what has led to the forthcoming summit between President Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev in Geneva in mid-November. We know, also, that the great issues of nuclear disarmament and tension between the super powers over the Middle East, Central America and other regions must be on the agenda.

But, we believe it is essential that the rights of Soviet Jewry should also be on that agenda. Not only is it vital for Soviet Jewry but I would suggest it is a critical bench mark for measuring real progress towards the improved relationship between the super powers.

It is vital for Soviet Jewry because unless Moscow sees that we in the West still take seriously the issue of human rights for its Jewish citizens, any remaining hopes for an improvement in those rights will be severely set back.

In those circumstances, I believe that any progress towards other goals, however important and desirable for all of us who want to see a reduction in tension in world affairs, will be short lived and illusory. If we do not impress upon the Soviets that our concern for human rights matters then we will be sending them the wrong signals at this crucial moment in super power relations.

Mr. Chairman, a final word: There is a human and historic dimension to all this which you and your colleagues will undoubtedly appreciate. The renaissance of Soviet Jewry is one of the great inspirational sagas of the 20th Century. After 60 years of Communism, Stalinist repression and systemic discrimination, the rebirth of Jewish Identity in the Soviet Union has been a triumph of the human spirit and a testament to the persistence of faith, tradition and civilisation over tyranny, ideol-

ogy and the police state. The Soviet Jewry Human Rights Movement, in that sense, is unique. It is the only movement since the Russian Revolution to force real and fundamental change, albeit temporary, in the Soviet system.

Those who accomplished this in the Soviet Union were ordinary human beings who rose to extraordinary heights. What they achieved on their own which led to the emigration of so many Jews was truly remarkable. But they were sustained then and have been sustained since by the knowledge that their fellow Jews, and above all men and women of goodwill everywhere, but particularly in this country, had not forgotten about them and cared about their fate.

I have met many of the Refuseniks. I am privileged to number some of their leaders amongst my closest friends. I can tell you from many of my conversations with them that everything you and others on Capitol Hill say and do is eventually known to them. And when you show that their condition still matters it lights their way.

Mr. Chairman, may you continue to light their way and inspire others to do so in the important weeks and months that lie ahead.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, may I thank you on behalf of all the Jewish communities, ranging over five continents, who participated here in Washington in this critical World Conference on Soviet Jewry.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Mr. Leibler.

I would like now to recognize the gentleman from New York, Congressman Gilman, for a very brief request.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that my opening statement, in full, be made part of the record.

Mr. YATRON. Without objection.

[Mr. Gilman's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN, RANKING MINORITY MEMBER, SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Mr. Chairman, I regret I was delayed in attending our hearing on religious persecution in the Soviet Union due to a prior meeting with a delegation of Soviet parliamentarians, including the Speaker of the Supreme Soviet, Len Nikolayevich Tolkunov, who we are pleased to welcome at this hearing.

Although this important topic has been an ongoing concern for many of us over the years, I commend the initiative taken by our two subcommittee chairmen, Congressman Hamilton of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East and Gus Yatron of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations. It is extremely important that individual and organizational efforts on behalf of Soviet Jews be a formal part of any Congressional oversight activities. I look forward to hearing an analysis of the current situation from the perspective of the panel of our organizational witnesses.

We will also have the opportunity to discuss policy implications with representatives of the State Department, and given the heightened inconsistencies in Soviet actions in the last months. I hope that some of their insight will give us a better indication of what to expect at the Geneva summit in November and beyond. Although we can speculate about the underlying reasons for a particular action taken by the Soviets, it is only at this type of form that we are able to discern some important trends. I am especially interested in hearing the thoughts of our witnesses as to the correlation, if any that may exist when emigration figures continue to plummet, as they did this year down to only 29 individuals in August, when one then takes into account that at the same time two long term refuseniks and former prisoners of conscience, Isaac Shkolnik and Mark Nashpitz were given permission to emigrate.

Having adopted Mark Nashpitz as part of the "adopt a prisoner" program many years ago, I find it exceedingly difficult to understand the rationale for the case of who had been refused for fifteen years, and who, only six weeks ago was told by OVIR officials not to consider the possibility of ever emigrating, now receives permission to leave. I hope that our panels will help us clarify this anomaly.

I am also pleased to welcome Mrs. Lantos and Mrs. Waxman to our hearing today. Their work and that of so many other Congressional wives is vitally important if we are to truly make the issue of human rights for Soviet Jews and others a grass roots effort on a national scale. I look forward to hearing their remarks as well as the personal reflections of former refusenik Leonid Feldman.

Though we have allowed this afternoon to be devoted to the non-existence of human rights in the Soviet Union, I fear that we will only be able to discuss the tip



of the iceberg. The policy considerations from both a United States and Soviet standpoint are many: Economic, internal, trade related and international. Yet the most important, and one which must be overriding and underlying at every crossroad must be that of human rights. Our Constitution demands of us that we act accordingly.

Mr. YATRON. The gentleman from Florida.

Mr. LAWRENCE SMITH. I would ask unanimous consent that my statement be printed in full in the record.

Mr. YATRON. Without objection.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Lawrence Smith follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. LAWRENCE J. SMITH, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

#### RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN THE SOVIET UNION

Mr. Chairman, the policies that the United States has pursued to encourage human rights have not been as effective as we would like them to be or as they should be. In the late 1970's, Soviet officials first crippled the Soviet Jewish emigration movement when the numbers of Jews allowed to emigrate began to decline. In 1984, Soviet authorities strived to paralyze the Jewish emigration movement further. The Soviet Jewish emigration dropped to an all time low of 896.

A new stepped-up campaign to erase Jewish culture has begun. Disruption of their lives and harassment by authorities are not new to the tens of thousands of refuseniks waiting to emigrate. The latest attempt to eradicate Jewish culture from Soviet society, however, is new. Hebrew teachers and the most active political activists were singled out, arrested and imprisoned on trumped up charges.

The leadership of the Soviet Jewish emigration movement may disappear if these Hebrew teachers and activists are eliminated. Soviet television recently aired a crude documentary on Jews in the Soviet Union mentioning their anti-Soviet tendencies and association with Zionists. This film represents not only an upsurge in anti-Semitism. But also a continuation of the Stalinist mentality of equating any allegiance to Judaism or Israel as an act of treason possibly punishable by death. If refusenik leaders are to weather this new Soviet storm, they will need our support and commitment to their cause.

The Soviets need to realize that Soviet Jewish emigration is a priority and commitment of the United States. We should require that all future U.S. delegations make no economic agreements without first obtaining significant human rights improvements. To do this, we must institute guidelines so that our negotiations do not deteriorate into the buying and selling of human beings.

I suggest the following guidelines for U.S. delegations to improve Soviet human rights practices:

1. A substantial release of prisoners of conscience and refuseniks prior to any negotiations as an honorable gesture.
2. The inclusion in all emigration arrangements of the principles of repatriation to Israel or family reunification elsewhere.
3. The end of the harassment of all Jewish study groups, Hebrew teachers, including restrictions on their ability to obtain and prepare educational materials.
4. The end to the inflammatory Soviet media campaign that utilizes anti-Semitic stereotypes, portraying a U.S.-Zionist world conspiracy to subvert the USSR.

Beyond that, Soviet Jewry and all human rights violations should be considered an essential component of any negotiating agenda whether it involves trade, economic, or arms. When human rights are included as non-essential part of any negotiation, the subject is too easily raised, then dropped. The problem should be elevated above the realm of humanitarian appeals, to an integral non-dismissable part of any negotiations.

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Burton, do you have an opening statement?

Mr. BURTON. I don't have an opening statement at this time. I have a few questions I would like to ask, but I think I will reserve those for our next guest, Mr. Derwinski.

Mr. YATRON. At this time, I would also like to submit for the record the opening statement of one of our colleagues who had a conflict with another committee, Congressman Feighan.

[Mr. Feighan's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD F. FEIGHAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS  
FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Mr. Chairman:

I want to commend the Subcommittees for scheduling hearings on the important subject of religious persecution in the Soviet Union. Today's hearing will help call attention to the plight of hundreds of thousands of Jews living in the Soviet Union who are denied basic human rights, including the right to worship and exercise their religious and cultural traditions. In future hearings, I hope the subcommittees will have an opportunity to examine the Soviet Union's policies against other religions and their members. The persecution of Baptists, Adventist, Jehovah's Witnesses and Orthodox and Roman Catholics is not only widespread, but in many cases is justified in the Soviet constitution and the penal code. The abuses have been well documented by human rights organizations here in America and throughout Western Europe. The incidents have ranged from defamation in the press with no right to reply, to discrimination in employment, housing, education and public life based solely on the religious beliefs expressed by Soviet citizens. These hearings provide an important forum for the dissemination of the information we have on religious persecution in the U.S.S.R. and will, I hope, send a clear message to Soviet Authorities, some of whom we may suppose are in this hearing room at this moment, that the House of Representatives intends to speak clearly and consistently for those Soviet citizens who are denied religious freedom and basic human rights.

Mr. Chairman, during the month of August, I travelled to the Soviet Union with my colleague <sup>from New York</sup> Mr. Levin to meet and talk with Soviet dissidents and refusenik families. Our trip was sponsored by the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, and I am particularly pleased that the Union's president, Morey Shapira, is scheduled today as a witness. He and his organization

are making a real contribution in the effort to free Soviet Jewry and bring about a change in the Soviet Union's policies of religious repression.

My trip to the Soviet Union was the first visit I have made behind the Iron Curtain, and I cannot adequately express how moved I was by the experience. Of course, during my stay in Moscow and Leningrad, Congressman Levin and I, and our wives, had an opportunity to see the famous sights that are an important part of any trip overseas. We walked through Red Square and saw Lenin's tomb. We visited the War Memorials and passed through the Winter Palace. We admired paintings in the Hermitage and marveled at a Russian opera company.

Yet the most emotional moments of our stay in the Soviet Union did not occur in the hallways of a palace or within the great open space of an opera house. The most emotional moments, the moments that have produced memories that I will remember throughout my life, came in private homes, humble homes, of Soviet citizens who welcomed us in and shared what little they had in a spirit of warm hospitality. The courage and determination of Natasha Khasin, Lev Bronshtein, Lev and Elizaveta Shapiro, and many other refuseniks, were the highlight that I will long cherish. These brave people, who have suffered enormous hardships because of their beliefs, gave us their time, their thoughts, and their hopes. They long to leave the oppression of the Soviet Union, to live in their homeland of Israel, to be near the family and friends who have already gone.

For Jews in the Soviet Union, 1985 is a year of harsh oppression, consisting of increased violence, harassment and a renewed campaign of officially sanctioned anti-Semitism. In addition, the small trickle of emigration from the U.S.S.R. has become even smaller; emigration has reached it's lowest point in over a decade. In 1984, only 896 Soviet Jews were allowed to leave, compared with over 51,000 only five years ago. More than four hundred thousand have received letters of invitation from Israel, in accordance with regulations designed by the Soviet bureaucracy to discourage emigration. Yet the Soviet government would have us

believe that all Jews who wish to emigrate have already left.

Life for Soviet refuseniks consist of severe economic and social hardship. To file for emigration often means the loss of one's job, one's friends, and often the hope of a quality education for one's children. In many cases, examples of vilification in the media and by public officials add to the difficulties faced by those who seek to leave the Soviet Union. One refusenik I met, Lev Shapiro, was the victim of a clearly orchestrated campaign of public harrassment in May of 1970, when a Leningrad newspaper specifically targeted him for slanderous attacks.

The situation in the Soviet Union for all Jews is tenuous. In the last year, as members of the subcommittees are aware, the Soviet government has stepped up its continuing campaign to eliminate the persistence of Jewish culture from Soviet society. Several teachers of Hebrew have been arrested, prosecuted and jailed, often on trumped-up charges linking the use of drugs in religious rituals. These are not isolated incidents. They are a blatant attempt by the authorities to eliminate Jewish consciousness and distance Soviet Jews from their fellowship with world Jewry.

Another related example of this orchestrated attempt to violate the human rights of all Soviet Jews was the broadcast, less than a year ago, of a show called "Hirelings and Accomplices," over Leningrad television. The show suggested that Soviet Jews seeking to live in Israel or in the West are in some way related to an international anti-Soviet conspiracy. The program argued that Soviet Jews were being used as "pawns" in a plot inspired by "capitalists" in the West, and that many Soviet Jews are, in fact, traitors to the Soviet state. That charge, in effect, places many Soviet Jews in the category of capital criminals, subject to the death penalty solely for desiring to maintain their religious and cultural identity and to teach their children of their rich heritage.

In the face of such abuses, the Soviet refuseniks continue to persevere. The sense of dedication, the commitment to hope, the resolute optimism of so many of the people I met during my brief stay in Moscow and Leningrad

came as something of a surprise. For many of them, life is trying and difficult. Yet, they refuse to give up hope, hope that one day the Soviet government will end its repressions and obey the Scriptural command to "undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free."

Those of us in the West, who have the freedoms that so many in the Soviet Union long for, have an obligation to maintain our efforts to secure their rights. The Soviet government must know that their policies are seen and they are opposed. We need to pursue every avenue possible to increase emigration and liberalize Soviet barriers to worship. We need to take every opportunity to speak to the real issue of respect for basic human rights within the Soviet Union. We need to continue to offer hope and assistance to those who suffer and are denied the opportunity to live and to worship in the land of their choice.

The Soviet refuseniks represent the power of individual courage in the face of unsummountable obstacles. Their vision, strength and dedication are an inspiration to all who struggle against enormous odds anywhere on earth. I know that many members of the House participate in efforts to secure the release of refusenik families throughout the Soviet Union. Through statements on the floor and letters to Soviet officials, members have let their commitment be known. The refuseniks I met and spoke with were unanimous in their appreciation of these efforts, and they strongly supported continuation of them. They see us as a source of strength for them, their knowledge that we have not forgotten them sustains them in their struggle and comforts them in the hours of despair. While few believed that the new leadership in the Kremlin would be any different than the hard-line leadership in the past, many expressed a sense of optimism that some positive change might come about as a result of the coming summit meeting in Geneva. I know that all of us share in that hope.

Next week, millions of Jews throughout the world will celebrate the holiday of Rosh Hashanah, the beginning of a new year. Yet, Jews in the Soviet Union who celebrate the holiday will do so with the knowledge that the Hebrew they use is regarded as subversive and the faith they express may cost

what little freedoms they currently enjoy. These hearings today can make a substantial contribution to a greater understanding of the difficulties faced by refusenik families in the U.S.S.R. One can only hope that the years of struggle and sacrifice that they have endured will soon come to an end.

When first applying for exit permits, the dream of thousands of Soviet refuseniks was Bashanah Habaah B'Yirushalayim, "Next year in Jerusalem." Today, their supporters and friends in the West, with continued concern for their safety and security, pray with them, Bashanah Hazot B'Yirushalayim, "This year in Jerusalem."

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Singer was unable to be with us at this time. If he has a prepared statement, we will be happy to include his statement in the record, as well.

I thank you gentlemen for being here today and giving us the benefit of your views. I think that your statements have been invaluable to the subcommittees. We thank you very much for being here, and look forward to seeing you again.

There are three witnesses on the next panel. We are pleased to welcome Mrs. Annette Lantos, founder and co-chairperson of the Congressional Spouses Committee of 21, and founder of the International Free Wallenberg Committee; Mrs. Janet Waxman, member of the Congressional Wives for Soviet Jewry, and Congressional Spouses Committee of 21; and Mr. Leonid Feldman, a former refusenik.

Would you folks like to proceed to the witness table, please.

Mrs. Lantos, it is nice to see you once again. We look forward very much and with interest to hearing your statement.

**STATEMENT OF ANNETTE LANTOS, FOUNDER AND COCHAIR OF THE CONGRESSIONAL SPOUSES COMMITTEE OF 21, AND FOUNDER OF THE INTERNATIONAL FREE WALLEMBERG COMMITTEE**

Mrs. LANTOS. Thank you very much.

Chairman Yatron and distinguished members of the Human Rights Subcommittee, I would like to start, first of all, by thanking all of you for affording me the opportunity to speak before you. The subject of this hearing is extremely important, and I am grateful to you for scheduling it.

Of the millions of persecuted Christians and Jews in the Soviet Union, I have had the privilege of meeting several dozen. From Professor Lerner, whom Congressman Yatron, my husband, and myself met with this January and had a very wonderful visit, to Dr. Meiman, from Yelena Bonner to Iosef Berenstein, I have been deeply touched by their courage, their spirit, their decency toward each other, and their abiding hope in the face of desperate circumstances.

Today, I would like to talk briefly about two heroic women. Their lives embody the abstract problems and issues we have been discussing.

The first is Tanya Edelstein. Her husband has been mentioned in the testimony of Mr. Kronish. I want to talk about the other member of this heroic team.

I met with Tanya in January just a few days after her husband was taken to prison, but weeks before his torture occurred at the hands of Soviet authorities. Yuli's crime was that he taught Jewish children Hebrew, the language in which they can best praise God and preserve a modicum of the legacy which was left to them by their ancestors.

Tanya's strength, faith and commitment to high ideals and, above all, her heroic endurance in the face of desperate circumstances, was a testimony to me of the caliber and quality of people whom the Soviets have chosen to persecute.

Yuli, her husband, is still in prison, convicted for 3 years. What are we doing to help him? We try, but it isn't much.

Carol Vander Jagt, the wife of Congressman Guy Vander Jagt, adopted the Edelstein family through the Congressional Spouses Committee of 21. When we learned of the atrocities of his beatings in prison for refusing to renounce his faith, we sent a telegram to the camp commander, called a press conference, and wrote letters. A short while later we learned that the beatings had been stopped.

There may be occasional victories for individual efforts, but does this suffice? Often, it appears to me as though we were little Davids armed with our slings, going against the monstrous power machine of the KGB.

We need action and condemnation from official sources. It is essential that Congress react strongly and unanimously to the Soviet noncompliance with international human rights accords and treaties.

The other case history I would like to discuss is about the persecution of a Pentecostal family in whose behalf I have worked for several years. The story of Lydia Staskevich exemplifies in a microcosm the other less visible but perhaps more ruthless side of the Soviet persecution; namely, the persecution of Soviet Christians.

I first heard about Lydia from the refuseniks, who were so impressed by her selfless concern, the refusenik problems, even at a time that she, herself, was faced with an intolerable situation herself.

At that time, I heard of a congressional delegation traveling to the Soviet Union. I gave letters to all of them, including my good friend Janet Waxman, urging them to visit Lydia. Although our Embassy in Moscow was unable to set up this meeting at that time, other Congressmen later were able to meet with Lydia. And just in January, quite a few of us, including Congressman Gilman, saw her.

Lydia is typical of the many Christian victims of Soviet persecution. Like most Soviet Christians, she is not an enemy of the government due to her political beliefs. On the contrary, she is a loyal citizen who would be considered a great asset in any other country. She does not advocate violence or engage in harmful activities to undermine the Soviet regime.

I am pleased to report that her case may have a happy ending. We managed finally to obtain for her an invitation from Israel, and just yesterday I learned that Lydia and her family have finally been granted their passports and their permission to leave. This rare, almost miraculous permission testifies to the effectiveness of steady, soft pressure on Soviet officials concerning human rights violations.

I think it is very important in this connection to make a distinction between political dissidents and religious dissidents. Unlike the political dissidents who reject certain elements of Soviet society, religious dissidents wish only the personal freedom to live according to the dictates of their own conscience. They do not plan deep changes in the political system; they simply dream of a little freedom to worship.

As you know, Soviet persecution of Jews and Christians takes many forms. Participation in religious activities leads to dismissal



from one's job. Churches must apply for and receive official permission to meet. Christians are prohibited from pursuing any charitable activities, as well as teaching their children religion.

This last prohibition is unacceptable to one who takes the doctrines of his religion seriously. As you know, Christians and Jews are commanded by the scriptures to teach their children the tenets of their religion. Failure to do so is considered the gravest sin.

But we need today, from many individuals and Government officials, to be inspired by the example of Raoul Wallenberg. He proved to all of us that one decent and courageous man willing to put his life on the line for the sake of justice can make a difference in this world. This is the lesson of the Holocaust, which I remember, and which I hope will not be forgotten by the world.

[Mrs. Lantos' prepared statement follows:]

**PREPARED STATEMENT OF ANNETTE LANTOS, FOUNDER OF THE CONGRESSIONAL  
SPOUSE'S COMMITTEE OF 21 AND CHAIRMAN OF THE FREE WALLENBERG COMMITTEE**

Chairman Yatron and Chairman Hamilton, I would like to first thank you for affording me this opportunity to speak before your subcommittees. The subject of this hearing is extremely important, and I commend you for scheduling it.

Of the millions of persecuted Christians and Jews in the Soviet Union, I have had the privilege of meeting only several dozen. From Professor Lerner to Dr. Meiman, from Elena Bonner to Josef Berenstein, I have been deeply touched by their courage, their spirit, their decency toward each other, and their abiding hope in face of desperate circumstances. I agree with others who have spoken before me that the time has come when we can no longer stand by and watch indifferently their suffering.

Today I would like to speak in particular about two heroic women; one I have met and the other I have tried to help for over three years. The first is Tanya Edelstein, the intelligent young wife of Yuli Edelstein. I met with Tanya a few days after her husband was taken to prison, but weeks before his torture occurred at the hand of Soviet authorities. Yuli's crime was that he taught other Jews Hebrew, the language in which they can best praise God, and preserve a modicum of the legacy left to them by their ancestors. Yet Yuli was not indicted on the crime for which we all know he was punished. The Soviet authorities went to considerable trouble planting drugs in his apartment and then condemning him on this false charge.

Tanya's strength, faith, and lack of bitterness all testify to me of the great spiritual resources of these individuals.

Yuli is still in prison, convicted for three years. What are we doing to help? Carol Vander Jagt, wife of Congressman Guy Vander Jagt, adopted the Edelstein family

for the Congressional Spouse's Committee of 21. When we learned of the atrocities of his beatings in prison for refusing to renounce his faith, we sent a telegram to the camp commander, called a press conference, and wrote letters. A short while later we learned that the beatings had been stopped.

There may be occasional victories for individual efforts, but does this suffice? Often it appears as if we were armed with a sling against the monstrous K.G.B. We need firm action and condemnation from official sources commensurate in power with what we are up against. Many individuals are now talking about linkage — linking human rights with trade and other bilateral issues. It is essential that Congress seriously begin discussions on linkage and other possible remedies to continued Soviet non-compliance with international human rights accords and treaties.

For several years I have corresponded with an incredible lady, Lydia Staskevich, a Pentecostal who has suffered unimaginable hardships for her desire to practice her faith, for her commitment to providing aid and comfort to other persecuted Christians and Jews, for her refusal to repudiate her faith. Out of desperation, last year Lydia and her husband went on a 14-day hunger strike to protest their inability to worship freely.

I first took actions on Lydia's behalf almost four years ago. I was impressed by her courage and commitment, by the fact that in spite of the incredible hardships that she faced, especially the hardships suffered by her children, that she still had the love and humanity to reach out to the Refuseniks who were suffering even more than she was.

At that time I heard of a congressional delegation travelling to the Soviet Union, led by Congressman Henry Waxman. I gave letters to all of them, including my good friend Janet, urging them to visit Lydia. Although our embassy in Moscow was unable to set up this meeting at that time, future Congressmen were able to meet Lydia. The latest were Harry Reid, Ben Gilman, and Mark Siljander, who met with Lydia in January. This visible show of support is a life-line to the persecuted Christians.

Lydia is typical of many Christian victims of Soviet persecution. Like most Soviet Christians, she is not an enemy of the Government due to political beliefs. On the contrary, she is a loyal citizen who would be considered a great asset in any other country. She does not advocate violence and in no way does she engage in invidious activities.

The distinction between Political Dissidents and Religious Dissidents must be stressed. Unlike the political dissidents who reject certain elements of Soviet society, religious dissidents wish only the personal freedom to live according to the dictates of their own consciences. They are peaceful, hard-working, honest individuals. They do not plan deep changes in the political system; they dream simply of a little freedom to be allowed to worship according to the dictates of their own conscience.

Soviet persecution of Jews and Christians takes many all-encompassing forms. Participation in religious activities can lead to dismissal from one's job. Churches must apply for and receive official permission to meet -- a permission which is often refused. If they meet to worship following this refusal, they are liable to prosecution and imprisonment. Christians are prohibited from engaging in charitable activity, proselytizing, or teaching religion to their own children.

The most outrageous human rights violations are currently being perpetrated on the most vulnerable: children. Youngsters are taunted in school if they are believers. Teachers, instead of curbing this abuse, are the main instigators. Children are called "fascist" if they wish to worship on Sunday instead of participating in the student events which are organized specifically to interfere with religious observance. Jewish children are called "enemy" if they study Hebrew and express a desire to emigrate to Israel. The opportunity for religious children to attend university is almost null.

An extreme example of this persecution is occurring in the Siberian city of Chuguyevka. The pastor of this close-knit group of Pentecostals -- known in the West as "The Siberian Seventy" -- was arrested last year. His congregation has conducted numerous fasts to secure his release, all without success. Many of the husbands and fathers of this group have also been imprisoned. But perhaps the most extreme harrassment of all was the threat by Soviet authorities to take away the children from these families because they had pulled them out of Soviet classrooms to protect them from daily beatings.

Tragically, this outrageous persecution has been by and large ignored by the Western press and public. Occassionally their cries are faintly heard in the West, but overall they are tortured, beaten, harrassed, and imprisoned in darkness. Their hopes for emigration have proven futile. They are trapped with no place to go, and no witness to speak up in their behalf. This is the particular viciousness of their persecution.

Raoul Wallenberg is an appropriate symbol to invoke in the context of today's hearing. Because of his devotion to human rights, he undertook an extremely risky and hazardous assignment in Hungary to save the victims of Nazi persecution. He became a witness in Hungary -- not only a witness to the barbarities of Fascism, but also a witness to the need to protect the weak, to stand by the persecuted, to befriend the strangers and the outcasts, to speak up for those without influence. Today we need individuals with the sense of righteousness and justice equal to Raoul Wallenberg to stand beside Soviet Christians.

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to report that the case of Lydia Staskevich and her family may have a "happy end." Five months ago I asked friends to officially invite the Staskevichs to join them abroad. Just yesterday I learned that Lydia, her husband, and their three children were given visas to emigrate. Shortly they will be in the United States. This rare and miraculous permission testifies to the efficacy of constant, soft pressure on Soviet officials. Human rights are a powerful force, perhaps the force for the second half of the 20th Century. Let us pledge ourselves to continue our efforts.

Mr. Chairman, I call on Members of Congress to engage themselves on behalf of persecuted Christians and Jews in the Soviet Union. The legacy of our Constitution and our nation is respect for and observance of human rights. Your acts should further that legacy. I urge Congress to commit itself to the plight of individuals persecuted in the Soviet Union due to their religious beliefs. Such persecution is repugnant to our values and the values of all the civilized world.

The thought that we could pretend that actions which occur outside the borders of the United States do not concern us was irrevocably shattered by the Holocaust. The Western world turned its eyes once as a people were persecuted for their religious beliefs. That can never happen again. The lesson of the Holocaust may simply be: We are our brother's keeper.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much.

Our next witness is Mrs. Janet Waxman. It is always a pleasure to see you and welcome you here. We look forward to hearing your statement.

**STATEMENT OF JANET WAXMAN, MEMBER, CONGRESSIONAL WIVES FOR SOVIET JEWRY AND CONGRESSIONAL SPOUSES COMMITTEE OF 21**

Mrs. WAXMAN. I am honored to be here today. Two summers ago, my husband and I visited refuseniks in the Soviet Union and were particularly fascinated by one phenomenon. In that atheistic and totalitarian country where the religious are routinely harassed and have no future, hundreds, perhaps thousands of young Jews were becoming religious.

Jews who once only knew that they were Jewish by being called a dirty *zhid!* on the streets, Jews who once only knew they were Jewish because their passports said so, were now turning to God.

True, they were only a small minority compared to those who try to fit into the system, particularly after emigration was cut off and people asked, why risk everything now?

Yet even people who can't possibly emigrate because they have no first degree relatives to invite them out were becoming religious.

I'm here today on their behalf to urge the Government and general public whenever dealing with the Soviets on trade and exchange to raise the matter of freedom of religion.

I am not calling for special treatment for Soviet Jews. I am only calling for parity—parity for Protestants, as well as for Jews—parity with the way Moslems and Russian Orthodox are treated in the Soviet Union.

The Russian Orthodox Church is alive. I visited their beautiful golden-domed churches at Segorsk. The churches were filled. I met seminarians and priests. The Russian Orthodox Church may be controlled, but it is alive! I ask at least the same for all religions.

One question remains: Why is there a spiritual rebirth in the Soviet Union?

Members of our congressional delegation and I spoke with one religious refusenik who observed "perhaps it is because religion stands against the official regime. Perhaps it is because we live in a spiritual vacuum—not just Jews, but the Russian Orthodox, too."

She pointed out that 10 years ago nobody wore crosses. "Today everybody wears crosses." She spoke about the hunger for Jewish books. "People can go all day without food but they can't go without learning."

One final thought about why people are choosing religion over the system. A former refusenik put it to me this way: "We are searching for our souls."

I have my own hunch. It seems to me that in a country where it is assumed that Gorbachev is afraid of Gromyko, and Gromyko is afraid of Gorbachev and both of them are afraid of Shevcarnadze. Searching for your soul is not just ennobling, it's enabling. It enables Soviets to direct themselves away from a system they despise,

a system they see as corrupt, a system they fear they must corrupt themselves to get ahead.

Searching for one's soul enables a person a degree of freedom not possible otherwise, even to the highest authorities in the Soviet system. It enables people to fear the authorities less because they now feel responsible to a higher authority.

Let's not forget them.

Thank you.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Mrs. Waxman.

Our final witness on this panel is Mr. Leonid Feldman.

### LEONID FELDMAN, FORMER REFUSENIK

Mr. FELDMAN. Thank you for inviting me to testify. I am Leonid Feldman. I spent most of my life in the city of Kishinev in the Soviet Union. I have been in the United States for the past 5½ years. I now live in New York, where I am a rabbinical student. In 2 years I will become the first conservative rabbi from Russia in history.

I found out that I was different at the age of 7 when a neighbor boy called me a "*Zhid*," a very bad epithet for "Jew." I asked him what the term meant, since I did not understand it. The boy suggested I ask my parents. I came home and asked my father. At this point you might suspect that my father explained to me about Moses, Abraham, the Bible. My father looked into my eyes and said, "This boy is a bad boy. Don't play with him."

When I was 8, the first human being was sent into space. His name was Yuri Gagarin. I suspect that people in this room don't know much about him and don't care, and shouldn't. However, I did. I studied by heart the biography of this important hero of the Soviet Union.

I knew what kind of cereal he prepared in the morning. When he returned to Earth there was a press conference, with hundreds of correspondents asking him a lot of questions. We were watching on the television screens. It was important to us to hear what he had to say.

Finally the big question came, one of the correspondents said, "Comrad Gagarin, you have been there. Tell us the truth, have you seen him, did you find God?" I will never forget the smiling face of a happy Soviet Communist who said, "No, I was looking for him all over. He was not there. There is no God."

When I was 9, my mother passed away. On the second day of mourning two tall men in black suits and black ties broke into our apartment and ordered our friends and relatives to leave immediately because that was an illegal gathering of Zionist activities.

At the age of 12, I became the junior chess champion of the Moldavian Republic, one of the 15 states of the Soviet Union. I was supposed to be sent to the national championship at Leningrad to represent my Republic. I don't know if you understand what it means to a 12-year old boy to go to Leningrad to represent your state. This was the Olympics of my life. I couldn't sleep at night or go to school. I was very excited and proud.

Three days before departure I got a phone call from the Minister of Sports and Recreation of the Moldavian Republic. I walked into

the office and an official said, "Feldman, we decided not to send you to Leningrad." I said, "Why not?" He said, "You understand that a Feldman cannot represent the Moldavian Republic." I said, "Why not? I was born here, this is my home, I am the champion. I am proud to represent the Moldavian Republic. What is the reason, can you explain to me?" He said: "Shut up. We ask questions here."

When I was 14 the Six-Day War broke out in the Middle East. I remember listening on the radio and watching on TV. There is another war going on somewhere, it didn't touch me. The third day of the war a Jewish friend came to visit me. He said, "Do you understand what is going on? There is a country called Israel and it is a Jewish country. They are Jews fighting Arabs, many countries attacking them and we are going to win. We are going to make it." And he went on and on.

I couldn't understand him. I said, "What are you talking about? What are Jews doing in Africa? How did they end up there? When did they get out?" What I was asking, of course, was: "When did they leave Russia?" The concept that there were Jews outside of the Soviet Union made no sense to me. There is not a textbook in the Soviet Union that even mentions the history of the Jewish people.

By the age of 15 I was a loyal Soviet citizen, member of the Young Communist League and a typical anti-Semite. I knew there was nothing more important than today for the Communist party. I also knew that there was something wrong with being Jewish. I was ashamed of my last name. The principal of my high school told me that with a name like Feldman I would not be trusted to become a journalist or diplomat or a movie-maker or a judge. He suggested I try something not ideological, like sciences. This is how I became a physicist.

During my first year in college, I visited a museum in Leningrad called the State Museum of Religion and Atheism. At the entrance I saw a huge poster that said, "Beware Zionism, the enemy of peace and progress." I went upstairs to the second floor. I wanted to see what they show the Soviet public as symbols of Zionism which is the enemy of peace and progress.

Among pamphlets I also found four religious items: a prayer book, Passover Matzo, Hanukkah candlesticks and the Star of David. These were the symbols of Zionism, the enemy of peace. A Hanukkah candlestick is thus a dangerous weapon.

At the age of 20 I read my first Jewish book: "Exodus," by Leon Uris, given to me secretly by refuseniks. That book changed my life. I was a physics teacher and could explain the laws of nature and explain Einstein's theory of relativity to an intelligent adult, and yet at the same age of 20, I didn't know the word "synagogue." I didn't know that Jews were supposed to have rabbis. I never heard about Yom Kippur, and I did not know about the 6 million Jews that perished during the Holocaust.

I also did not know that the Bible was written in my language, Hebrew by my people. I didn't know there was a language called Hebrew. At that age I realized that it was possible to be a proud Jew. Today I am free and happy living in the best country in the world, studying and practicing Judaism.



Ten years ago I was a teacher of scientific atheism. My job was to prove to Soviet children that there cannot be a God and if you believe in God you must be sick. Today I am a religious Jew studying to be a rabbi. A few years ago it was inconceivable to me that one day I would be sitting in the American Congress, a symbol of liberty and human dignity for the entire world addressing you.

Gentleman, you saved my life. When I was on a hunger strike in a KGB prison I was afraid. I shared a small cell with 47 hard-core Russian criminals. One thing made me strong: the knowledge that there were people out there who cared and did not forget me.

Several years ago I was forced to begin each day of my life with the same words: "Glory to the Communist Party. Long live Lenin. The future of humanity is a glorious communist paradise."

Now I begin every day of my life by thanking God for America and democracy.

God bless you and God bless America.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement Mr. Feldman's follows:]

#### PREPARED STATEMENT OF LEONID FELDMAN

Thank you very much for inviting me to testify here today.

My name is Leonid Feldman. I spent most of my life in the city of Kishinev in the Soviet Union. I have been in the United States for the past five and a half years. I now live in New York, where I am a rabbinical student; in two years I will become the first Conservative Rabbi from Russia in History.

I found out that I was different at the age of seven when a neighbor boy called me, a *zhid*, which in English I don't want to translate that word. I asked him what the term meant since I did not understand it. The boy suggested I ask my parents. I came home and asked my father. My father simply told me to play with other children in the neighborhood, without explaining the term.

At the age of eight I saw Yuri Gagarin. The first Soviet cosmonaut, declaring on TV that there is no God because Gagarin could not find Him.

When I was nine years old, my mother passed away. On the second day of mourning, two KGB agents broke into our apartment and ordered our friends and relatives to leave immediately because that was an "illegal gathering of Zionists".

At the age of twelve I became the junior chess champion of the Moldavian Republic. I was supposed to be sent to the national championship at Leningrad to represent my republic. A few days before the departure I was told that my trip had been cancelled since "a Feldman obviously cannot represent Moldavia."

When I was fourteen, the 6-Day War broke out in the Middle East. That was the first time I learned that there were Jews outside of the Soviet Union and that Israel was a Jewish country. I was shocked and confused: how and when did these people leave Russia? No Soviet textbook even mentions Jewish history.

I continued in my ignorance. By the age of fifteen I was a loyal Soviet citizen and a typical anti-semitic. I knew that there was nothing more important and more beautiful than to die for the Communist Party. I also knew that there was something wrong with being Jewish. I was ashamed of my last name. The principal of my high school told me that with the name like Feldman I would not be trusted to become a journalist or a diplomat, a movie-maker or a judge. He suggested that I try something not ideological, like sciences.

During my freshman year in college I visited a museum in Leningrad called "the State Museum of Religion and Atheism." There was a special exhibit there entitled "Zionism—The Enemy of Peace and Progress." In addition to books, Pamphlets, etc., four religious (not Zionist) items were being shown to the Soviet public as symbols of Zionism: A prayer book, Passover matzah, Chanukkah candlesticks, and the star of David.

At the age of twenty I read my first Jewish book, *Exodus* by Leon Uris, given to me secretly by refuseniks. That book changed my life. For the first time, I found out that Jews have synagogues and rabbis. I learned that Jews have been around for three and a half thousand years and that the Bible was written in my language—Hebrew. I realized then that it was possible to be a proud Jew.

Today I am free and happy, living in the best country in the world, studying and practicing Judaism. Ten years ago I was a teacher of Scientific Atheism, proving to Soviet children that there is no God. Today I am a religious Jew studying to be a rabbi. A few years ago it was inconceivable to me that I would be sitting in the American Congress—a symbol of liberty and human dignity for the entire world—addressing you.

Gentlemen, you saved my life. When I was on a hunger strike in a KGB prison, I was scared to death. I was sharing a small cell with 47 hard core Russian criminals. There was one thing that made me strong. This was the knowledge that there were people who cared and who did not forget me.

I am an example of what your work is all about. There are no words to express my gratitude to you. Several years ago I was forced to begin each day of my life with the same words: Glory to the Communist Party: Long Live Lenin! The future of humanity is a Glorious Communist Paradise!

Now, I begin every day of my life by thanking God for America and Democracy. God bless you and God bless America.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much for a very sad and touching statement. We want to say welcome to you and wish you continued success.

Mr. FELDMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. YATRON. That will conclude this panel. We want to thank all three of you for also giving us the benefit of your views and for providing us with invaluable information that will be helpful to the subcommittees.

We thank you very much.

We will take a short recess now. Mr. Derwinski will be here very shortly. At that time, we will resume the hearing.

Thank you.

[Recess.]

Mr. YATRON. The subcommittee will resume its hearing on Soviet Jewry.

Our final witness today is our very good friend and former colleague, Mr. Edward Derwinski, the counselor of the Department of State.

Mr. Derwinski was a leader on the issue of Soviet Jewry when he was a member of this committee, and was also a very strong advocate of human rights.

Ed, we are all very pleased to see you and have you with us here today, and we look forward to hearing your statement.

**STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, COUNSELOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND FORMER MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS, ACCOMPANIED BY SUSAN WAGNER, SOVIET DESK OFFICER, DEPARTMENT OF STATE; AND RON NEITZKE, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO MR. DERWINSKI, DEPARTMENT OF STATE**

Mr. DERWINSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First, may I introduce my associates. Susan Wagner is a Soviet desk officer at the Department of State. Ron Neitzke on my left—I don't say that as a pun, but Ron on my left is the member of my staff who specializes in Eastern European and Soviet affairs.

I would like to ask that my entire statement be placed in the record.

I will just paraphrase it. I would also ask, if I may, that an address by Mr. Michael Armacost, who is the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, which was delivered today to the World

Conference on Soviet Jewry, also be placed in the record. It, to some degree, parallels a statement I have. It goes into much more detail on specific abuses. I believe it will be a helpful addition to your record.

Mr. YATRON. Without objection.

[Mr. Armacost's prepared statement of follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. MICHAEL H. ARMACOST, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS, TO THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1985

IT IS A GREAT HONOR TO BE YOUR SPEAKER THIS EVENING. I BRING YOU GREETINGS FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE WHO ALONG WITH ALL AMERICANS SHARES YOUR DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THE PLIGHT OF SOVIET JEWRY. I SHOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS MY REMARKS THIS EVENING TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE IMPACT THIS HAS ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

FIRST, A COMMENT ABOUT THE STATE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. THE WORLD IS AWASH WITH COMMENTARY ON THE SUBJECT AS PREPARATIONS INTENSIFY FOR THE NOVEMBER MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT REAGAN AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV. THE QUESTION LEADERS ON BOTH SIDES MUST ADDRESS IS WHETHER THE BASIS FOR A MORE DURABLE U.S.-SOVIET RAPPROCHEMENT CAN BE ESTABLISHED. A DISTINGUISHED HARVARD HISTORIAN, ADAM ULAM, HAS RECENTLY COMMENTED THAT "WHAT CONCRETELY UPSETS ... AMERICANS ABOUT THE USSR IS WHAT THE KREMLIN DOES, AND WHAT MUST BE A CONTINUING SOURCE OF APPREHENSION TO THE LATTER SPRINGS FROM WHAT AMERICA IS."

AMERICAN HOPES FOR DETENTE IN THE 1970s FOUNDERED ON SOVIET EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE GEOPOLITICAL ADVANTAGE IN INDOCHINA, ANGOLA, ETHIOPIA, AND AFGHANISTAN, TO BACK ANTI-AMERICAN FORCES IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, TO QUASH ATTEMPTS AT LIBERALIZATION IN POLAND, AND TO BUILD MILITARY FORCES BEYOND ANY REASONABLE NEED FOR DEFENSE.

IF THERE IS TO BE REAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE RELATIONSHIP, THESE UNDERLYING DIFFICULTIES MUST BE ADDRESSED. FOR OUR PART, WE ARE DETERMINED TO MAKE SUCH AN EFFORT. THE TASK IS GREAT.

-- A BASIS MUST BE FOUND FOR RESOLVING THROUGH POLITICAL MEANS SUCH REGIONAL ISSUES AS AFGHANISTAN. IT IS NOT AFTER ALL WEAPONS THEMSELVES THAT CAUSE WARS, BUT POLITICAL ACTIONS.

-- IN COPING WITH PROBLEMS OF ARMS COMPETITION PROPAGANDISTIC OFFERS OF MORATORIA ARE NOT THE ANSWER. THE TEST IS WHETHER WE CAN ACHIEVE MAJOR, STABILIZING REDUCTIONS IN OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR ARMS NOW, WHILE EXAMINING WHETHER IN THE FUTURE DETERRENCE CAN RELY MORE HEAVILY ON DEFENSE THAN ON THREATS OF MUTUAL ANNIHILATION.

-- IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS THE RANGE OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL CONTACTS AND EXCHANGES MUST BE EXPANDED.

MOREOVER, THERE IS THE BURDEN ON OUR RELATIONS IMPOSED BY THE WAY SOVIET AUTHORITIES TREAT THEIR OWN PEOPLE. WE RAISE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS WITH OUR SOVIET COUNTERPARTS NOT TO SCORE DEBATING POINTS, NOR TO ACHIEVE POLITICAL ADVANTAGE, BUT

BECAUSE OF THE KIND OF PEOPLE WE ARE. FREEDOM IS FUNDAMENTAL IN OUR SOCIETY. AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS ATTEMPTED TO HOLD THE TORCH OF FREEDOM ALIVE NOT MERELY FOR THEMSELVES BUT FOR OTHERS AROUND THE WORLD. IT IS TO THIS SUBJECT THAT I WOULD LIKE TO TURN.

IN RECENT YEARS THE SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION HAS DETERIORATED SHARPLY. IN 1980, ANDREY SAKHAROV WAS EXILED FROM MOSCOW AND PLACED UNDER HOUSE ARREST. JEWISH EMIGRATION WAS CUT IN HALF, AND THE KGB BEGAN MOVING EVEN MORE FREELY AGAINST DISSIDENT ACTIVISTS.

THE KGB, UNDER CHAIRMAN YURI ANDROPOV, REFINED EXISTING TECHNIQUES OF REPRESSION AND DEVELOPED MORE SOPHISTICATED BUT NO LESS HARSH MEASURES:

- O MANY PROMINENT DISSIDENTS WERE ALLOWED OR FORCED TO EMIGRATE.
- O OTHERS WERE ARRESTED ON CRIMINAL CHARGES OR CONFINED IN PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS.
- O INDUCTION OF WOULD-BE JEWISH EMIGRANTS INTO THE MILITARY ENABLED AUTHORITIES CYNICALLY TO CLAIM REASONS OF "STATE SECURITY" TO DENY THEM PERMISSION TO LEAVE THE USSR.
- O THE CRIMINAL CODE WAS REVISED TO MAKE REPRESSION OF DISSIDENTS LESS CUMBERSOME, BUT MORE BRAZEN.
- O INTIMIDATION OF WESTERN JOURNALISTS WAS STEPPED UP, TO STOP THEIR REPORTING ABOUT DISSIDENTS.

WHY WAS THE REPRESSION INTENSIFIED? INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CAUSES SEEM TO HAVE BEEN AT PLAY. AT HOME MOSCOW FACED SERIOUS PROBLEMS -- AN INEFFICIENT ECONOMY, SOCIAL MALAISE, TROUBLES IN THE EMPIRE FROM POLAND TO AFGHANISTAN, AND UNTIL RECENTLY, IMMOBILITY IN THE LEADERSHIP. ABROAD, THE SOVIET REGIME FACED MORE STEADFAST RESISTANCE BY THE WEST AND IN THE THIRD WORLD FOLLOWING ITS INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN AND CRACKDOWN IN POLAND.

ONE WAY SOVIET AUTHORITIES REACTED TO THESE PROBLEMS WAS TO INTENSIFY CONTROL AND REPRESSION AT HOME, AND CUT BACK CONTACTS BETWEEN THEIR CITIZENS AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD. ARRESTS OF DISSIDENTS INCREASED. ALL FORMS OF EMIGRATION WERE REDUCED DRAMATICALLY. JEWISH EMIGRATION -- WHICH PEAKED IN 1979 AT OVER 51,000 -- HAD FALLEN BY LAST YEAR TO BELOW 900. A SIMILAR FATE BEFELL GERMANS AND ARMENIANS LIVING IN THE USSR.

SOVIET LEADERS SANCTIONED RENEWED MANIFESTATIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM. IN CUTTING OFF THE SAFETY VALVE OF JEWISH EMIGRATION, SOVIET AUTHORITIES MAY HAVE BROUGHT UPON THEMSELVES A NEW UPSURGE OF RELIGIOUS AND NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN ONE OF THE USSR'S MOST ASSIMILATED MINORITY COMMUNITIES.

THEY EMBARKED ON A CAMPAIGN OF ARRESTING AND CONVICTING TEACHERS OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE AND OTHERS IN THE FOREFRONT OF THIS NEW AWARENESS AND IDENTITY. SINCE JULY 1984 AT LEAST SIXTEEN JEWISH CULTURAL ACTIVISTS, INCLUDING NINE HEBREW

TEACHERS, HAVE BEEN ARRESTED. THIRTEEN HAVE BEEN CONVICTED, SEVERAL ON CRUDELY TRUMPED-UP CRIMINAL CHARGES. SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE PLANTED DRUGS IN THE APARTMENTS OF TWO OF THEM; A PISTOL AND AMMUNITION IN THE APARTMENT OF A THIRD. YET ANOTHER WAS CONVICTED FOR STEALING BOOKS HE HAD BORROWED FROM A SYNAGOGUE LIBRARY. THREE WERE BEATEN FOLLOWING THEIR ARRESTS; ONE, IOSIF BERENSSTEIN, WAS VIRTUALLY BLINDED.

MANY JEWS HAVE ALSO BEEN FIRED FROM THEIR JOBS, OR HAD THEIR APARTMENTS SEARCHED, PHONES DISCONNECTED, OR MAIL SEIZED. SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND TELEVISION HAVE BRANDED HEBREW TEACHERS AND OTHER JEWISH CULTURAL ACTIVISTS AS "ZIONIST " SUBVERSIVES. ZIONISM HAS BEEN EQUATED WITH NAZIISM. WORLD WAR II JEWISH LEADERS HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF HELPING THE NAZIS ROUND UP JEWS FOR THE DEATH CAMPS.

A NOTORIOUS EPISODE IN THIS CAMPAIGN WAS THE RECENT STAGE-MANAGED TELEVISION RECANTATION OF CONVICTED MOSCOW HEBREW TEACHER DAN SHAPIRO. SHAPIRO WAS GIVEN A SUSPENDED SENTENCE AFTER AGREEING TO CONDEMN PUBLICLY THE MOVEMENT WITH WHICH HE HAD BECOME SO CLOSELY ASSOCIATED. REPORTEDLY, HE DID SO AFTER THREATS TO CHARGE HIM WITH TREASON AND SENTENCE HIM TO DEATH. THE CHOICE THAT DAN SHAPIRO FACED WAS AN EXTREME FORM OF THE DILEMMA FACING SOVIET JEWS TODAY. HOW DOES ONE SURVIVE IN AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THE AUTHORITIES ARE NOT CONSTRAINED BY THE RULE OF LAW?



UNOFFICIAL RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY IS CURRENTLY THE MOST VIGOROUS FORM OF DISSENT IN THE USSR, BUT IT HAS BEEN HIT HARD ACROSS THE BOARD. IN ADDITION TO JEWS, UKRAINIAN UNIATES, LITHUANIAN ROMAN CATHOLICS, AND UNREGISTERED BAPTISTS AND PENTECOSTALISTS HAVE COME IN FOR SEVERE REPRESSION.

NOR HAS THERE BEEN PROGRESS ON THE CASES OF MAJOR HUMAN RIGHTS FIGURES, SUCH AS ANDREY SAKHAROV AND HIS WIFE YELENA BONNER, ANATOLIY SHCHARANSKIY, AND YURIY ORLOV. DR. SAKHAROV, IN FORCED AND ISOLATED EXILE IN THE CLOSED CITY OF GOR'KIY, WAS APPARENTLY ABDUCTED FROM HIS APARTMENT LAST SPRING AFTER BEGINNING ANOTHER HUNGER STRIKE. THIS TIME TO RESURFACE IN A CYNICAL YET SADLY POIGNANT KGB FILM SHOWING HIM EATING IN A HOSPITAL BEDROOM. WHAT HIS TRUE CONDITION IS TODAY WE CANNOT SAY. JUST LAST WEEK VASYL STUS, A LEADING MEMBER OF THE UKRAINIAN HELSINKI MONITORING GROUP, DIED TRAGICALLY IN A SOVIET LABOR CAMP.

WE LOOK FOR SIGNS OF PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT THE EVIDENCE IS NOT ENCOURAGING. MONTHLY EMIGRATION FIGURES THIS YEAR HAVE BEEN UP SLIGHTLY ONE MONTH AND DOWN THE NEXT -- TO BE SURE, ALL AT A VERY LOW LEVEL. WHETHER THESE FLUCTUATIONS REPRESENT ANOMALIES OR A DELIBERATE TEASE IS UNCLEAR.

IN A SLIGHTLY MORE POSITIVE VEIN, ONE OF OUR LONG-TIME DUAL NATIONAL CASES WAS RESOLVED THIS SPRING, AND THREE LONGSTANDING CASES INVOLVING THE SPOUSES OF AMERICAN CITIZENS HAVE ALSO BEEN

RESOLVED. WHILE WE WELCOME THESE GESTURES -- HOWEVER CALCULATED OR ISOLATED -- MANY MORE CASES REMAIN UNRESOLVED. MEANWHILE, THE ARREST OF HEBREW TEACHERS, RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS, AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS PERSISTS.

WHY DO WE ATTACH SUCH IMPORTANCE TO SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE? FIRST, HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES HAVE MAJOR IMPACT ON AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION. WHEN AMERICANS HEAR THAT SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE ABDUCTED AN ANDREY SAKHAROV FROM HIS HOME, PLANTED DRUGS ON HEBREW TEACHERS, OR TREATED THEIR OWN CITIZENS AS CAPTIVES IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY, THEY WONDER ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES FOR CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS. IN THIS WAY, SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES INFLUENCE U.S. PUBLIC OPINION AND CIRCUMSCRIBE THE FLEXIBILITY OF ANY U.S. ADMINISTRATION TO DEAL WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON A PRAGMATIC BASIS.

SOVIET LEADERS ALLEGE THAT EXPRESSIONS OF OUR CONCERN AMOUNT TO INTERFERENCE IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THEY CLAIM THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES ARE NOT LEGITIMATE TOPICS FOR DIALOGUE BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS. YET, THE SOVIET UNION ASSUMED SOLEMN INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS, SUCH AS THE 1975 HELSINKI FINAL ACT, TO RESPECT SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS OF THEIR CITIZENS. VIOLATIONS OF THESE OBLIGATIONS CANNOT BUT AFFECT PERCEPTIONS OF SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO ABIDE BY OTHER ACCORDS, AND ERODE POLITICAL CONFIDENCE NEEDED TO MAKE PROGRESS ON A VARIETY OF ISSUES.

AT MEETINGS OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (CSCE), SUCH AS THE RECENT ONE IN OTTAWA OF HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERTS, WE HAVE PRESSED VIGOROUSLY FOR SOVIET COMPLIANCE WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT. WE HOPE PROGRESS CAN BE MADE SOON IN THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE. A UNIQUE ASPECT OF THE FINAL ACT IS ITS RECOGNITION THAT RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IS ESSENTIAL TO DEVELOPMENT OF SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. IN PURSUIT OF THIS COMMITMENT TO BALANCED PROGRESS IN THE CSCE PROCESS, WE ARE SENDING A DISTINGUISHED DELEGATION, LED BY FORMER DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE WALTER STOESSSEL, TO THE THE BUDAPEST CULTURAL FORUM THIS AUTUMN. THERE, AND AT THE HUMAN CONTACTS EXPERTS MEETING IN BERN, WE WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS OUR CONCERNS.

WHILE WE HAVE NOT HESITATED TO SPEAK OUT IN INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS, WE HAVE ALSO CONSISTENTLY RAISED OUR CONCERNS IN CONFIDENTIAL CHANNELS. WE HAVE MADE HUMAN RIGHTS A PROMINENT PART OF OUR DIALOGUE WITH SOVIET LEADERS. WE HAVE DETAILED OUR SPECIFIC CONCERNS, INCLUDING THOSE ABOUT SOVIET JEWRY, AND MADE CLEAR THEIR IMPORTANCE TO THE U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP. WE TELL SOVIET LEADERS THAT OUR RELATIONS CANNOT BE PUT ON A LONG-TERM, CONSTRUCTIVE BASIS WITHOUT SIGNIFICANT GAINS IN THIS AREA.

ON SOME OCCASIONS, WE HAVE PRESENTED THE SOVIETS WITH REPRESENTATION LISTS OF PERSONS DENIED PERMISSION TO LEAVE THE

SOVIET UNION. ONE LIST NAMES ABOUT TWENTY U.S.-SOVIET DUAL NATIONALS, ANOTHER ABOUT TWENTY SOVIET SPOUSES OF U.S. CITIZENS, AND STILL ANOTHER OVER 100 SOVIET FAMILIES DENIED PERMISSION TO JOIN THEIR LOVED ONES IN THE UNITED STATES. MANY INDIVIDUALS ON THESE LISTS ARE SOVIET JEWS. WE ALSO REGULARLY PRESENT A LIST OF OVER 3,400 SOVIET JEWISH FAMILIES WHO HAVE BEEN REFUSED PERMISSION TO EMIGRATE TO ISRAEL.

IT IS OUR HOPE THAT SOVIET AUTHORITIES ARE COMING TO RECOGNIZE THAT HUMAN RIGHTS WILL REMAIN CENTRAL TO THE U.S.-SOVIET AGENDA. WE ARE NOT ASKING SOVIET AUTHORITIES TO DO THE IMPOSSIBLE -- BUT ONLY TO LIVE UP TO THEIR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS, AND LOOSEN THE SCREWS OF REPRESSION TIGHTENED SO CRUELLY IN RECENT YEARS. WE WATCH THE PATTERNS OF SOVIET JEWISH EMIGRATION, AS YOU DO. WE ARE PREPARED TO RESPOND AS IMPROVEMENTS OCCUR. ON THIS SCORE WE APPRECIATE YOUR COUNSEL AND THAT OF OTHERS INTERESTED IN SOVIET JEWRY.

WE DO NOT EXPECT MIRACLES OVERNIGHT. BUT SOVIET LEADERS MUST SURELY BE CONFIDENT ENOUGH TO BE ABLE TO LESSEN REPRESSION AND INCREASE EMIGRATION WITHOUT ENDANGERING THE SO-CALLED "LEADING ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY." WE REPEATEDLY MAKE THE POINT TO SOVIET LEADERS THAT THIS COULD BENEFIT OUR RELATIONS.

SOVIET OFFICIALS HINT THAT IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING JEWISH EMIGRATION, CAN FOLLOW AN UPWARD SWING IN OVERALL RELATIONS. THERE ARE THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT AT TIMES IN THE PAST BETTER RELATIONS MEANT MORE EMIGRATION. WHETHER OR

NOT THIS WAS TRUE. WE REJECT THE NOTION THAT IMPROVEMENTS IN HUMAN RIGHTS CAN COME LAST. THE REALITY IS THAT SOVIET ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS UNDERMINE THE POLITICAL CONFIDENCE NEEDED TO IMPROVE RELATIONS, NEGOTIATE ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS, AND COOPERATIVELY LESSEN REGIONAL TENSIONS.

SOVIET LEADERS SEEK TO CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY ARE MORE SERIOUS THAN AMERICAN LEADERS IN SEEKING TO IMPROVE RELATIONS. THEY AVER THAT BETTER RELATIONS DEPEND ON U.S. AND WESTERN POLITICAL "WILL," NOT ON CHANGES IN SOVIET BEHAVIOR. THEY ARE MISTAKEN. LET US LOOK AT WHAT THE UNITED STATES HAS TRIED TO ACCOMPLISH AND WHAT IT SEEKS FOR THE FUTURE.

WE WILL START WITH BILATERAL ISSUES. LAST YEAR FOLLOWING THE COMMENCEMENT OF NATO MISSILE DEPLOYMENTS IN EUROPE, THE SOVIETS TRIED TO FREEZE BILATERAL RELATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, WE PERSEVERED, AND ULTIMATELY SIGNED MODEST ACCORDS ON CONSULAR AFFAIRS AND HOTLINE MODERNIZATION. THIS YEAR THERE HAS BEEN SLIGHTLY MORE PROGRESS, MAINLY THE CONCLUSION OF THE NORTH PACIFIC AIR SAFETY AGREEMENT AND VISITS OF LEGISLATIVE DELEGATIONS AND SECRETARY BLOCK. WE LOOK FORWARD TO BETTER EXCHANGES IN THESE AREAS, AND TO MAKING PROGRESS IN MARITIME BOUNDARY TALKS AND PEACEFUL SPACE COOPERATION.

FINDING WAYS TO REDUCE REGIONAL TENSIONS COULD HAVE ENORMOUS BENEFIT. OVER THE PAST YEAR, TEAMS OF U.S. AND SOVIET

EXPERTS HAVE HAD TALKS ON THE MIDDLE EAST, SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND AFGHANISTAN, AND WILL HOLD THEM THIS WEEK ON EAST ASIA. THESE TALKS HAVE NOT YET, HOWEVER, MET OUR EXPECTATIONS.

A CONTINUING EXCHANGE OF VIEWS CAN HELP AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS. BUT SPECIFIC STEPS ARE NEEDED, TOO. FOR EXAMPLE, THE MIDDLE EAST REMAINS A TENSE AREA THAT AFFECTS DIRECTLY THE INTERESTS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES. THE SOVIET UNION SEEKS A GREATER ROLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS, YET HAS OFFERED NOTHING BUT PROCEDURAL SUGGESTIONS. ONE IMMEDIATE STEP IT CAN TAKE IS TO LESSEN ITS UNREMITTINGLY HOSTILE PROPAGANDA DIRECTED AGAINST ISRAEL. IT SHOULD ALSO CALL UPON ITS FRIENDS IN THE PLO TO FORSWEAR VIOLENCE.

AFGHANISTAN MAY BE THE MOST PRESSING REGIONAL ISSUE FOR THE NEW SOVIET LEADERSHIP. MOSCOW'S BRUTAL OCCUPATION AND CONTINUING REPRESSION SPUR RESISTANCE, NOT ACQUIESCENCE, FROM THE BRAVE AFGHAN PEOPLE. INFORMED SOVIETS OUGHT TO REALIZE BY NOW THAT THE HOPE OF BUILDING COMMUNISM IN AFGHANISTAN, EVEN IN THE LONG TERM, IS FUTILE. IN OUR VIEW IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO FIND A SOLUTION WHICH PROTECTS THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF ALL PARTIES, THE RIGHT OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE TO LIVE IN PEACE UNDER A GOVERNMENT OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING, AND THE SOVIET INTEREST IN A SECURE SOUTHERN BORDER. SOVIET COMMITMENT TO EARLY TROOP WITHDRAWALS WOULD BE A GOOD BEGINNING AND WOULD PROMOTE PROGRESS IN THE U.N. NEGOTIATIONS ON AFGHANISTAN.

THE ARMS CONTROL DIALOGUE WAS REVIVED EARLIER THIS YEAR WHEN THE TWO SIDES AGREED TO COMMENCE NUCLEAR AND SPACE ARMS TALKS IN GENEVA. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED FOR CONCRETE PROGRESS ON ARMS CONTROL, BASED ON AN ENDURING AND REALISTIC FOUNDATION. THE PRESIDENT IS FULLY COMMITTED TO ACHIEVING MAJOR, STABILIZING REDUCTIONS IN NUCLEAR ARSENALS. HE HAS GIVEN OUR NEGOTIATORS GREAT FLEXIBILITY TO ACHIEVE THIS END.

WE WELCOME GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV'S EXPRESSED INTEREST IN ACHIEVING RADICAL REDUCTIONS, BUT WE MUST ALSO EXPLORE THE POTENTIAL OF STRATEGIC DEFENSES TO STRENGTHEN DETERRENCE. OUR RESEARCH IN THIS FIELD IS VITAL TO THE LONG-TERM PROSPECTS FOR MAINTAINING THE PEACE. SOVIET WORK ON STRATEGIC DEFENSES HAS LONG BEEN GREATER THAN OUR OWN. THE SOVIETS WOULD GAIN FROM ENGAGING US ON HOW STRATEGIC DEFENSES -- IF THEY PROVE FEASIBLE -- MIGHT PLAY A GREATER ROLE IN THE FUTURE, TO OUR MUTUAL BENEFIT.

WE WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THE SOVIET UNION WANTS IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. FOR OUR PART, WE ARE TAKING STEPS THAT CAN LEAD TO THAT END. IN THE MONTHS AHEAD, AND AT THE MEETING OF PRESIDENT REAGAN AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV IN GENEVA THIS NOVEMBER, WE HOPE POLITICAL CONFIDENCE CAN BE DEVELOPED THAT WILL LEAD TO CONCRETE PROGRESS IN ALL AREAS -- ARMS CONTROL, REGIONAL AND BILATERAL ISSUES, AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

HUMAN RIGHTS IS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THIS PROCESS. WE ARE WILLING TO DISCUSS OUR HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS WITH THE SOVIETS

IN AN ATMOSPHERE FREE FROM RANCOR AND RECRIMINATION. IF THE NEW LEADERSHIP SHOWS THE FORESIGHT AND THE CONFIDENCE TO IMPROVE THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION, IMPORTANT POLITICAL CONFIDENCE CAN BE GENERATED. CERTAINLY, OUR WILLINGNESS TO IMPROVE TRADE AND OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WOULD BE ENHANCED. LET US HOPE THAT SOVIET LEADERS WILL TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS OPPORTUNITY. BOTH OUR PEOPLES AND PEOPLE EVERYWHERE WILL BENEFIT IF THEY DO.



Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Chairman, as you know, from my own personal experience as a member of this committee, I have followed the problems that have too long existed in the Soviet Union as they apply to the Soviet Jews.

Early on as a member of the committee—this was back in the early sixties—we had moments of hope that developments in the Soviet Union would, in fact, be positive and that the Soviets would start to provide for all their citizens the minimum human rights that we have long taken for granted in the free world. Of course, that hasn't happened.

Despite the euphoria at the time of the signing of the Helsinki accords, we look back and we find that Soviet policies have not met even minimum expectations for a signatory of the Helsinki accords, so I think it is most appropriate that you hold these hearings, and that you focus on the situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union.

The human rights movement that grew up in the U.S.S.R. in the early sixties and seventies has for practical purposes been destroyed by Soviet authorities. The religious and nationalistic persecution aimed at Jews, Christians, Muslims, and the individual nationality groups, the non-Russian nationality groups, has been intensified in recent years.

The Jews, who represent both a national as well as a religious group, have been singled out by Soviet authorities for a very special kind of repression. The record on that is quite clear. For example, Jews in the U.S.S.R. have been subjected to a pervasive anti-Semitism that has barred their ways into the best universities and the best jobs.

Anti-Semitism reached its height toward the end of Stalin's rule when Jews risked arrest, imprisonment, and often execution, simply because they were Jews. The position of Soviet Jewry improved somewhat after Stalin's death, perhaps in part motivated by Soviet interest in maintaining good relations with the then new State of Israel.

However, this period of better relations was brought to a halt after the Arab-Israeli War of 1967, the Six-Day War. The Soviet authorities for a variety of reasons adopted a vehemently pro-Arab, anti-Israeli Middle East policy, and began an official anti-Zionist campaign that was often blatantly anti-Semitic.

I might add, Mr. Chairman, in my years in Congress, as you recall, I was very active in the Interparliamentary Union which meets twice a year. It was always interesting to note the way the Soviets would, in effect, lead the verbal assault on the Israeli delegation. They also always did it using their phrase "anti-Zionism." In fact, every evil in the world, if you followed the Soviet spokesman, was Zionist. Through their anti-Zionist rhetoric, the Soviets hoped to keep the support of the more radical spokesmen in the Arab world. This practice was clear for all to see.

As you also know, Mr. Chairman, Soviet propaganda efforts have deliberately attempted to link zionism and facism, which is a historical impossibility. They have even gone so far as to accuse Jewish leaders of collaborating with the Nazis in sending Jews to their death in concentration camps.

This blatant kind of propaganda, which we never use, and which would be an insult to the intelligence of our citizenry, is something

that the Soviets have routinely used with their own citizens, a heavy-handed approach that is so typical of a dictatorial state.

Soviet authorities claim that their campaign is anti-Zionist rather than anti-Semitic. I leave it to you to decide if that is an accurate and fair description, but what they seem to be doing at the present time is aiming at eliminating the growing and deeply rooted Jewish religious and national consciousness, a trend that the Soviets clearly fear could spread to other nationalities and religious groups.

I might add that it has long been clear that a basic weakness of the Soviet Union, one which the Soviet authorities have feared, is the legitimate nationalism of the tens of millions of non-Russians whom they have held in bondage over the years.

One of the most dramatic areas of misuse of Soviet authority and abuse of human rights has been in the way that they have handled the issue of emigration. In 1979, Jewish emigration reached its high point, 51,320. Last year in 1984, it was down to 896. Two other groups of Soviet emigrants whom we watch closely are Germans, whose emigration reached a high in 1976 of 9,600 and last year was 913, and Armenians, whose emigration in 1980 reached 6,100. Last year 88 Soviet Armenians left.

Given the numbers who wish to emigrate, these numbers of actual emigrants are so low as to almost be meaningless. We expect the 1985 total to be as low as the 1984 total for Soviet Jews. Again, that number was 896. I might add that in our annual allocation of refugee numbers, we always anticipate an improved outflow from the U.S.S.R., so that we are prepared to handle it should we be called upon to do so. Realistically, however, we cannot see any improvement at least in 1985.

I should also make the point, Mr. Chairman, that our Government has consistently made clear its deep concern over the situation of Soviet Jewry both in bilateral meetings with Soviet authorities and international meetings such as the recent Ottawa human rights conference. This we will continue to do. It is my understanding that just this week President Reagan met with leaders of the American Jewish community and indicated to them that he would raise this issue in his meetings in early November in Geneva.

Again, we will raise every opportunity we have, both bilateral as well as international. I should add, Mr. Chairman, that in this effort we are very effectively joined by our Western European allies and other free world nations from time to time. We have been gratified to see that our interest in human rights in the Soviet Union, our emphasis on the abuses there, is accepted and supported by so many other governments which also wish to see the Helsinki accords lived up to.

With that, Mr. Chairman, I end my statement and will be pleased to answer any questions you and your colleagues may have.

[Mr. Derwinski's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, COUNSELOR OF THE STATE  
DEPARTMENT AND FORMER MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committees:

Thank you for giving me the opportunity to testify today on the situation of Jews in the Soviet Union.

Since the late 1970s there has been a clear deterioration in the human rights situation in the Soviet Union, whether one judges by the decline in emigration, the increase in political arrests, or the brutal treatment of prisoners. The human rights movement that grew up in the USSR during the 1960s and 1970s and was exemplified by the Helsinki monitoring groups has been effectively destroyed. The Soviets now direct most of their repressive efforts against religious and nationalist groups. Muslims, Christians, Jews, Ukrainians, Balts, and Crimean Tatars are among those groups who have especially suffered.

Jews, who represent both a national and religious group, have been singled out for a special kind of repression. On the one hand, they were permitted to emigrate in the 1970s in numbers that were unprecedented in Soviet history. On the

other hand, those whose applications to emigrate were rejected entered the limbo of refusenik status, losing their jobs and encountering persistent threats, harassment and sometimes even imprisonment.

Jews in the USSR have been subjected to a pervasive anti-Semitism that has barred their way into the best universities and the best jobs. Anti-Semitism reached its height toward the end of Stalin's rule, when Jews risked arrest, imprisonment, and often execution, simply because they were Jews. The position of Soviet Jewry improved somewhat in the aftermath of Stalin's death, perhaps caused in part by Soviet interest in relations with Israel. This period was brought to a halt by the Arab-Israeli Six Day War in 1967.

The War had a dual effect on Soviet Jewry. On the positive side, the Israeli victory stimulated cultural and religious awareness among Soviet Jews. On the negative side, it led Soviet authorities to adopt a vehemently pro-Arab, anti-Israeli middle East policy and marked the beginning of an official "anti-Zionist" campaign that was often blatantly anti-Semitic. The campaign was waged primarily through publications and periodicals. It reached a new pitch in early 1983 when the Soviets formed the official "Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public", which recently published a "White Book" contending that Soviet Jewish emigres are bitterly disappointed by the poverty, unemployment and anti-Semitism they find in

Israel and the West. Primarily through press conferences and public addresses, this committee attacks the Jewish emigration movement and individuals active in it. In the face of all evidence, they state that there are no Jews who wish to leave the Soviet Union. Even more outrageous are public Soviet efforts to link Zionism and fascism and accusations that Jewish leaders collaborated with the Nazis in sending Jews to their death in concentration camps.

Newspaper articles and television programs have branded Hebrew teachers and other Jewish cultural activists (often by name) as "Zionist" subversives. This use of the "Zionist" label trades on the fact that Soviet Jewish cultural activists desire to emigrate to their traditional homeland. Soviet authorities claim that their campaign is "anti-Zionist" rather than "anti-Semitic," but there is no doubt that this anti-Zionist campaign has the effect of reinforcing anti-Semitic attitudes already current among segments of the Soviet population. The campaign seems aimed at eliminating the growing Jewish religious and national consciousness, a trend that the Soviets clearly fear could spread to other national and religious groups.

Jews, Germans, and Armenians all emigrated in substantial numbers in the 1970s, although Jewish emigration was by far the largest. Since the late 1970s, however, there has been a dramatic across-the-board decline in emigration from the Soviet

Union. Most dramatic has been the cutback in Jewish emigration -- from 51,320 in 1979 to 896 in 1984. German emigration went from a high in 1976 of 9,626 to 913 last year, and Armenian emigration dropped from a high of 6,109 in 1980 to just 88 in 1984. Figures this year for monthly Armenian emigration have varied from 2 to 9, for monthly Jewish emigration from 29 to 174. Jewish emigration figures have fluctuated more this year than have figures for other groups, a fact that often leads to overblown hopes and expectations. In August, only 29 Jews departed the USSR for Vienna, and we expect the 1985 total to be at approximately the same low level as 1984.

Perhaps out of desperation at the failure of all their efforts to stamp out the burgeoning Jewish consciousness, in 1984 the Soviet authorities began an intensive crackdown on Hebrew teachers and other Jewish cultural activists. Since July of that year at least 16 activists, including nine Hebrew teachers, have been arrested. To date, 13 have been convicted, several on crudely trumped up criminal charges specifically designed to discredit them. Soviet authorities have planted drugs in the apartments of two of these men, a pistol and ammunition in the apartment of a third. Yet another was convicted for stealing books he had merely borrowed from a synagogue library. Three have been subjected to savage beatings following their arrests. In perhaps the most notorious episode of the crackdown, convicted Moscow Hebrew teacher Dan Shapiro was given a suspended sentence after

agreeing to publicly repudiate the Jewish cultural movement. Reportedly, he did so in the face of Soviet threats to charge him with treason and sentence him to death. In addition to the arrests and beatings, many Jews have been fired from their jobs and have had their apartments searched, their phones disconnected, their mail seized.

The U.S. Government has made clear its deep concern over the situation of Soviet Jewry both in bilateral meetings with Soviet authorities and in international fora such as the recent Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting and the Tenth Anniversary Celebration of the Helsinki Final Act. Whether or not the Gorbachev Government is willing to improve the Soviet record on human rights is an open question. We will be watching Soviet performance closely in the coming months to watch for signs of responsiveness to our concerns in this area. Up to this time, however, the deteriorating trend in Soviet human rights performance has continued under Gorbachev. We will continue to raise these issues with the Soviets. They understand that their human rights abuses are a serious obstacle to the improved relations with the Soviet Union that the United States seeks. We cannot and will not lessen our commitment to the defense of individual human rights, a commitment rooted deep in American tradition.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Counselor Derwinski, for your excellent statement. Your entire text will be printed in the record. Unfortunately, we have a vote on the floor. I would like to suggest a recess for approximately 10 minutes, and we will come right back and resume the hearing.

I hope the members are able to return.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Chat with Bob Michael before you vote so you are all right.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

[Recess.]

Mr. YATRON. The hearing will resume.

Again, we apologize, Mr. Derwinski, but please go ahead. What is the position of the administration with respect to Jackson-Vanik, and the extent to which there are any conceivable circumstances under which you would favor or consider some revision of that legislation?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Well, Mr. Chairman, no legislation is perfect but I think Jackson-Vanik has worked well. The Jackson-Vanik legislation has had the same laudable goal that this administration has, which is as free as possible emigration. The Jackson-Vanik has worked; I think it has been effective.

I think that before any changes were made in this area, we would want to look at this very closely with Congress. Jackson-Vanik originally was bipartisan. It has been an effective instrument for successive administrations, and we feel that it is consistent with our efforts to improve the human rights performance of Warsaw Pact countries.

Mr. YATRON. Would the administration insist that there be a substantial increase in the level of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union as a condition for M.F.N.?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Yes; but I don't think any precise numbers could be quoted because there are too many intangibles. As a matter of principle, however, yes, there would have to be a substantial increase in the flow of emigrants, that is the heart of the Jackson-Vanik amendment. As you know, Mr. Chairman, the Jackson-Vanik amendment, especially the annual M.F.N. review process, has been instrumental in our solving some of the problems that we have with Romania. We can point specifically to improvement in emigration procedures because of Romania's concern of being in violation of Jackson-Vanik and losing M.F.N. I think the same argument applies to M.F.N. for Hungary.

Mr. YATRON. In your opinion, should the United States take some action, whether legislative or administrative, to indicate our strong disapproval of human rights conditions in the Soviet Union, since what we are doing currently is not producing the desired results?

Mr. DERWINSKI. I think it would help, Mr. Chairman, if you would allow me to answer that question perhaps in a personal rather than official capacity.

Mr. YATRON. Sure. I wanted to commend you on the excellent job that you have done in representing the administration here today. Of course, having been a former Member of Congress, and a former member of this committee, we appreciate having your personal opinions on some of these issues as they are being raised.



Mr. DERWINSKI. The point I would like to make is that because I am a former member, and thus a little bit of the feistiness that you show rubbed off on me in my younger days, that sometimes when I answer questions like this I don't sound as diplomatic as a proper, prim, well-trained diplomat should.

I start with the basic premise that we should not have great expectations of what we are going to get from the Soviet Union in the human rights field. Basically, the Soviets fear that granting their populace broad rights, for example, such as under our Bill of Rights, anything that smacked of momentum toward free speech, freedom of expression, could see their whole system collapse. So suppression is unfortunately a part of their apparatus. I think, therefore, that we have to keep up the pressure, public pressure, such as is often generated on behalf of specific individuals, such as Sakharov and Shcharansky, to mention two special cases. In addition, however there is another means which sometimes produce results, that is quiet diplomacy.

I think we have to use both, but I think the Soviets are worried about world public opinion. They are more public relations conscious perhaps now than they have been in past years. At the same time, they are also very difficult to handle, and therefore, at times quiet diplomacy and the kind of contact that would prevent them from losing face is sometimes just as workable.

So, however you approach it, you have a challenge and a responsibility to try to advance human rights. Style or strategy would differ in different cases.

Mr. YATRON. What is the extent of the linkage by the United States of Soviet human rights violations to other political and economic questions? Just how central of an issue is human rights to Soviet-American dialogue? Can you give me some examples to support your position?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Well, there is a definite linkage. When dealing with the Soviets we have to look at the entire structure of their government and their society. I might add that one of the areas where we have had strong congressional support is, for example, in the funding that Congress has provided to improve the facilities of Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty. In this way we are reaching the people who otherwise aren't getting the truth. This is an example of a very positive long-range U.S. investment in reaching the people who otherwise are given a distorted picture.

That takes me back to the key question, which is, what expectations do you have of a society where a handful of people rule behind, in this case the Kremlin walls, where the democracy is a facade, and where there is no real freedom of religion, no freedom of speech, no freedom of movement within the country much less the freedom to emigrate from the country.

It is a different world, a different mindset. We appreciate efforts by individual Members of Congress, by private organizations and others, to help keep human rights improvements pressure on Soviet authorities. I see absolutely no conflict among the goals of many of the private religious and nationality groups, the goals of individual Members of Congress and the goals of the State Department and the administration.

Mr. YATRON. I was a part of a delegation this past January, led by Congressman Lantos and Congressman Gilman, to the Soviet Union. We are trying to do everything we can.

Mr. Smith, do you have questions?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. I thank you, Counselor, for coming and appearing before the committee. I commend you.

You made passing references to Romania and how Jackson-Vanik can be used to try to open up emigration from various countries to the United States, or other points west. I commend you for the memorandum of understanding that you worked out with the Romanians.

Having been there recently on a human rights mission, and knowing that you have cleared away many of the obstacles that Romanians might have faced once they applied, I thank you for that work.

In what way does the State Department make representations to the Soviet authorities on behalf of individual refuseniks and dissidents; how is that list put together; and how do you prioritize?

Mr. DERWINSKI. The list, of course, comes from all the information flowing in from private, as well as public sources. The list is kept up to date; the list is as thorough as we can possibly make it. The issue is raised at every opportunity, for example, Secretary Shultz raised it in his—I use the term farewell—meeting with Gromyko; he also raised it when he met the new Soviet foreign minister along with the other issues covered.

Every opportunity we have, we raise human rights. We encourage congressional delegations traveling to the Soviet Union to raise these issues, both in broad terms and in terms of any specific cases that are of special concern to them. Gosh knows there are enough individual cases.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Could you give us any indication of, say, the 896 Jews allowed out last year, how many of those were on lists that were presented?

In other words, are any of those that we do fight for, are they getting out?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Occasionally. It is my understanding that there is a shift from time to time in the types of individuals the Soviets permit to leave. There was a period where they would permit some celebrated refuseniks cases to migrate. Other times people who have applied for the first time to emigrate are suddenly issued their documentation and manage to leave the country.

But, as you say, we are dealing with only 896 people. Our expectations always are that there will be many more. Given the great number of Soviet Jews who would like to leave, 896 is a very small number.

I also must point out, as you well know, Soviet authorities sometimes claim that no more of their Jewish citizens wish to leave. Now that is nonsense. I am not sure what the numbers would be if the doors were just opened wide, but if there were free emigration, I bet you would have a substantial exodus of people.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Part of what I am seeking to discover is whether or not our efforts are yielding fruit in terms of lists presented, or are the Soviets looking to new applicants and allowing

them to emigrate, and thereby passing some of the older refuseniks?

Mr. DERWINSKI. I understand they tend often to bypass the older applicants. A pattern recently has been to grant approval for emigration to more recent applicants, and to keep the cases of older applicants basically frozen.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. As you know many Members of the House and Senate often offer and get passed various resolutions raising concerns about a particular refusenik. In the 97th Congress, I had a resolution on behalf of Yuli Koshrovsky, a refusenik of over a decade. It passed the House.

Could you tell the committee what happens once those resolutions are passed, how useful do you find them, because again I have a resolution pending on his behalf in this Congress to try to keep the pressure on for his emigration rights.

Mr. DERWINSKI. We are not sure often who is making what decisions and we don't know when dealing with such a closed society what the real motivation is. When the Soviets accuse the Israelis of Zionist undertakings, is that motivated because they are placating Qadhafi at the moment; or is that aimed at internal dissidents to try to silence them; or is it an excuse not to cooperate with us? All those motives may be there.

I would also add though that the Soviets do understand, those who are American experts do understand, the importance of the American Congress and they do understand the freedom of action, the freedom of speech, the leverage that the Congress has.

While they may not like the approach of individual Members of Congress to these issues, they know it is meaningful and it is also supported by American public opinion. So that kind of action is helpful. Your resolution and others like it are helpful.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. A few other questions, counselor. There has been some signals that the Israelis and the Soviets are seeking to forge a new relationship.

For example, there were some statements by Radio Moscow, and Peres, to the effect that they are not each other's enemy, there are some relatively high level talks occurring in third party countries.

Do you see any implications in the near future that this might yield some success in the area of Soviet Jewish emigration?

Mr. DERWINSKI. It is always possible, and of course that is to be hoped. I think—and of course please understand that I am not a spokesman for either the Soviet or Israeli foreign ministries—but I think that it would be practical should the Government of Israel reach at least a more diplomatic relationship with the Soviet Union, just as we hope to reach conditions allowing proper diplomatic relations with all countries.

Sometimes that isn't possible. In the Middle East, the Soviets have over the years instigated radical Arabs in their criticism and their attacks against Israel. I mentioned Colonel Qadhafi earlier, the Soviet relationship as an arms merchant to Qadhafi is clear to see and his role as a disruptive force is clear to see. Given those factors one never knows what Soviet priorities are. I personally have great doubts as to the Soviet's willingness to have a normalization of relations with Israel.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. How closely is the United States coordinating its efforts with its Western allies on this issue?

Mr. DERWINSKI. I think we do much better in coordinating our efforts in areas such as human rights than we sometimes do in defense policies. Our NATO allies are free governments, they are free societies. They have the same appreciation we do for human rights and for political freedoms, and they tend to be very supportive and very effective in working with us when Soviet human rights abuses are raised in international bodies.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Thank you.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

Counselor, I have one final question. Other members were unable to get back.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Fine.

Mr. YATRON. How do we expect the Soviets to comply with any agreement which may result from arms talks, in view of their blatant disregard for the Helsinki accords? Have the Soviets made a half-hearted attempt to comply with the provisions, especially those dealing with human rights in the accords?

Mr. DERWINSKI. I would like to remind you that our chief negotiator in Geneva is Max Kampelman who had the experience of chairing our delegation to the marathon CSCE session in Madrid. He knows the Soviets well; he knows the difficulty of reaching agreements with them.

I would also remind you that we have verification provisions written into law, that we insist that any agreements, in effect, be verifiable. I think it would be foolhardy of us to expect agreements to be carried out if we are not in a position to effectively verify them. We welcome the congressional oversight role in Geneva, and we welcome the interest of Congress in seeing to it that whether it be a human rights agreement, an arms control agreement, or a trade agreement, no matter what it be, that the agreement be lived up to by both sides.

We would live up to our side and would expect them to live up to their side of an agreement.

May I make a personal comment?

Mr. Smith is sitting behind the sign that says Mr. Gilman. Mr. Gilman is slightly senior to Mr. Smith, and I was wondering if this means that in Mr. Gilman's next campaign we will have Mr. Smith's picture?

Mr. YATRON. He is moving up closer to the chair here, and he has done a tremendous job.

Thank you for being here and giving us the benefit of your views.

We thank your colleagues for accompanying you.

Mr. DERWINSKI. Please express my personal regret to Mr. Solarz that he wasn't here to question me.

Mr. YATRON. I certainly will.

The hearing stands adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.  
[Whereupon, at 4:22 p.m., the hearing adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]