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NEWSBREAK**REFUSENIK UPDATE**

LEV SUD and YEVGENY GUREVICH (Moscow) were arrested July 14 on their way back from an international telephone call, detained for three hours at a police station, and searched. ...INNA BEGUN (Moscow) thanks all those who celebrated IOSIF's birthday. Although she has not been receiving mail she did listen to the "Voice of Israel" and other radio stations, which described the celebrations in honor of Iosif. ...ALEKSANDR YAKIR has returned to Moscow after completing a two year sentence for "evading conscription." ...Among those who participated in a recent science seminar at the Moscow home of IGOR USPENSKY were: EVGENY BERNSHTEIN, BORIS KONNIKOV, YAKOV ZAKUTA, IOSIF ZARETSKY, VALERY ABRAMOVICH and his wife ALLA. ...ALEKSANDR KHOLMIANSKY was married in Moscow July 13. ...EVGENY FINKELBERG (Moscow) has been granted permission to leave. ...SIMON SHNIRMAN (Kishinev), having served terms for "evading conscription" is harassed by the police to the point of cruelty. "They frighten the life out of us by knocking on the door late at night to make sure he's home," said Simon's wife, ELIZAVETA. "And they taunt him on the street, trying to provoke him so they can charge him again."

KGB TO LUDMILLA VOLVOVSKY: WATCH YOUR STEP

GORKI -- LUDMILLA VOLVOVSKY's vigorous campaigning for the release of her husband LEONID (NEWSBREAK, March 26) from a three-year sentence in an Eastern Siberian labor camp has gotten under the KGB's skin. The 41-year-old ex-computer scientist was officially warned that unless she found a job in 30 days she would be prosecuted as a "parasite." Four different employers accepted her for work but in each case as soon as the formalities were concluded she was mysteriously fired. She has appealed to the committee in charge of employment arrangements but has not received an answer.

REFUSENIK WRITES HEBREW TEXTBOOK

LENINGRAD -- LEONID ZELIGER, a 37 year-old refusenik, has written a 671-page Hebrew textbook that scholars are calling "an excellent and fundamental text which has been lacking in the Russian language." The manuscript, which was recently published in Israel, was brought there from the Soviet Union.

"MAY I SEE MY MOTHER AND DAUGHTER PLEASE"

KISHINEV -- After 10 years of hearing that his "security classification is still valid," ARON MUNBLIT, a 39-year-old engineer, wrote directly to Secretary Gorbachev with a special plea to see his mother, Raisa Gorenshtein, and his 12-year-old daughter, Lea, who left the Soviet Union with her own mother in 1980.

Aron asked to be allowed to see them "anywhere the authorities approve, East or West." He received a one-line answer: "Your security classification is still valid."

In a second letter, Aron pointed out that he merely wished to meet with his close kin. He was invited to the OVIR office here and was again told, "Your security classification is still valid." What was the reason for Aron's security classification? He served in the army as a private -- 14 years ago.

CORRECTION: NEWSBREAK, July 15, reported that MARGARITA and BORIS YELKIN and EVGENY LEIN were prevented by police from entering the American consulate in Leningrad to celebrate U.S. Independence Day. The three refuseniks actually got into the consulate and were harassed by the police as they left.

NEWSBREAK

JULY 29, 1986
NB 13-86

REFUSENIK APPEALS TO NANCY REAGAN

MOSCOW -- Desperate to break the invisible bonds which have kept her family from emigrating since 1979, NAINA KVARTIN dictated a letter by telephone to Mrs. Nancy Reagan on July 11, pleading for the American people "to help us raise our children in freedom and Jewish."

Naina and her husband David, both 30, are Orthodox Jews. A former engineer, Naina is a refusenik Hebrew teacher, while David, a former computer engineer, has taken a menial job in order to avoid working on Saturdays. Although neither has ever been involved in classified work, they were originally refused on the alleged grounds of "secrecy." Then in 1982, despite dropping the "secrecy" classification against them, the KGB told Naina, "We can't forbid you to apply to emigrate, but we certainly will not let you out."

"The reason declared to us is almost absurd," Naina wrote Mrs. Reagan. "The invitation from Israel sent to us is from my uncle. But the opinion of an anonymous politician is that this relative is not close enough. I just cannot comprehend the political situation which seals our fate."

POC WIVES ASK FOR REVERSAL OF MAGARIK'S SENTENCE

TBILISI -- Four wives of POCs and two ex-prisoners were among the 28 signatories to a letter of protest to the Procurator of the Georgian SSR, asking to have ALEKSEY MAGARIK's sentence quashed. INNA BEGUN, TANYA EDELSHTEIN, LUDMILLA VOLVOVSKY, TATIANA ZUNSHAIN, BORIS CHERNOBILSKY and VLADIMIR KISLIK wrote, "We are convinced that Magarik has had nothing whatsoever to do with drugs. The whole course of the trial demonstrated this in an unequivocal manner."

Soviet authorities are not unmindful of the effect of Aleksey's sentence on the refusenik community and in the West. Trud, the national trade union paper, denied "Western" claims that Aleksey had been victimized for teaching Hebrew, insisting in the July 8 edition that he was a "common criminal." Zaria Vostoks, the Georgian daily, also reported the case. That such a minor case (for Soviet authorities) should be given national coverage has confirmed the belief of many refuseniks that Aleksey's arrest, the court proceedings, and the verdict were all political.

SCHARANSKY: SOVIETS BROKE PROMISE!

JERUSALEM -- NATAN SCHARANSKY has disclosed that the Soviets promised in writing to grant exit visas to his mother, IDA MILGROM, his brother, LEONID, Leonid's wife, IRAIDA, and their children. The formal promise was made when he was freed last February. "They could play games with me," Natan said. "I had many years ahead of me. But my mother is 77. She has suffered very much, and now every month is important. Nobody can say how much longer she has."

There were signs that Soviet authorities were denying exit visas to Ida and Leonid because of Natan's public support for IOSIF BEGUN and other Prisoners of Zion. But Natan has made it clear that he will not diminish his activities on behalf of Soviet Jewry.

Rabbi: Russians lack info about peace negotiations

By BETSY LILEY
Editor in Chief

Refusnik Irina McClellan did not know anything about the meeting between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan when the Committee on Human Rights in the Soviet Union made a telephone call to her Sunday, according to Rabbi Gedalyah Engel.

Engel said Sunday, "This would indicate that they are not giving their people information about the peace process."

Irina, who has not been allowed to leave the Soviet Union to join her husband Woodford McClellan in Virginia since the couple was married in 1974, said Sunday from Moscow, "Things are difficult," but hesitated in going any further.

"We've never heard Irina sound so discouraged or despondent actually," he said.

Engel said a letter addressed to Gorbachev and read by 11-year old Reah Washburn was blocked by the Soviet government. The letter talked about the separation between Irina and her husband for as many years as Reah has been alive.

The committee joined Woodford and Sen. Dan Quayle, R-Ind., in a conference call to Moscow. The group spoke for about 15 minutes, Engel said.

Quayle accepted 5,000 signatures the committee had collected during the last week under the mural. Engel said the group owed the members of Alpha Phi Omega service fraternity a lot for manning the tables under the mural in Stewart Center.

Engel said 16 families are being held as political prisoners, or refusniks, in the Soviet Union. Along with the McClellans, the local committee also sponsors two other families.

A petition signed by the American spouses of those being held in the U.S.S.R. is being circulated around the U.S. Senate and House. Engel said with the summit approaching, the group is hopeful the refusnik families may get out. President Reagan's comments on the treatment of Soviet citizens is also a good sign.



National Conference on Soviet Jewry

Chairman
Morris B. Abram

Executive Director
Jerry Goodman

Washington Representative
William D. Keyserling

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

10:30 am
Friday April 11, 1986

TO: Mr. Max Green
Special Assistant to the President

FROM: William Keyserling
Director, NCSJ Washington

RE: The enclosed memo

At the request of Morris B. Abram, Chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, and in cooperation with Ken Bialkin, Gilbert Glazer (from Los Angeles) met with Ambassador Dobrynin before the Ambassador left Washington to return to Moscow.

I am enclosing, for your information, the confidential notes from the Glazer-Dobrynin meeting.

Mr. Abram tells me that Mr. Glazer will deliver an appropriate letter to Mr. Dobrynin, based on these notes, before the Ambassador leaves for the Soviet Union today.

When Mr. Abram has a copy of Mr. Glazer's letter, he will share it with you.

Please feel free to contact Mr. Abram at (212) 644-8654 or me (202) 265-8114 should you have any questions.

We will keep you posted on any developments.

CC: Mr. Donald Regan
Admiral John Poindexter
Ambassador Rozanne Ridgway
Ambassador Jack Matlock
Mr. Mark Palmer

A coalition of forty four major national organizations and nearly three hundred local community councils and federations

National Office: 10 East 40th Street, Suite 907, New York, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 679-6122/Cable Address: AMCONSOV, N.Y. • Telex: 237311 NCSJ
Washington Office: 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 265-8114



Preservation Copy

October 15, 1985

Dear Mr. Stembridge:

Thank you for your request which has been forwarded to me by Agnes Waldron.

We appreciate your letting us know of your interest in having the President meet with you to brief him on your mission. Unfortunately, I regret to write that his schedule is so heavy that he will be unable to honor your request. However, he asked me to convey to you his appreciation for your kindness in writing.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.
Director, Presidential
Appointments and Scheduling

Mr. John Stembridge
John Stembridge Ministries
545 Northeast 125th Street
North Miami, FL 33161

FJR/DF:vml 10FJR
cc: Agnes Waldron - Eyi

Max:

Carolyn said not to get
any Presidential messages for
this type of event

OK - fib

Petition Community asks release of 3 refusniks

By John Norberg
Journal and Courier

Petitions urging the release of three refusniks from the Soviet Union will be collected Sunday for presentation to U.S. officials.

The West Lafayette-based Committee On Human Rights In The Soviet Union is sponsoring a Human Rights Week, asking people to sign petitions for the release of Irina McClellan, Alexander Ioffi and Vladimir Prestin from Russia.

The petitions eventually will be presented to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C.

The official closing of the Human Rights Week will be Sunday at the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, 912 W. State St., West Lafayette.

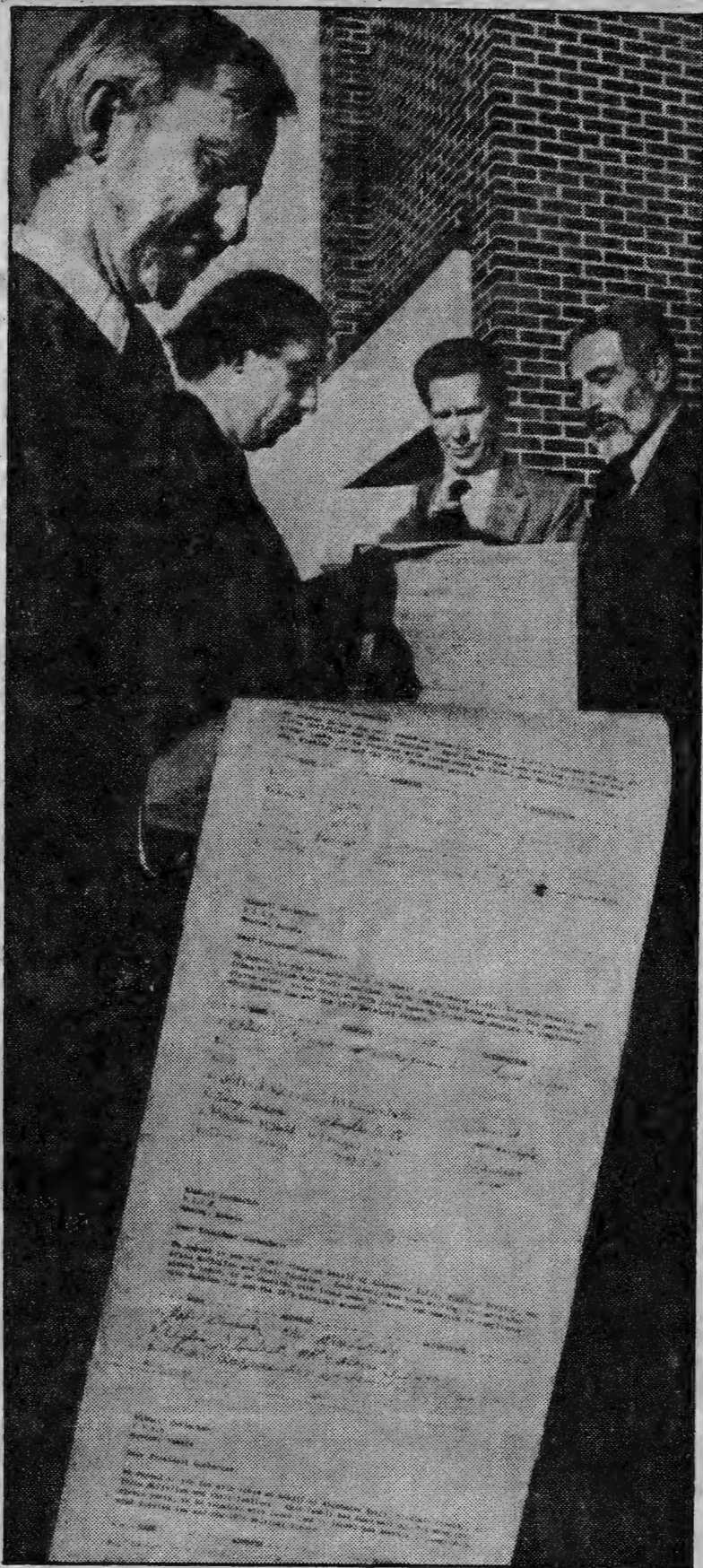
The noon meeting will feature a telephone call to McClellan. Joining in the conversation will be her husband, from his home in Virginia, and U.S. Sen. Dan Quayle, R-Ind., from his home in Washington, D.C.

Beth Winebrenner, the chairman of the committee, said all three refusnik families sounded depressed in phone calls last Sunday.

Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev "has been saying that all who want to leave can do so," she said. "We hope to remind Gorbachev that in the interest of world peace he should allow our three families to be reunited with their loved ones."

Among those who plan to attend the meeting Sunday is Leah Wasburn, 11, of West Lafayette. Gorbachev's office has acknowledged receiving a letter from Leah, but he has not responded to it.

In the letter, Leah said Irina McClellan and her husband have "been separated for 11 years, as long as I have been alive. It makes me sad to think about the loneliness they must feel. I know that if you knew about this, you wouldn't let something terrible like this happen in your country."



By Greg Jenson

LONG PETITION: Professor Louis Balazs, Paul Shireman from St. Thomas Aquinas Center, the Rev. Charles E. Hackett from First Assembly of God Church, and Rabbi Gedalyah Engel from Hillel Foundation, (left to right) held the 25-foot petition circulated at First Assembly asking the Soviet Union to release three refusniks.

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JEW HAVE ALWAYS RECEIVED SPECIAL TREATMENT IN THE SOVIET UNION.



YURI TARNOPOLSKY—Arrested March 15, 1983 for "defamation of the Soviet state and social system" and sentenced to 3 years in a labor camp.

ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY—Arrested March 15, 1977 for "treason" and "espionage" and sentenced to 13 years, 3 years imprisonment followed by 10 years special regime labor camp.

ALEKSANDR KHOLMIANSKY—Arrested on July 25, 1984 for "hooliganism," then sentenced to 1½ years of imprisonment for "illegal possession of arms."

IOSIF BEGUN—Arrested March 3, 1977 for "parasitism" sentenced to 2 years internal exile, on May 17, 1978 for "internal passport violations" sentenced to 3 years internal exile, on November 6, 1982 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" sentenced to 12 years; 7 imprisonment, 5 internal exile.

ZAKHAR ZUNSHAIN—Arrested March 4, 1984 for "hooliganism" and "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Sentenced to 3 years imprisonment.

IOSIF BERENSHTEIN—Arrested November 14, 1984 for "violently resisting the authorities" and sentenced to 4 years in a labor camp.



ROALD ZELICHONOK—Arrested June 11, 1985 for "defamation of the Soviet state" and sentenced to 3 years in a labor camp.

ALEKSANDR YAKIR—Arrested June 14, 1984 for "draft evasion," and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment.

YAKOV LEVIN—Arrested August 10, 1984 for "defamation of Soviet state," and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment.

NADEZHDA FRADKOVA—Arrested November, 1984 for "parasitism" and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment.

SIMON SHNIRMAN—Arrested January 12, 1983 for "draft evasion," and sentenced to 3 years in a labor camp.

YULI EDELSHTEIN—Arrested September 4, 1984 for "drug possession" and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment.

Historically, there's always been a place for Jews in the Soviet Union. In prisons, labor camps and exile.

Today, despite great changes in the Soviet Government, very little has changed for the Soviet Jew.

Jewish homes are routinely ransacked by Soviet Authorities. Jews are sent to prison on trumped-up charges. And while emigration has dwindled to a trickle, many of those still bold enough to apply for exit visas are arrested by the KGB and shipped off to labor camps.

Despite international agreements freely entered into by the Soviets, which guarantee basic human rights,

the rights of Jews in the Soviet Union are frequently and flagrantly violated.

Are we to believe the current Soviet regime is committed to world peace when it shows such blatant disregard for human rights?

Today, as President Reagan meets with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, we call on the Soviet Union to honour its pledge to end the persecution of two and a half million Soviet Jews.

If the Soviet Union wants credibility at the bargaining table, let them earn it.

Sponsored by the Coalition to Free Soviet Jews*

Representing 85 concerned organizations in New York City, Long Island, Westchester, Rockland and Bergen Counties.

Coalition to Free Soviet Jews, 8 W. 40th St., NY, NY 10018, (212) 354-1316.

* Formerly the Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry

Preservation Copy

Committee petitions for freedom of Russian Refusniks



By SUSAN MIRDA
Staff Writer

The Committee on Human Rights in the Soviet Union has designated Friday, Oct. 11, through Friday, Oct. 18 as Human Rights Week, according to Rabbi Gedalyah Engel, spokesman for the group.

Petitions for the freedom of three refusnik families from the Soviet Union will be circulated throughout the greater Lafayette area during the next week, he says.

Engel, also director of the Hillel Foundation, says the petitions will be presented to congressional representatives on Sunday at the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, 912 W. State St.

The committee has tried to help these families leave the U.S.S.R. for more than 11 years. Engel says the refusniks have been denied visas on the grounds that they know state secrets.

Engel says the refusniks include: Irina McClellan and her daughter Lena who have been refused permis-

sion to leave since 1974. Her only contact with her husband Woodford McClellan, a professor at the University of Virginia, since August 1974 has been on the phone. The committee is petitioning on the McClellan's behalf for the 10th time.

Two more families were added to the petition drive in 1978. Alexander Ioffi, a mathematician, who is aggravated to see his son rejected from major Soviet universities because he is Jewish. Vladimir Prestin, who quit his job as a computer engineer in 1968 and has consistently been denied visas because the government fears he will give away secrets.

Engel says the three families are waiting to be reunited with loved ones in Israel and America.

Father Richard Weisenberger of St. Thomas Aquinas Center, 535 W. State St., says the committee hopes and believes the petitions will protect the families by drawing attention to them. The Soviet government cannot hurt them without being noticed.

Beth Winebrenner, chairperson of the committee, says shortrun effects of the petitions will be to protect the families. Longrun effects could include exit visas when relations between countries improve. People in the public eye will be among the first given permission to leave.

Weisenberger and Winebrenner have visited the families in the Soviet Union and Weisenberger says he believes that committee efforts do make a difference to these people.

The presentation of petitions on Sunday will be followed by discussions on Star Wars, Arms Control, and Human Rights, according to Engel. The Helinsky Accord which was signed by the U.S.S.R. in 1975 and guarantees family reunification will also be discussed.

Petitions may be signed under the mural in Stewart Center Monday through Friday from 9:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. Engel says petitions are also available at houses of worship and religious foundations around campus.



THE McCLELLANS: Woodford and Irina have been separated since 1974.

Refusnik tells callers summit's news to her

By Dean Olsen

Journal and Courier

A woman repeatedly denied permission to leaving the Soviet Union indicated to a group in West Lafayette Sunday that she didn't know much about President Reagan's November summit with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

A rabbi working with others to reunite Irina McClellan with her husband in the United States said McClellan's telephone conversation indicates that most Soviet citizens know little or nothing about the summit.

"I'm delighted she had the guts to say it," Rabbi Gedalyah Engel said. He is a spokesman for the West Lafayette-based Committee on Human Rights in the Soviet Union.

Engel and about 15 people gathered at the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation took part in a conference call between McClellan, a Soviet refusnik living in Moscow; her husband, Woodford McClellan, a professor at the University of Virginia; and Sen. Dan Quayle, R-Ind.

The gathering culminated Human Rights Week, during which 4,500 signatures were collected in Greater Lafayette asking Gorbachev for the release of McClellan and two other refusnik families.

"We are extremely concerned about your condition," Quayle told McClellan. "The sun will shine someday. It may not be shining today, but it will shine someday."

Quayle told McClellan that many lawmakers in Washington

are concerned about the plight of refusniks and that Reagan will discuss human rights with Gorbachev when the two meet in Geneva.

McClellan then asked Quayle, "When is the summit meeting?"

It will be Nov. 19 and 20.

Engel said Reagan should demand that information about the summit be shared with the Soviet people. He and Quayle said the meeting apparently isn't being publicized in Soviet Union.

McClellan, who Engel said is in her mid-40s and doesn't have a steady job, has been separated from her husband since August 1974. When Woodford McClellan left the country, he was told Irina would be allowed to follow.

Since then, he has not been allowed back in the Soviet Union; Irina and her daughter, Lena, in her mid-20s, have not been allowed out.

When asked about her treatment in the Soviet Union, McClellan said, "There are a lot of problems. I'm doing my best to survive."

"There is no news at all. Everything is as usual."

Engel said McClellan was tentative in speaking because she knew that the conversation probably was being monitored by Soviet authorities.

Engel said the committee on human rights has been pushing for McClellan's release since 1977. The group has worked for the release of Alexander Ioffi and Vladimir Prestin and their families since 1979.

The petition signatures will be given to U.S. Rep. John Myers, R-Ind., and then forwarded to the Soviet Union.

ALERT

INFORMATION FROM THE
UNION OF COUNCILS FOR SOVIET JEWS
1411 K Street, NW
Suite 402
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 393-4117



The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews is a Washington-based, independent organization dedicated to the freedom of emigration and human rights for all Soviet Jews.

Vol. XII No. 4

April 30, 1986

Token Emigration Obscures Continuing Harassment/Arrests

In spite of a number of well-known refuseniks having received exit visas during the past few months, there is no indication of any improvement in the situation of those refuseniks and POC's who remain in the USSR. Emigration numbers remain low, and harassment and arrests continue with no sign of abatement.

The first of the three arrests since the Summit was based on charges of anti-Soviet slander. Vladimir Lifshitz, a well-known Leningrad refusenik, had his International letters intercepted and confiscated and used as evidence against him at his trial. Found guilty by the court, he has begun to serve a three-year sentence. Lifshitz' arrest follows months of threats and harassment, and in many ways parallels the arrest of fellow Leningrad refusenik, Alec Zelichenok last June. In both cases, the charges were clearly meant to intimidate Soviet Jews who engage in international correspondence, and both cases unequivocally exposed the Soviet authorities' violation of international postal agreements.

For the two refuseniks arrested subsequently, it appears that they were tar-

(Continued on page 3)



U.S. Ambassador to Israel Thomas R. Pickering addressing attendees of the UCSJ Annual Conference in Israel. Other panelists are (L. to r.) Mirlam Glazer, Ta'asa Chairperson of Aliyah and Klita Committee; Uzi Landau, Chairman, Subcommittee on Soviet Jewry of the Aliyah and Klita Committee; and Lynn Singer, UCSJ Advisory Board Chairperson.

UCSJ Holds Soviet Jewry Conference in Israel

The combination of Soviet Jewry activists, former refuseniks, and Israeli government officials made for a colorful atmosphere at UCSJ's annual March conference in Jerusalem. Speakers at the Conference included David Bar-Tov, advisor to the Prime Minister on Soviet Jewry; Thomas R. Pickering, U.S. Ambassador to Israel; Yosef Mendelevich, former POC and current chair of the Soviet Jewry Education and Information Center; Yakov Gorodetsky, a recent emigrant; Uzi Landau, Chairman, Subcommittee

on Soviet Jewry of Aliyah and Klita Committee of the Knesset; Lev Utevsky, former refusenik and Avram Burg, Advisor to the Prime Minister on Diaspora Affairs.

In addition, Michael Sherbourne, a long-time London Soviet Jewry activist, attended and delivered a message of support from Oxford historian and author Martin Gilbert. Avital Scharansky addressed the group as well, explaining that Anatoly was not feeling well enough

(Continued on page 6)

Rabbis Allied on Issue of Soviet Jewry: 21 Arrested at Embassy

Rabbinic leaders of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform branches of Judaism united to participate in a joint protest at the Soviet Embassy in Washington. Twenty-one of the forty rabbis deliberately broke a District of Columbia law which prohibits demonstrators from approaching within 500 feet of a foreign embassy. The group engaged in this form of civil disobedience to send a clear signal to the Soviets and the U.S. administration that these rabbis, as

(Continued on page 7)



In front of the Soviet embassy, the rabbis form a circle and, placing hands on each other's shoulders, begin to dance a spirited hora (traditional Jewish dance).

NEWSBRIEFS

POC VLADIMIR LIFSHITZ of Leningrad, sentenced on March 19 to three years on false charges of anti-Soviet slander, is planning to appeal the conviction. Meanwhile Anna Lifshitz' phone was disconnected and authorities are conducting an investigation with plans to prosecute Semyon Borovinsky for his refusal to testify at Lifshitz' trial.

POC ROALD ZELICHENOK of Leningrad has once more been hospitalized in the labor camp. He was exempted from work because of his dangerously high blood pressure. His wife, Galina, was able to visit him and credits messages of concern from the West for the relative improvement in his treatment. Zelichenok is supposed to be transferred to a different camp once his health improves.

ANDREI SAKHAROV will mark his 65th birthday on May 21, far removed from friends and scientific colleagues. Sakharov has now spent over six years in Gorky, where he was exiled for his activities in support of peace and human rights. His numerous protests and hunger strikes finally resulted in his wife, Yelena Bonner, being allowed to travel to the West for medical treatment. He, however, remains isolated and under constant surveillance.

POC VLADIMIR BRODSKY of Moscow was not allowed to get the medication brought to him by his wife, Dina Zisserman, nor is he receiving the books she sends him. She rarely receives letters from him.

POC YURI TARNOPOLSKY was released from labor camp in March and returned to Kharkov after serving a three-year sentence. He stated that his desire to emigrate from the Soviet Union with his family to freedom remains his only goal.

Tarnopolsky was warned by the militia that if he doesn't find work he will be rearrested. Also, his health has suffered greatly as a result of his imprisonment, but he cannot get medical care because he has not yet received registration papers for Kharkov. He has already applied for his exit visa.

BORIS CHERNOBILSKY, an ex-Prisoner of Conscience, was recently visited by the KGB, who warned him that because he had refused to register his baby boy, Iosif, he could face more trouble. They threatened to take away his propiska (residency permit) for Moscow. Boris, who, like many other refuseniks, now holds Israeli citizenship, regards Iosif as Israeli and, therefore, not a subject of the Soviet State.

An official Soviet film was made at the **LENINGRAD** synagogue during the Purim holidays. The finest Soviet equipment and technology was used to photograph many people inside the synagogue. Leningrad activists speculate this film will be shown on American television in a new propaganda ploy to "document" the existence of religious freedom for Jews in the Soviet Union.

(Continued on page 6)



Boris Chernobilsky



Yuri Tarnopolsky



Andrei Sakharov in a photo several years old. Authorities have prohibited Sakharov from having a phone in his Gorky apartment.

Alfred Friendly Jr.

What the Silence Says

The president should open the door to Yelena Bonner.

Somewhere in the White House, someone should be drafting a letter like this:

Dear Mr. Shcharansky,

Thank you very much for letting me know about your plans to visit the United States this year. The American people look forward to meeting you and to honoring you both for your own struggle to attain freedom and for the fight you waged on behalf of so many others in the Soviet Union who are denied their human rights.

While I would like to join in that well-deserved tribute, I regret that I will be unable to receive you at the White House. As I am preparing to meet this year with General Secretary Gorbachev, I have decided to limit my public contacts with Soviets and former Soviets to official callers with whom I can productively pursue my ceaseless but necessarily confidential efforts to liberate others from the bonds of imperial evil.

It would not help that noble cause for me to be too demonstrative about individual cases. For that reason I recently decided not to meet with Andrei Sakharov's wife when she came to Washington. Until her husband and all the freedom fighters like him in the Soviet Union have gained their liberty, it is best that American presidents not prejudice their struggle by publicizing it too much.

Please give my very best regards to Avital. I will never forget talking with her about you while you were still a captive of the Communists.

Sincerely,
Ronald Reagan

Such a letter would let Anatoly Shcharansky know that times have changed and, with them, the president's views on how best to wage the campaign for freedom, at least the skirmishing with the Soviet Union. According to an unnamed White House official, confirming to a Washington Post reporter that Oval Office doors were closed to Yelena Bonner, Reagan "doesn't want to do anything to lessen the chances of others being released. He's told a lot of people that he doesn't want to rock the boat."

That's a misjudgment call. It is not only inconsistent with candidate Reagan's scolding of President Ford in 1976 for not receiving exiled Soviet author Alexander Solzhenitsyn; it is also a reversal of the hospitality President Reagan extended to eight Soviet human rights activists at a May 11, 1982, luncheon in the Family Dining Room and, more recently, to Avital Shcharansky in the Oval Office.

Times and tactics do change. What remains constant is the dependence of dissenters in closed societies on public opinion in the Western democracies and on public support from Western leaders.

Whether in Seoul or Santiago, Managua or Moscow, it is oppression that flourishes in secret. Those who champion human rights only advance their cause in the open.

Andrei Sakharov has spent 18 years arguing this point. He used his voice—and the amplification of it through the Western press—to reach around the Soviet leadership back to the Soviet people.

An exile in Gorky since January 1980, he has been nearly incommunicado. The cause of toler-

ance, conscience and common decency for which he sought *glasnost*—a word that means publicity and open debate combined—has suffered bitterly from his enforced silence.

It is a hopeless cause, but our own. Soviets who enlist under the human rights standard do so to affirm an inner freedom, not to lead a popular uprising. But the Kremlin, true to Russian tradition and Communist obsession, can see nonconformism only as heresy, alienation only as conspiracy. And "internal émigrés" who elicit Western sympathies automatically become traitors.

Yet celebrity—their access to public opinion abroad, if not at home—has saved many from death, some from imprisonment. At the price of exile to the West, about a dozen, of whom Tolya



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Shcharansky is only the latest, have even gone directly from prison camp to freedom.

This and other instances of success do not prove that the Soviets will yield their hostages under relentless Western pressure. But they do prove that the Soviets yield *only* under such pressure and in cases where yielding may serve other purposes.

We cannot know when that combination of circumstances may liberate Andrei Sakharov from close confinement and ghastly harassment. We cannot know whether Soviet authorities would let him live in the West or in his wife's Moscow apartment or in his own suburban dacha.

What we do know is that silence here leaves him and others utterly at the mercy of their captors. For Sakharov's voice to go unheard is a loss to his own country, to science and to the international community that values human rights. For America's voice to be muted is a loss to our nation's highest values and to our hopes of spreading them.

The president can give voice to those values better and louder than any of us, even when he speaks only in gestures of official hospitality. He should open his office door to Andrei Sakharov's wife as he did to Anatoly Shcharansky's. One day, he might see their husbands come through it together.

The writer, a former Moscow correspondent, served on the National Security Council staff in 1980.

(He was also deputy staff director of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe from its inception in 1976 through 1978.)

March 26, 1986

The Washington Post

Arrests (Continued from page 1)

ged as part of the continuing campaign against Hebrew teachers. The first was Betzalel Shalolashvili of Tblisi in the Georgian Republic. He was arrested on March 13 on charges of military draft evasion. Shalolashvili is 21 years old and was a student at the Institute of Agriculture before applying to emigrate.

On March 14, Alexey Magarik, 28, of Moscow, was arrested while he was at the Tblisi airport. One of the bags he was carrying was taken away from him by the authorities — and upon receiving it back, it was searched and hashish was found inside. Magarik was arrested and charged with possession and distribution of drugs. Later, a blood test revealed no drugs in his system, and the charge was changed to possession only. His and his mother's apartments in Moscow were searched. Alexey and his wife, Natasha, are leading Hebrew teachers in Moscow and active members of the refusenik community.

A comparable case in which drugs were planted and later "discovered" by authorities to be in the possession of a refusenik occurred in September 1984 to Moscow refusenik and Hebrew teacher Yuli Edelshtein. Edelshtein is currently serving a three-year sentence in labor camp.

UCSJ ANNUAL MEETING

Sept. 28 - 30

1986

Washington, DC

Helsinki Process, round two

MICHAEL
NOVAK

Beginning April 15, the nations of Europe (East and West) with Canada and the United States will send representatives to meet for six weeks in Bern, Switzerland, for the next round of the "Helsinki Process" discussions on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The subject in Bern will be "Human Contacts" — family reunification and visitation, the right to travel freely, cultural and athletic and professional contacts, the rights of religious institutions and associations, and the like.

President Reagan has asked me to head the U.S. delegation and, accordingly, I have traveled in recent weeks to visit European capitals, including Moscow, for advance consultations.

While in Moscow, I met with the "divided spouses" — men and women unable for years to join their husbands or wives in the United States. They are uncommonly beautiful and courageous persons.

They have taken much hope recently from the promise of President Reagan and Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev that there will be a new "spirit of cooperation on humanitarian affairs." Just three weeks ago, at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party U.S.S.R., the secretary general spoke anew of this "spirit of cooperation." The divided spouses — and millions of others — await eagerly the new actions that will give this spirit concrete reality.

Like Mr. Gorbachev, my counterpart in the Soviet delegation, Yuriy Kashlev, is in his early 50s. This generation will be responsible for "human contacts" from now through the end of this century, for the next 15 years or so. In what ways will the flow of "human contacts" between East and West be better in the year 2000 than they are today? If this generation begins in a new spirit, backed up by new deeds, much is possible.

About one in 10 Americans has roots in the nations of the Warsaw Pact. So when citizens of the United States show concern for human contacts among the peoples within their lands of origin, it is not just a matter of politics. It is a family matter. For millions of Americans, the territories of the Soviet Union and other Central or Eastern European lands are their ancestral *rodina*, or homelands. When Mr. Gorbachev visits the United States in 1986, he will find millions of his "countrymen" here.

Yet life is unfair to such Americans today. Unlike their fellow citizens with roots in Italy, or France, or Africa, or Asia, they alone

cannot freely visit their families in their places of origin, or have these families freely come and visit them. This seems so unnecessary. Why among all the places on the globe is there an "iron curtain" only here? It does not have to be.

Often in the past, Soviet delegations have pointed out that there are "differences" between our systems. But *why* are there such differences? It is not enough to assert that differences exist. Reasons must also be given.

These reasons cannot be located merely in ideology. One can read the texts of Marx and Lenin in three or four different ways, and apply them to the field of "human contacts" in a way far different from the way the U.S.S.R. does today. If a leader of the U.S.S.R. wanted to decree different policies for human contacts than those now in force, he could find many texts in Marx to support such changes.

So the real reasons must lie elsewhere. Perhaps they lie in the Soviets' perception of techniques they must use in order to govern. Whatever their reasons, it is important soon to make them understandable to the world at large.

Surely, the laws of every nation are different. But the rule of law requires that the law be clearly known to all, and that the reasons for it also be clearly known. Sound law is founded in human reason, and is properly changed as reason discovers better ways to meet reason's own purposes. Thus does law progress in history.

If we are to keep our eyes fixed on how the situation of human contacts can be better in this world 15 years from now than today, we must try incessantly to bring it into the full light of clear and reasonable law.

All the participants at Bern will hope that the new "spirit of cooperation in humanitarian affairs," including human contacts, leads to new action on individual cases now causing personal anguish, and to new procedures for making the handling of general classes of such cases more lightsome, easy, regular, and routine.

Imagine the possibility that by the year 2000 the symbol of disrupted human contacts, the "Berlin Wall" that now extends like the Great Wall of China through the heart of Europe, were to come down. Imagine that human contacts were to flow more freely, as they do among all the other civilized parts of the globe. What a transformation of human contacts that would portend! That is an object worthy of the striving of the new generation of leaders now in

their 50s.

The people of the United States are drawn from everywhere on this planet. A sizable minority — more than 20 million — has the closest possible ties with the U.S.S.R. and the other nations of Eastern Europe. These are ties of roots and origins, of culture and of families. These are ties of history and affection. It is so sad to see them so needlessly disrupted, disjointed, and irregular, as they are at present.

The peoples of the United States are also a biblical people. Every chapter in the Bible is about individual persons and their free acts of will. In one chapter King David is loyal to his Lord, in another unfaithful. So much hinges on individual will. That is why individuals are of such importance to the peoples of the Bible. It is not states alone that draw their love and attention, but the fate of every single individual person.

To their credit, the U.S.S.R. and its allies are signatories to the Helsinki Accords and the agreements reached later in Madrid. These agreements brilliantly defend the rights of individuals. There is already, then, a great deal in the "common law" of European nations, duly ratified. The question, alas, is still open about how well these agreements are to be kept. Here is where great changes may yet come — must come.

Europe is a great single civilization, nourished by the spiritual roots of Judaism and Christianity, in both Eastern and Western branches. The security of Europe rests on the degree of cooperation among its peoples, and upon the freedom and ease of its human contacts among the families, individuals, and associations that make up these peoples.

Bern could be a turning point in global relations. Modest though its efforts be, it could be like that small portion of a panoramic battlefield, as described in Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, on which the whole tide of battle turned.

When I pointed this out recently in Moscow, my Soviet counterpart replied that the very building we were meeting in was described by Tolstoy in that novel. "Perhaps I felt his spirit in the walls," I replied.

Bern is a good place to put the new "spirit of cooperation" into deeds.

Michael Novak is a nationally syndicated columnist and a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

Reprinted from *The Washington Times*, March 21, 1986.

Action **ALERT**

From Local Councils

Soviet Jewry Week Observed in Tennessee

• With the support of the **Knoxville-Oak Ridge Council for Soviet Jews**, the University of Tennessee Hillel foundation observed Soviet Jewry Week in February. The week's events and activities included an information booth at the student center and a Soviet Jewry rally led by Rabbi Mark Greenspan. The UT campus paper featured a front page story on the Soviet Jewry activities.

Member Councils Protest Treatment of POC

Throughout March, member councils mounted a major campaign in support of POC Zachar Zunshain. The activities and events were timed to coincide with Tatiana Zunshain's ongoing protests aimed at her husband's inhumane treatment in the prison camp.

• **Chicago Action for Soviet Jewry** members, in solidarity with Tatiana Zunshain, held a one-day hunger strike on March 6. The hunger strikers phoned the Mayor of Riga, the prison camp in Irkutsk, Siberia, and the General Procurator in Moscow to advise them of the deep and continuing concern of Americans regarding Zunshain's situation.

• **The Washington Committee for Soviet Jewry**, along with a number of other member councils, has mounted a campaign to send bars of soap to Zachar Zunshain. During a March 13 visit to her husband, Tatiana learned that Zunshain's cellmates have TB. Zunshain has already contacted hepatitis B from a contaminated needle used in a medical exam. Despite the health risks, Zunshain is only allowed to have soap to wash his hands once every few weeks. As a result, Tatiana asked that soap be sent directly to the labor camp. Refuseniks in Leningrad have joined the U.S. campaign, sending soap to the camp as well.

• **The Bay Area Council for Soviet Jews**, in conjunction with Action for Refusenik Women and Children, staged an all-night vigil and fast on March 6 outside the Soviet Consulate in San Francisco in support of Tatiana Zunshain, Yelena Bonner, and refusenik Tatiana Bogomolny. ARWC is a group formed by American and Soviet women to assist women and children of Prisoners of Conscience.

Seattle Groups Unite for Religious Liberty in the USSR

• The Seattle Interreligious Task Force on Religious Freedom in the Soviet Union sponsored a public hearing April 8 on "Culture and Community: The Struggle for Religious Liberty in the USSR." One of the featured speakers was Judy Balint, Chair of **Seattle Action for Soviet Jewry**. At a luncheon following the hearing, the *Seattle Times* received an award for their "Lifeline" series and its continued support of human rights and religious freedom in the Soviet Union. In addition to

Seattle Action, other task force participant members include The American Jewish Committee, The Anti-Defamation League, Bridges for Peace, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Seattle, the Church Council of Greater Seattle, the Community Relations Council of the Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the World Without War Council.

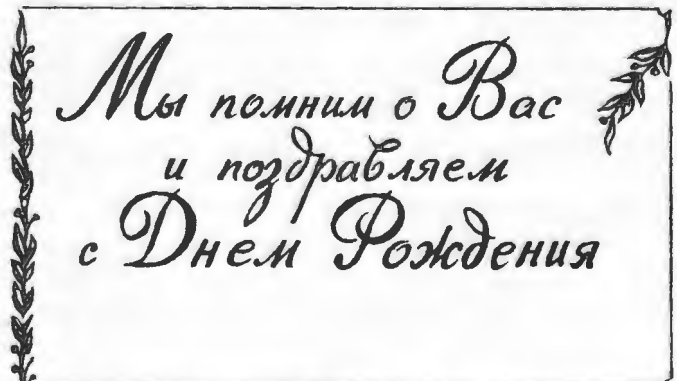
Member Councils Sponsor Panel Discussions on the Summit and Soviet Jewry

• **Dallas Action for Soviet Jewry**, on March 7, and **Houston Action for Soviet Jewry**, in conjunction with Congregation Beth Yeshurun, on March 8, sponsored panel discussions on "Soviet Jewry and the Summit: Strategies for Americans."

The panelists were Gerd von Doemming, Deputy Chief, USSR Division, Voice of America; Sergei Broude, Soviet emigre and U.S. representative of the Jerusalem-based Soviet Jewry Education and Information Center; and Mark Epstein, Executive Director of UCSJ. They each addressed different aspects of the situation of Soviet Jews — the current and planned role of United States Information Agency's radio broadcasts targeting Soviet Jews, the situation for Soviet Jews from the perspective of a former refusenik, and political implications of the Summit in the context of its impact on Soviet Jews.

International Birthday Greetings Sent to Refuseniks

• **The Sarasota Conference on Soviet Jewry** has developed a correspondence program which entails sending a birthday greeting each month to a different refusenik. Sarasota provides a complete informational packet with instructions and card. Thousands of inquiries and requests for the packet have poured in from individuals and organizations from as far away as South America.



(Translation: *We think about you and congratulate you on your date of birth.*)

Israel (Continued from page 1)

at the time to attend. He did, however, send a message through Avital in which he thanked all for their help and assured them that he would soon be joining the ranks of those in the West in the ongoing struggle to free Soviet Jews.

The group sponsored a dinner honoring the Aliyah and Klita Committee in Israel and held meetings and receptions with recent emigres and separated families. A major portion of the meeting's discussion centered around issues of policy on Soviet Jewry and how best the U.S. and Israel can work together for freedom for Soviet Jews.

The conference was organized by the Long Island Committee for Soviet Jews.



Reunion in Israel. (l. to r.) Avital Scharansky, June Daniels, Vice President, UCSJ; Anatoly Scharansky; Ron Daniels; and David Waksberg, Vice President, UCSJ. June and Ron Daniels had met Anatoly in Moscow before he was imprisoned.

Six Years of Perseverance Finally Pay Off

A Soviet Jewish emigre's six year struggle to allow her brother and ailing mother to emigrate from the USSR is nearing an end.

Edith Kotlyar, her husband, and two children were allowed to leave the Soviet Union in 1979 and are living in San Francisco. But her mother, now 79, and brother, 42, were forbidden to join her. "They (the Soviets) did not see any reason why they should go," Kotlyar said. Soviet officials blocked the emigrations more than 30 times, giving the reason as, "insufficient kinship."

Throughout the last six years Kotlyar wrote thousands of letters to U.S. and Soviet officials and staged a three-day

hunger strike. Since June 1985, she has taken time off her job as an electrical engineer to pay a daily visit to the Soviet Consulate on Green Street, sometimes alone and sometimes with her family.

Upon receiving the news on March 6 via San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein, that permission was granted, Kotlyar immediately called her mother, who said she and her son planned to leave the Soviet Union in several weeks.

Kotlyar expressed her gratitude to the Bay Area Council for Soviet Jews, who actively supported her efforts to bring the situation to the attention of the public and officials. "They're my family," Kotlyar said of the BACSJ.

Kotlyar's perseverance over the last six years is admirable," Bay Area executive director David Waksberg stated. "There were many times she could have

given up hope, but never did. If it weren't for her determination, her mother and brother would have never received exit visas."

However, Waksberg charged, given her mother's frail health, "she and her son should have been released years ago, and needless suffering could have been avoided."

In praising the latest action in the Kotlyar case, Waksberg said it "proves that strong public action with lots of noise, combined with forceful, private efforts behind the scenes, can result in success."

He added that he hopes the Soviets will release others as well. "Unfortunately, we have not seen any increase in the number of Soviet Jews allowed to emigrate this year, and we're still looking for signs of improvement."

Newsbriefs (Continued from page 2)

SEMYON GLUZMAN of Kiev has been informed by officials that he was refused for life. Gluzman was the first psychiatrist to openly protest the abuse of psychiatry against political dissenters. For this, he served seven years in a strict labor camp and three years in exile.

GRIGORY STACHENKO, 24, of Dnepropetrovsk, was forcibly interned in a psychiatric prison in a continuing attempt to pressure and intimidate him. He was released in early March and began to look for work. (Stachenko was expelled from the institute in which he was studying when he applied to emigrate.) The authorities disconnected his phone, explaining to him it was done in the interest of "state security." KGB continue to follow him and threatened that he and his "friends in Leningrad will be made to answer for his actions." His mother was called to the KGB, who accused her son of having been a spy for the U.S. since he was 16 years old. His case is now under investigation by the first secretary of the CPSU.

The Washington Post

March 3, 1986

Prosecution of Demonstrators Isn't Random

The Post's recent editorial condemning the apparent lack of uniformity in prosecuting demonstrators at foreign embassies ["U.S. Attorney's Random Justice," Feb. 22] fails to give adequate attention to some basic truths.

With respect to the embassy-demonstration statute, the Department of Justice and the Department of State agree on two propositions. First, enforcement of the statute serves important governmental interests. The U.S. government is obligated to protect foreign embassies and consulates located in this country. Only by providing adequate protection here can we expect other nations to protect our own facilities abroad. Considerations of reciprocity are therefore a critical element underlying the statute. U.S. refusal to enforce the statute with respect to a given nation's embassy might well lead to retaliatory measures against our offices in that nation.

Second, the wishes of the "victim"

are highly relevant to a decision whether to prosecute a criminal violation, whether under this statute or any other. In particular, when a nation whose embassy is protected by the statute does not wish to see violators prosecuted, trying the case makes little sense. Non-prosecution, in that instance, does not give rise to a threat of reciprocal action by the other government, because it has waived the statutory protection here. Indeed, pressing forward with a prosecution over the objections of the foreign government might itself affect adversely our relations with that nation.

It is inevitable that prosecuting demonstrators at some embassies but not others will strike some as discriminatory. But where the respective prosecution decisions reflect the wishes of the embassies involved, the distinction is wholly proper. The alternatives posed by demands for uniform prosecution decisions, moreover, are unac-

ceptable.

One alternative is to prosecute all demonstrators who violate the statute, even when the embassy involved declines to press charges. Such a policy would represent an inefficient use of prosecutorial and judicial resources and could lead to friction with a foreign state that preferred not to see the demonstrators prosecuted.

The other alternative is to prosecute no demonstrators who violate the statute, even when the embassy involved demands full enforcement of the law. This alternative would be tantamount to de facto repeal of the statute and a violation of our obligation under international law. It undoubtedly would lead other nations to take retaliatory measures against U.S. facilities and result in diminished security for our personnel abroad.

ABRAHAM D. SOFAER

Legal Advisor, U.S. Department of State
Washington

Rabbis (Continued from page 1)

leaders and representatives of the larger Jewish community, will not ignore the plight of Soviet Jews.

Rabbi Alan Meyerowitz, Soviet Jewry Chairman of the Rabbinical Assembly, summed up their reasons for undertaking the protest. "We have only one generation left to work for the freedom of Soviet Jews," he explained.

At a press conference prior to the arrests, the rabbis expanded on the deteriorating conditions for Jews in the Soviet Union. Franklin Kreutzer, president of the United Synagogue of America, stated, referring to Anatoly Schransky, "One symbolic release does not end our commitment to freeing Soviet Jewry. The world must know that this is not the end but the beginning."

The protest was the latest in an almost year-old series of arrests at the Soviet Embassy. Five rabbis previously arrested and prosecuted chose to serve a jail sentence rather than accept probation.

The arrests are the subject of a continuing controversy with the Department of Justice, which regularly drops all charges against anti-apartheid demonstrators similarly arrested at the South African Embassy, but nevertheless continues to prosecute protestors at the Soviet Embassy.



Rabbinical Assembly president Rabbi Alexander Shapiro addresses press conference before rabbis' arrests. Looking on, from left, are Mark Epstein, executive director of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews; Franklin Kreutzer, president of the United Synagogue of America; Rabbi Jack Stern, president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis; and Rabbi Ira J. Shiffer, president of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association.

In the Soviet Press, *Rabochaya Gazeta*, October 29, 1985

With the Yeast of Lies

It is generally known how numerous and sophisticated are the means used by Western, and in particular Zionist, propagandists to slander our Soviet motherland and socialist reality. Masquerading as "defenders of human rights," subversives of all kinds are on radio or television lying to the world about the "viciousness" of the USSR's national policies and the "discrimination" against Jews, the "state anti-Semitism," which they allege exists in the USSR. They do not hesitate to use any method or any ally, placing especially high hopes on the so-called "refuseniks" — persons of Jewish nationality who, for this or that good reason, have been refused an exit visa abroad. . .

THE WASHINGTON TIMES
GARNER '55



UNION OF COUNCILS FOR SOVIET JEWS
1411 K STREET, NW, SUITE 402
WASHINGTON, DC 20005

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The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews is composed of 39 local councils, 4 domestic affiliates, 3 international affiliates and 55,000 individual members dedicated to helping Soviet Jews, especially those desiring to emigrate.

Editor: Nurit Erger

President: Morey Schapira. Vice Presidents: Hinda Cantor (Miami, FL), Pamela Cohen (Chicago, IL), June Daniels (Des Moines, IA), David Waksberg (San Francisco, CA). Executive Director: Mark Epstein.



Max Green
The White House
Room 196 OEOB
Washington, DC 20500

47 Jews left the Soviet Union in March

OUR THREE FAMILIES



IRINA MCCLELLAN AND LENA



ALEXANDER IOFFE



THE PRESTINS

Irina McClellan was married to Professor Woodford McClellan in May, 1974 when Professor McClellan was an exchange scholar in the USSR. Irina and her daughter, Lena have been repeatedly refused permission to be reunited with Professor McClellan who teaches Russian history at the U of VA. Irina and Lena are harassed by neighbors who feel a real Russian should not want to leave her homeland to go to America. Professor McClellan has been refused permission to visit his wife and daughter.

ADDRESS: 7 Chernyshevsky St., Apt. 150
Moscow Center, USSR

Alexander Ioffe, a mathematician, holds the equivalent of a Ph.D. degree. Since his 1974 request for a visa for him and his family to immigrate to Israel, his salary at the Research Institute of High Speed Highways and Airports has been cut in half. His wife, Rose an electronics teacher, is unable to find work. Alex is on the editorial board of the Jrnl. on Control & Optimization of the Society for Industrial & Applied Mathematics, an international journal. The couple has two children, Dimitry and Ann. Harassment included throwing garbage outside door and setting fires.

ADDRESS: Profsoyuzneya 85
Korpus I Apt. 203
Moscow, USSR

Vladimir Prestin, a computer engineer, quit his job in 1968 to avoid being denied an exit visa because of the excuse that he knew "secrets". He found employment which does not use his skills and then applied for an exit visa in 1970. He has been repeatedly denied exit visas because he knows "secrets". His wife and son are harassed. He has been arrested several times and held incommunicado.

ADDRESS: Uralskaja 6/4 #11
Moscow, USSR

THE refusenik

INFORMATION FROM THE
SOVIET JEWRY COMMITTEE



May 8, 1986

MOSCOW REFUSENIKS APPEAL TO BERN CONFERENCE

MOSCOW -- Dismayed that only 47 Jews were allowed to leave the Soviet Union in March, long time activists sent an urgent appeal to the Conference of Experts meeting in Bern, Switzerland. Representatives of 35 countries, which signed the 1975 Helsinki Accords, met to discuss issues of human contacts, including telecommunications, tourism, and family reunification during the six-week conference.

The activists wrote, "The signatories of this letter are Jews who have been trying for many years to get a chance to reunite with their relatives and their people in Israel. We appeal to you with the request to help us in realizing our legitimate right to leave the USSR, the right that has been guaranteed in particular by the Helsinki Accord."

Citing the fact that many East-West problems could be interpreted differently, "in the case of Jewish emigration from the USSR, any alternative interpretation is impossible, for there are thousands and thousands of living witnesses whose rights have been violated and whose names and addresses are widely known."

The Jews raised the question of trust and stated that "If no solution to such a simple problem as Jewish emigration from the USSR is found soon, then other issues of the Helsinki Accords, more difficult to resolve and control, may be in danger of being indefinitely shelved."

The signatories also requested that the problems of emigration be on the agenda of the forthcoming meeting on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to be held in Vienna later this year.

Among the 43 signatories were: INNA BEGUN; ALEXANDR, ROSA, and OLGA IOFFE; ALEXANDR LERNER; MIKHAIL KHOLMIANSKY; LEV OVSISHCHER; LEONID OZERNOY; and SERGEI RUZER.

NON-JEW HAS SENTENCE QUASHED

MOSCOW -- There is a report on a rare instance of the quashing of a dissident's sentence. The story is of interest, in that the man, Vladimir Poresh, was the first political prisoner to be sentenced under a pernicious new part of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, on "Malicious Disobedience to the Administration of a Corrective Labor Institution."

Poresh, a young historian and employee at the Library of the Leningrad branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was first arrested in 1979 with others participating in religious-philosophical seminars. He was sentenced to five years in strict-regime camps and three years' exile for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, and to an additional three years in 1984. His sentence was revoked as a protest by the chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR, and was released last February.

YULI EDELSHTEIN TO HAVE SURGERY

ULAN UDE -- Medical authorities informed TANYA EDELSHTEIN that her husband YULI will undergo a series of operations to correct the injuries he sustained after an accident at Vydrino Labor Camp.

The operations may take several months to complete. While Tanya's request that Yuli be released will be considered, she believes that his recovery has been severely hampered because of inadequate hospital facilities.

Information in "refusenik" is drawn from the National Conference on Soviet Jewry Press Reports and direct communications received by the

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL
OF GREATER WASHINGTON

SUITE 920 - 1522 K Street, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 347-4628

BENEFICIARY OF THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL FEDERATION OF GREATER WASHINGTON

NEWSBREAK

OCTOBER 11, 1985

NB 17-85

HEBREW TEACHER GETS REDUCED SENTENCE

EVGENY KOIFMAN, the Dnepropetrovsk Hebrew teacher who was arrested in June on charges of alleged "drug possession," was sentenced to a two-and-a-half-year term of "working for the state economy." Originally ordered to serve the term in a labor camp, the prosecution asked that the severity of Koifman's sentence be reduced. Under the accepted arrangement, Koifman will be assigned to work in an undetermined location, with his salary going to the Soviet economy.

NATASHA KHASIN, who was present, described the trial as "giving the impression of a badly directed play" in which it appeared decisions had been made beforehand. Although the prosecution initially inferred that Koifman was guilty of "selling drugs to children," formal charges of this nature never materialized. Instead, it was alleged that Koifman "found a package containing a powdery substance, and kept it for himself." No drugs were produced as evidence, however, and a medical examination revealed no trace of any drug in Koifman's system.

Evgeny's wife, LYDIA, remains hospitalized in a psychiatric institution against her will. Since she was forcibly committed in August, she has repeatedly been questioned about her husband's activities, and it is not known if she will be released now that the investigation is concluded.

"SPECIAL DAY" SLATED FOR NOVEMBER 19TH

With an eye on the forthcoming Geneva summit meeting between President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, NCSJ Chairman Morris B. Abram announced that November 19th has been designated internationally as a "Special Day for Soviet Jews," launching a series of events throughout the West. To mobilize activity in this country, Abram named Gerald Kraft, NCSJ Vice Chairman and President of B'nai B'rith International, to chair the NCSJ's efforts in this country.

Increased activity on behalf of Jews in the USSR -- through letter-writing campaigns, public demonstrations and interreligious prayer vigils -- is planned to coincide with the summit. According to Abram, the aim of such activity is to raise public awareness of the plight of Soviet Jews, and to communicate popular concern to U.S. and Soviet leaders.

"We welcome the summit meeting and the opportunity it represents for improved East-West relations," Abram said, stressing that "there is no conflict between peace and human rights." He added that "although the summit may not resolve all outstanding issues, such as arms control, trade and human rights, the nature of the meeting, and the interest it will generate, are conducive to focusing on the rescue of Soviet Jews."

In naming Kraft to chair a special coordinating committee, Abram stressed that Kraft has "repeatedly demonstrated a leadership role in community advocacy on behalf of Jews in the USSR. His dedication and commitment will certainly help in mobilizing grass-roots support for this campaign."

NEWSBREAK

93 EXIT IN SEPTEMBER

Only 93 Jews were permitted to emigrate from the Soviet Union during September. To date, a total of 796 Jews were granted exit visas in 1985, as compared with 721 who were permitted to leave during the same time period last year. The monthly average of Jews permitted to leave hovers at less than 100, closely mirroring the trend for 1984, during which fewer than 1,000 Jews were granted the right to emigrate.

NCSJ CHAIRMAN TESTIFIES BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL SUBCOMMITTEES

While expressing "some hope" based upon the upcoming opportunities for dialogue between U.S. and Soviet leadership, NCSJ Chairman Morris B. Abram noted in recent testimony before two Congressional subcommittees that, since the coming to power of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the situation for Jews in the USSR has continued to deteriorate.

Speaking before the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations and the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, Abram stressed the role of the U.S. government in support of Soviet Jewry, and termed the November summit meeting as a "window of opportunity." He pointed out, however, that under Gorbachev, "Soviet Jewish Hebrew teachers continue to be arrested at an average rate of one per month," and that Gorbachev has retained an "extremely restrictive policy which has kept Jewish emigration to a fairly constant token level."

While he continued to reject the concept of linking Soviet Jewish emigration to arms negotiations, Abram stressed that "although the U.S. may not formally link arms control and human rights, it is an unradicable 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."

On the issue of trade, Abram stated that the NCSJ "continues its support of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment," which links East-West trade with human rights violations. He rejected the notion of a total ban on U.S. trade with the Soviet Union. "The NCSJ would not support either a repeal of the trade legislation already in place, or executive waivers as provided in statues," he said. "However, we are on record that this attitude is not inflexible, and that we would favor a modification of U.S. trade restrictions in non-strategic items as permitted by law" if Jewish emigration were restored to more acceptable levels.

Testifying with Abram were Isi Liebler, of Australia, representing the World Conference on Soviet Jewry, which had just convened in Washington, and Herbert Kronish, Chairman of the New York-based Coalition to Free Soviet Jews.

NEWSBRIEFS

- Waiting to emigrate to Israel since 1967, BENIAMIN BOGOMOLNY of Moscow retains the dubious distinction of being noted in the 1985 edition of the Guinness Book of World Records as the "most patient refusenik."
- The investigation of POC SIMON SHNIRMAN, who recently faced the threat of a possible extension to his three-year labor camp term, has been closed due to lack of evidence.
- LEONID KELBERT of Leningrad was attacked by a group of unidentified men on October 4, while enroute with foreign visitors to the home of YURI SHPIESMAN. Although Leonid was not seriously injured, he was "warned" to stop studying Hebrew -- which he refused.

● prepared by Nancy Albrecht

IJA RESEARCH REPORTS

Institute of Jewish Affairs in association with the World Jewish Congress

Summary

IJA STAFF PAPER

TRIALS OF SOVIET JEWISH 'REFUSENIKS' AND
ACTIVISTS, 1980-JULY 1985

SEPTEMBER 1985 NO. 5

יוניד יוניד

The USSR has committed itself, under the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the Helsinki Final Act, to safeguard the rights of its citizens, *inter alia*, to physical and legal integrity, freedom from arbitrary arrest, and a fair trial in case of criminal charges being laid against them. However, in the case of the Jewish activists in the Soviet Union over the period 1980-July 1985, these provisions have been continually breached in the course of a campaign of judicial harassment which has grown in intensity both within the period itself and relative to previous years. This is measured by the number of arrests and trials which have been carried out against Jewish activists in this period.

This *Report* deals with those Jews who are actively involved in human rights issues with a specifically Jewish content, i.e. the right to foster the study of Jewish culture, including the Hebrew language, and the right of Jews to emigrate. Thus this group does not include those Jewish activists who campaign on human rights issues in other fields, while it does include those non-Jews, like Valery Senderov, sentenced in 1983 to 7 years imprisonment and 5 years' exile, whose activism is in the Jewish field.

In this period the Soviet authorities deployed a wide range of legal charges as part of this campaign of harassment of Jewish activists. These included two serious RSFSR Criminal Code articles, 190-1 and 70, which deal, respectively, with the spread of propaganda for the purpose of subverting the regime or defaming the state, as well as such other charges as parasitism, draft evasion, malicious hooliganism, violation of passport regulations, and non-co-operation with the authorities. A particularly ominous development was the use of charges of possession of drugs and firearms — with the evidence being planted in the homes of Yuly Edelshteyn and Aleksandr Kholmyansky — as a further means of legal harassment.

As of July 1985, there were twenty Jewish 'refuseniks' and activists imprisoned or serving sentences in the Soviet Union, with Iosif Begun, Valery Senderov, and Anatoly Scharansky serving the longest penalties. Generally, over the period 1980-July 1985, the trend has been towards a stricter clamp-down on Jewish activism using all available judicial means, as part of a more general Soviet attempt at criminalizing dissent. This development should also be seen against the backdrop of poor East-West relations in this period.

Copies of this *Research Report* can be obtained from:
THE INSTITUTE OF JEWISH AFFAIRS, 11 HERTFORD ST., LONDON W1Y 7DX
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The Philadelphia Inquirer

Sunday, April 13, 1986

'His soul is intact'

Shcharansky, Pa. friend meet again — in freedom

By Jane Eisner
Inquirer Staff Writer

When the long-imprisoned Jewish Soviet activist Anatoly Shcharansky walked across a German bridge to freedom two months ago, many who had campaigned for his release began dreaming of the moment when they could be with him as a free man.

Connie Smukler lived her dream last week.

She spent three hours with Shcharansky in his Jerusalem apartment, talking and laughing and hugging.

"To me, he seemed perfectly wonderful. He's as sharp as he ever was. His humor is there, his soul is intact," she said in an interview after returning home to Philadelphia.

Smukler was amazed at his memory. After they hugged each other awhile, he said, "You've changed your hair and gotten thinner."

"You've gotten thinner, too, Natan," she said she replied, referring to him in the Hebrew name he adopted after his release.

The 10 years since their last visit have given his face and bearing a new maturity, and the Israeli sun has given him a tan, she said.

Smukler, a Philadelphia artist, and her husband, Joseph, a lawyer, founded the Philadelphia Soviet Jewry Council and played a leading role in the campaign to win Shcharansky's freedom.

Since his triumphant arrival in Israel on Feb. 11, after more than nine years in Soviet prisons and labor camps, he has spent much of his time secluded in a kibbutz in northern Israel with his wife, Avital, who was forced to leave the Soviet Union one day after they were married in 1974 and who subsequently launched a tireless campaign on his behalf.

Smukler initially had planned to see him two weeks ago, but he was being bombarded with requests for interviews, speeches, personal appearances and visits from the many people who had pressed his case.



Shcharansky and Smukler flank fellow activist Morris Abram

Report on reunion: Bridging a decade

Then the invitation came, and she caught the next flight to Tel Aviv.

As she approached the reunion last week, she said, her third visit to Moscow in 1976 came to mind. "We were going to someone's apartment. We knocked on the door, and my knees started to shake and my mouth went dry. The door opened and there was Natan," she said.

"The other day in Jerusalem, when I stood at the door to his apartment, my knees were shaking and my mouth was dry. I had the same feeling."

Smukler first met Shcharansky when she and her husband went to

the Soviet Union in 1974 to learn more about the plight of Jews who wanted to leave the country and live in Israel. She saw him again in Moscow in 1975 and in 1976, and they cemented a deep friendship.

Shcharansky, a mathematician, had co-founded the Helsinki Monitoring Group, which tracked Soviet compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Accords on human rights, and became the spokesman for Jewish activists in Moscow. He thus became the Soviet Jew best known in the West, a man whose harsh prison term drew much sympathy from world leaders.

In 1977 he was arrested, and in 1978, after a highly publicized trial, his efforts to document the injustice of the government's emigration policy were adjudged treasonous. His report contained information on military factories and research programs that Soviet officials said

would be of interest to Western intelligence, and he was sentenced to 13 years in prison and labor camps.

From the beginning, Smukler and other members of Philadelphia's Soviet Jewry Council held rallies, protests and prayer meetings, wrote letters and carried Shcharansky's image aloft on placards to keep his case alive.

"We had a focus. He was the first prisoner that some of us knew. He was an inspiration for many of the early projects. They evolved out of support for Shcharansky," Smukler said last week.

One of the first demonstrations was on a hot evening in July 1977, near the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia's Independence Park, she recalled. Later they held a mock trial at City Hall.

Over and over they were told that the Soviets were insisting that Shcharansky's case was not negotiable, that they were insisting that he was a spy who could never be permitted to leave the country.

The campaign initially focused on Shcharansky because he was a particularly charismatic figure and his case was particularly unjust, Smukler said.

In 1979, 51,000 Soviet Jews were allowed to leave the Soviet Union. As that number was reduced to a trickle, the Shcharansky movement gradually became the catalyst for a campaign on behalf of an estimated 400,000 Jews who have expressed a desire to leave the Soviet Union.

At the meeting last week in Shcharansky's apartment, Smukler and Morris Abram, chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and vice

chairman of the President's Commission on Human Rights, talked with Shcharansky about continuing that campaign and a possible tour of the United States.

In a speech Feb. 12, on his first full day of freedom, Shcharansky vowed to use his experience to campaign for free emigration for Jews still in the Soviet Union. "It is my task to use my experience to help those people who stayed behind in the Soviet Union," he said.

According to Smukler, Shcharansky plans to tour the United States, perhaps as early as next month, before the proposed Reagan-Gorbachev summit. No date has been set for the summit.

Shcharansky is dogged by requests for interviews, invitations to speak, and inquiries from people interested in producing a film based on his life story.

Smukler said she had asked him in jest how he felt about becoming a movie star, and he replied, "I am having enough trouble being a media star."

Said Smukler: "He sees he's in the fishbowl, and it's so hard for him. He feels awkward in this role. He keeps an answering machine on, and it goes constantly. Sometimes he doesn't answer for two days. He needs time."

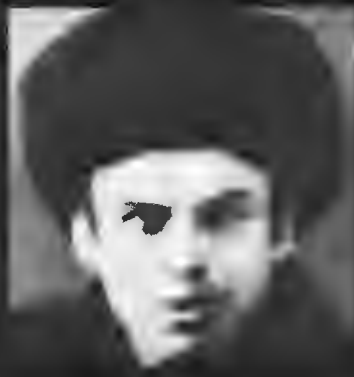
He still is not sleeping well, she said.

Still reveling in her visit, Smukler said, "In Moscow when we'd have to say goodbye, we'd say 'L'hitroot,' " the Hebrew word that roughly translates into "See you soon."

"We said it, but did we really mean it? This time I said it to him in Jerusalem, and I know, God willing, that I'll see him again soon."

**"I AM NOT
GOING TO
FORGET THOSE
WHO I LEFT
IN THE CAMPS,
IN THE PRISONS,
WHO ARE
STILL IN EXILE."**

-ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY



**Join Anatoly and Avital Shcharansky.
March and Rally for Soviet Jews
Solidarity Sunday, May 11th.**

March begins 12 noon - 64th and Fifth to 47th and First.

Sponsored by Coalition to Free Soviet Jews (212) 354-1316

Representing concerned organizations in New York City, Long Island, Westchester, Rockland and Bergen Counties

SUPPORTED BY UNITED JEWISH APPEAL - FEDERATION OF JEWISH PHILANTHROPIES OF GREATER NEW YORK

Formerly the Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry

NEWSBREAK

MARCH 26, 1986
NB 04-86

**LIFSHITZ SENTENCED;
WIFE THREATENED
WITH TRIAL**

LENINGRAD -- In a remarkably swift trial held in Fontanka District Court, VLADIMIR LIFSHITZ, a 45-year-old mathematician, was given the maximum sentence of three years for "defaming the Soviet state." He becomes the newest Prisoner of Conscience, joining others who are serving sentences on a variety of charges.

Lifshitz was arrested January 8th. The basis of the allegations against him were contained in letters he had written to the Central Committee in 1983 and to the Supreme Soviet renouncing his Soviet citizenship. Authorities also cited letters he had written to Israeli Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, and Foreign Minister, Itzhak Shamir, asking them to "raise the question of the repatriation of Jews from the USSR." Lifshitz also wrote similar letters to friends and relatives in Israel, London, and the U.S.

Vladimir's wife, ANNA, believes that the letters were illegally intercepted. She had tried unsuccessfully to get a postponement of the trial after learning that he had been badly beaten by criminals in his cell. The lawyer Anna selected from the court panel petitioned the court to withdraw the case because the evidence was too flimsy. She is trying to appeal the sentence.

Anna herself is in danger of being tried for contempt of court because she refused to testify against her husband. There is no legal protection in the Soviet Union for one spouse testifying against the other.

**STUDENT ARRESTED
IN TBILISI**

TBILISI -- BEZALEL SHALOLASHVILLI, a 23-year-old student at the Agriculture Institute here, was arrested March 13th for allegedly evading military service. The maximum sentence is three years. Bezalel was called to the army after applying for an exit visa to Israel, with his whole family. In a letter sent to the draft board on December 12, 1985, he wrote that he had not received the mobilization order because he was out of town at the time, trying to arrange for the visas. This excuse was rejected and he was arrested.

**VOLVOVSKY
TRANSFERRED
TO LABOR CAMP**

LENSK, Yekaterin Autonomous Republic -- POC LEONID VOLVOVSKY, 44, an electrical engineer until he applied to emigrate in 1974 (he holds the equivalent of a doctorate in that field), has been transferred to a labor camp in this Eastern Siberian city to begin serving a three-year sentence for allegedly "defaming the Soviet state." Leonid's wife, LUDMILA, and a few friends were trying to see him but were pulled off a train in Gorky and temporarily held in the police station. No reason was given for the police action.

**NCSJ SPONSORS
ESSAS VISIT**

NEW YORK -- Well-known refusenik, ELIYAHU ESSAS, a teacher and activist for many years in Moscow, begins his first visit to the United States March 27th. Essas recently emigrated to Israel.

NEWSBREAK

EDELSHTEIN SERIOUSLY INJURED LAYING TRACK

ULAN UDE -- Despite what the Central Health Management had previously told TANYA EDELSHTEIN, her husband YURI's broken leg is serious and is giving doctors at the Central Hospital here problems they have been unable to solve (NEWSBREAK, March 13, 1986). It appears he will need at least one operation.

It has now been learned that Yuri was injured while laying railroad track at Vydrino Labor Camp in Buryat ASSR. Apparently, a heavy wooden tie slipped from his shoulder, pinning him to the ground. Tanya has requested that he be transferred to a hospital in Moscow where he would receive better treatment. She has also sent copies of her request to Communist Party headquarters, the Procurator General, and to the head of the Prisons Administration at the Ministry of the Interior.

SCIENTISTS CONTACT WESTERN EDITOR

MOSCOW -- Four Soviet scientists, having had their request to hold a peaceful demonstration rejected by the Moscow City Council, took the unusual step of asking an editor of a Western newspaper to publish their case.

LEONID OZERNOY, VLADIMIR APEKIN, VLADIMIR ROZIN, and CHEKANOVSKY, had intended to draw public attention to the five years each of them had been waiting for exit visas to Israel despite the fact that none of them had ever been involved in secret work. Between them, they have written over a hundred letters to the appropriate authorities without results. All are family men with children. Since submitting their applications, the scientists have not been allowed to work in their fields and have experienced considerable hardship.

Scientists, who have always been at the center of Jewish activism, are becoming increasingly vocal. Soviet authorities recently told Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) that Ozerney would be given a visa. Ozerney obviously knows nothing of it.

KGB HOUNDED ACTIVISTS DURING PARTY CONGRESS

MOSCOW -- Leading activists here revealed that they were kept under surveillance of an unprecedented strictness during the two weeks of the 27th Soviet Communist Party Congress and the days preceding it. The authorities claimed that the activists might be preparing to stage a public protest demonstration.

Some of the activists who had joined a rotation of hunger strikes in their homes were visited by the KGB, who warned them to desist or "face the consequences." One of the activists later said, "The whole police operation sat uneasily with us compared to the reported air of openness at the Congress itself." NATALIA KHASINA was reported to have said that it was virtually a house arrest -- "like living in a fortress."

MATZAH OF HOPE AVAILABLE

NEW YORK -- In preparation for Passover the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and the United Jewish Appeal have prepared and distributed a 1986 "Matzah of Hope." Featuring Anatoly Shcharansky in Israel, this Matzah of Hope reminds us of the tens of thousands of Jews still remaining in the USSR, and is integrated into the campaign "To Summit II". Copies can be ordered through the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.



*European inter-parliamentary conference
for Soviet Jewry*

Incorporating delegates from
National Parliaments
as well as from the
European Parliament

FIFTH EUROPEAN INTER-PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE FOR SOVIET JEWRY

Berne 17-18 April 1986

R E S O L U T I O N

THE CONFERENCE,

Recalling the CSCE Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid Final Document,

Remembering the resolutions adopted by the European Inter-Parliamentary Conferences for Soviet Jewry on 3 July 1984 in London, and on 26 April 1985 in The Hague,

Noting the official statement of Soviet policy made in 1947 by the then Soviet delegate at the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. A. Gromyko, in which the USSR recognized that the Jewish people have historical roots and a homeland in Israel,

Bearing in mind Mr. Gorbachev's Address to the 27th Soviet Party Conference on 25 February 1986 when he referred to "... questions related to the re-uniting of families, marriage and the promotion of contacts between people and between organisations ..." being fundamental principles of "... an all-embracing system of international security",

Invoking Point 10 of the Human Contacts Section of the Concluding Document of the Madrid Follow-up Meeting which notes that the participating States "will further implement the relevant provisions of the Final Act, so that religious faiths, institutions, organizations and their representatives can ... develop contact and meetings ... and exchange information",

Reciting Point 1 of the Information Section of the Concluding Document of the Madrid Follow-up Meeting which commits participating States to "further encourage the freer and wider dissemination of printed matter, periodical and non-periodical, imported from other participating States ..."



European inter-parliamentary conference for Soviet Jewry

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European Parliament

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Regretting recent Soviet pronouncements that the Soviet-Jewish emigration process has been completed, despite the fact that close to 383,000 Jews in the Soviet Union have expressed a desire to leave by requesting invitations from their relatives and are still awaiting permission to join their people in Israel,

Noting the continued harassment, arrests, trials and imprisonment of Jews in the Soviet Union seeking permission to join their people in Israel,

Knowing that Soviet interference with Human Contact in the period under review has been especially grievous in the areas of postal communication, parcel post, books of Jewish content, telephone contacts, religious contacts and tourism,

1. Calls upon all national delegation participating at the Berne Meeting of Experts to raise the problems associated with the restrictions imposed on Soviet Jewry in the areas of emigration and Human Contacts as often as possible in the course of their deliberations,
2. Calls upon European nations for more concerted actions in urging their governments to take up the issue of family reunification and present specific proposals on the subject at the coming conference at Vienna,
3. The improvement of the status of Jews in the USSR is one of the necessary conditions toward the reestablishment of an atmosphere of mutual confidence without which real progress in international cooperation for peace and disarmament cannot exist,
4. Appeals to the Government of the USSR as a matter of urgency,
 - To permit all Soviet Jews applying to leave the Soviet Union to join their people in Israel to do so without impediment,
 - To ensure that the presentation of applications to leave the Soviet Union for Israel does not prejudice or modify the rights of the applicants or members of their families in the areas of employment, housing, resident status, access to social, economic or educational benefits, or any other rights,



*European inter-parliamentary conference
for Soviet jewry*

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European Parliament

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- To ensure free and wide dissemination of Jewish and Hebrew printed material, periodical and non-periodical, into and within the Soviet Union,
- To ensure that Soviet Jews have full freedom to pursue their religious and cultural activities, and that in the field of these activities they can have contacts and meetings among themselves, and exchange information,

5. Instructs the Bureau of the European Inter-Parliamentary Conference for Soviet Jewry

- To hand over this Resolution to all national governmental delegations present in Berne
- To hand this Resolution to the Supreme Soviet.

ON JEWS IN THE USSR
(ACCORDING TO MATERIALS OF THE SOVIET PRESS
& RADIO DECEMBER 1985)

The campaign of condemning anti-Semitism in the US continued in December and it even gained momentum. In addition to the numerous articles on what has been happening in the US (see, for example, "Raging Racism and Anti-Semitism" in "Pravda", 17 Dec. 1985) the "Novosti" Press Agency released a book "Jews in the USA Through the Eyes of Americans" (see: B0023). Finally, a protest by the Anti-Zionist Committee about anti-Semitism in the US, published under the title "A Grim Pattern" (see: "The Anti-Zionist Campaign in the USSR", December 1985) served as the "final stroke" to complete the picture of this campaign in the Soviet media.

On the other hand, the article "Statistics Testify" ("Sovetskaya Moldavia", 17 Dec. 1985) proves that the position of Jews residing in the USSR is practically a privileged one. The article has a sub-title: "The Way To Prepare Fabrications". The article "Bitter Honey" (see: 02576) also speaks about the good life of Soviet Jews.

The article "Seeking the 'Good Life!'" ("Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya", 20 Dec. 1985) starts with a story on attempts to recruit some Soviet sailors in a foreign port and ends with the bitter plight of a "family of former Soviet citizens who left for Israel", could not stand the life in the 'promised land', left for Australia and tried to come back to the Soviet Union on a Soviet ship or, at least, to send their child back this way.

The article "A Prolonged Suicide or An Epilogue to a Fabrication From the American Magazine 'Newsweek'" ("Sovetskaya Belorussia", 15 Dec. 1985) tells about the sufferings of former Soviet citizens in the US, but contrary to previous articles dealing with this subject it does not mention Jews who came there via Israel.

Emigration of Soviet Jews was also the subject of V. Bolshakov's article "'Human Rights' in the American Strategy of Social Revenge" (see notes on the article under No. 02574).

The article "A Gag for Millions, or On the Freedom of Speech Enjoyed by Jews in the US" ("Sovetskaya Belorussia", 4 Dec. 1985) mentions, among other things, resolutions "in support of Soviet Jewry", the authors of which claim that Soviet Jews will be happy and will acquire freedom of speech in the West. The article refutes such claims.

The article "The Way to Fabricate Righteous Men" was reviewed in our survey "Israel in the Soviet Press and Radio", Dec. 1985. We would like to note here that it speaks about hundreds of thousands of Jews shot or sent to concentration camps during World War II.

The article "'Ivan the Terrible' Under the Wings of Themis"* ("Sovetskaya Kirghizia", 21 Dec. 1985) is about the former camp guard I. Demyanyuk, now living in the US. Demyanyuk "was once sent to work as a camp guard in the Treblinka concentration camp, where tens of thousands of Poles, Russians and Jews were being held at the time". It is also stated in the article that his lawyer "... will attempt to challenge 'the validity of the intention to extradict his client to Israel'".

The following articles also dealt with Jewish victims of the Nazis: "A Shelter for Nazi Criminals" ("Kommunist", 17 Dec. 1985); "The Advocates of the Sinful 'Holy Father'" ("Radvanska Ukraina", 27 Dec. 1985); "Not to be Forgotten" ("Radvanska Ukraina", 21 Dec. 1985); and "Who Are They Trying to Whitewash in the West", subtitled "Regular Fascism" ("Argumenty i Fakty", No. 17, Dec. 1985).

The number of articles about "positive" Jews was somewhat smaller than in November, but it was still considerable (more than 30), especially considering the small number of articles about "negative" Jews (only 2).

We noticed that S. Zivs, the Vice-President of the Association of Soviet Jurists and the First Deputy Chairman of the Anti-Zionist Committee, was one of the members of the panel at a press-conference held in Moscow on the subject of human rights ("USSR: Implementing Human Rights and Freedoms" in "Trud", 10 Dec. 1985; and other papers).

...3

* The Greek goddess of justice

The Chairman of the Anti-Zionist Committee, Gen. D. Dragunsky has started engaging, in addition to his anti-Zionist activity, in literary work: his story "Nastasya" was printed in "Ogonyok" (No. 51, 14-21 Dec. 1985) and was accompanied by a brief biography of the author and his picture. In other words, they are trying to build a popular image for him.

A review of the novel "Without a Homeland There Is No Happiness" ("Homeland - the Basis of Happiness", in "Zarya Vostoka", 6 Dec. 1985) says about the author: "... in addition to his description of Georgians, he paints loving images of Russians, Armenians, Italians, Jews, Frenchmen, Turks and German children."

Birobidjan /according to materials of "Birobidjaner Shtern"/.

The Moscow publishing agency "Khudozhestvennaya Literatura" marked the 150th birthday of one of the classics of Yiddish literature, Mendele Mokher Seforim, by preparing for print a collection of his works. The 100th birthday of the Soviet Jewish writer Yakov Rives was marked by the publication of a collection of his works entitled "The Bolsheviks" (1 Dec. 1985).

There was a brief item reporting that the magazine "Sovetskaya Zhenshchina" ("Soviet Woman"), appearing in 14 languages, carried a description of the life of Jews living in Birobidjan (1 Dec. 1985).

A review of the book by Yukhnovich "The Ethnic and the Socio-Ethnic Structure of the Population of St. Petersburg From the First Half of the XIX Century to the Beginning of the XX Century". The author shows that St. Petersburg was not a purely Russian city in that period. The 60 ethnic groups populating St. Petersburg by 1897 included Jews too and the author devotes a chapter in his book to an analysis of the restrictions imposed on Jews and on the effect these restrictions had on the professional and social status of the Jews of St. Petersburg. The same chapter contains statistical data on the social structure of the Jewish population of the city.

Radio Programs

- On the Moscow press-conference on human rights (see p. 3). -
In Russian. - 9 Dec. 1985 (SMB, 11 Dec. 1985).

N.B.

In a book only recently received, "Development of National Relations in the Light of the Decisions of the XXVI Congress of the CPSU", printed in 1982, we found a table entitled "Data on Major Nationalities in the USSR in the Years 1959-1979". In it the number of Jews in the USSR in 1959 was 2 267 800 and in 1979 - 1 810 900, a decrease of 20,1%).

BRIEF REVIEW OF THE SOVIET PRESS FOR 1985

(Part 1)

ANTI-ZIONISM AND THE ANTI-ISRAEL CAMPAIGN

Some general remarks

Our monthly and yearly reviews of the Soviet press are based on the material of some 100 Soviet periodicals.

Anti-Semitism in the USSR is practically never found in overt form. Expressions of overt anti-Semitism are extremely rare in the Soviet press.

Anti-Semitism has acquired the form, mainly, of an anti-Zionist and an anti-Israel campaign. The character and the intensity of these campaigns reflect the situation of Soviet Jews.

While in 1984 the anti-Zionist campaign grew in intensity, the process not only continued in 1985, but the campaign took on several new turns as well.

In January the anti-Zionist campaign reached a new climax, with its main line being the connection between Zionism and Fascism. Works by well-known anti-Zionist authors like L. Korneev and K. Khachaturov appeared in the press. Incidentally, in his article "Stealers of Minds" ("Pravda", 13 Jan. 1985) Khachaturov goes back to the invented story about a pregnant Arab woman having been disembowelled by Israeli soldiers. This "canard" was first used by L. Korneev in 1983 in "Trud" of 17th Aug. 1983, where in his article "When Again 'Uber Alles'..." he referred to the Israeli newspaper "Ha'arets" in connection with this accident. /There was nothing at all on such an accident in "Ha'arets" of the date quoted by Korneev./

In February the campaign was kept on the same level and its main guideline was still "collaboration between Zionism and Fascism". As an example, we can mention the book by Dr. of History G. Bondarevsky, an Honored Scientist of the RSFSR and a member of the Presidium of the Anti-Zionist Committee. The book is called "Common Goals and Common Character. On the Collaboration between Zionists and Fascists on the Eve of and During World War II".

The book by E. Modrzhinskaya and V. Lansky, "The Poison of Zionism" was published by the "Pedagogika" ("Pedagogics") publishing agency which means, in other words, that the book is to be used in educating the younger generation.

The subject of anti-Semitism in the US and other capitalist countries was raised in a number of publications and it was also the grounds for a letter of protest sent by the Anti-Zionist Committee to the US.

In March the anti-Zionist campaign as such disappeared from newspaper pages, but it came back with new force in April. The formula "Zionism is Fascism" appeared in print again.

In May the campaign was discontinued again and, as if to serve as a "compensation" for this, the number of articles attacking Judaism increased.

In June the anti-Zionist campaign was on the rise again and this time the stress was placed on the connections between Zionism and the CIA. The bond between Zionism and Fascism reappeared, but the formula "Zionism is Fascism" was placed aside for a less clear-cut definition: "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination".

The anti-Zionist campaign reached a culmination point in July and especially in August. Thus, in addition to dozens of reviews of the "White Book", published by the Anti-Zionist Committee, and other anti-Zionist articles, a "Historiography of Scientific Criticism of Zionism" appeared in print under the title "A Poisonous Fog" ("Yadovityi Tuman")*

In July special emphasis was placed on the connection between Zionism and terrorism. The subject of anti-Semitism in the US was also in evidence.

In September the emphasis was shifted from the connection between Zionism and Fascism to the attempts made by Zionists to lure Jews out of the Soviet Union. At the same time, the "White Book" was popularized by the publication of excerpts from it in many papers.

...3

* Published by "Lenizdat", Leningrad, 1985,
230 pp., 50 000 copies.

In October the whole bulk of anti-Zionist material was printed in the second half of the month. In the beginning of October even a statement made by the Anti-Zionist Committee about the bombing of terrorist bases in Tunisia did not mention Zionism at all. During the last two weeks of that month, though, the campaign regained its pace: the material mainly dealt with the connection between Zionism and Fascism and between Zionism and the Masons (who reappeared after a long absence), and the popularization of the "White Book" was carried out not only through printing parts of it in the papers, but also through readers' conferences and turning it into a theatre performance. Zionists continued to be presented as "hustlers who try to lure away the gullible and unstable among persons of Jewish origin."

In November the scope and intensity of anti-Zionist material did not change, but it was presented as an integral part of other campaigns and not as a separate subject. Emphasis was placed on subversive Zionist activities. The identification of Zionism with Fascism appeared as a direct threat: in a three-part article on the 40th anniversary of the Nuremberg Trial (see: "The Voice of Conscience", "Never to be Forgiven" and "To Remind and to Remember" in "Izvestia", 17, 18 and 19 Nov. 1985) we find the following passage: "... Bloody dictatorships, propagators of revenge, Israeli Zionists and South-African racists..."

Finally, in December nothing much changed in comparison to the state of affairs in November, except for a new phenomenon: anti-Semitism in the US turned from a secondary subject into a full-scale campaign by itself, which included a statement about anti-Semitic acts in the US ("A Grim Pattern" in "Literaturnaya Gazeta", No. 52, 25 Dec. 1985) released by the Anti-Zionist Committee. The statement contains a direct appeal to Zionists (without giving any details on their identity): "Why do you, Zionists, always keep silent when Jews are persecuted in the States only because they are Jews?... When Jews are beaten and tortured only because they are Jews?"

In view of the above it becomes clear that the anti-Zionist campaign changed over the course of 1985 both in intensity and in emphasis. It is because of these changes that we have found it necessary to analyse this campaign on a monthly basis.

The anti-Israel campaign was also characterised by changes in intensity. During the war in Lebanon, there was an upsurge in the campaign in February, when articles about the Israelis using mines camouflaged as toys and about wells being poisoned by Israelis appeared in the papers: see, for example, "Beware: Trap-Mines" ("Izvestia", 6 Feb. 1986) and "Taking Away Land and Water" ("Novoye Vremia", No. 6, June 1985).

The campaign subsided in May, when "Izvestia" of 13 May 1985 published a message of greeting addressed to Secretary-General Gorbachev by President Chaim Herzog in connection with the 40th anniversary of the victory over the Nazis. This was followed by the article "An Anti-Fascist Meeting in Tel Aviv" ("Trud", 14 May 1985) and the article "Until They Were Caught Red-Handed" ("Izvestia", 18 May 1985), where the following was stated in connection with an explosion in Beirut on 8 March 1985: "...At that time many ascribed this terrorist act to the Israeli secret services. However, 'Washington Post' claimed today that the explosion was the work of one of the "units" sent into action by the White House..." We note that the decline in the anti-Israel campaign in May coincided with the complete disappearance of the anti-Zionist campaign as such from newspaper pages.

A new upswing in the campaign started in July, with the stress placed on the internal situation in Israel, mainly on the state of the Israeli economy. In August the process continued, with the stress shifting to the Israeli secret services.

In September, October and November the campaign continued to grow, mainly because of the material on the bombing of the terrorist bases in Tunisia. Its stress remained on the actions of the Israeli secret services.

Finally, the campaign reached its highest peak in December, when it branched out in different directions, with the main emphases being placed on Israel's alleged plans of aggression against several countries: Libya, Sudan, Yemen, Lebanon and Syria.



To: Mr. Max Green
From: J. Pratt

Send
Jawant

*I thought you might find this
of interest*

with

*the Compliments of the
Embassy of Israel
at Washington*

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1-1-72
C

To: The General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the USSR

Mr. Gorbachev:

My fears and anxiety about the future of my husband, Vladimir Lifshits, impell me to write to you. My numerous letters to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and the Procurator General of the USSR have remained unanswered for over two months. This appeal to you is my last hope to be heard and understood.

Since 1981 our family has applied for exit visas to Israel many times. Till now we have not received any official explanation in writing about why we are being refused these visas. I hope that our wish to return to the homeland of our ancestors and to live with our people is quite natural and understandable, and cannot present any threat to the Soviet state.

However, after having submitted our applications for exit visas we came across the fact that some Soviet officials violate flagrantly with respect to us many Soviet laws intended to guarantee the rights of all Soviet citizens, no matter what their convictions are. In particular, my husband was unable to get a job for ten months. Only a 20-day hunger strike helped him to obtain a job, which according to the Soviet Constitution is guaranteed to everyone. My son was not admitted to a higher educational institution, in spite of having successfully passed the entrance examinations. Forcibly kept in the USSR, we constantly experience the fact that here our wish to repatriate to Israel is labelled an illegal activity.

On 8 January 1986 my husband Vladimir Lifshits was arrested in Leningrad and charged on the basis of Article 190¹ of the RSFSR Criminal Code. This charge was far-fetched and of a trumped-up character. This charge was based on some letters written by my husband to the Soviet authorities and to private persons abroad. These letters were absolutely unlawfully intercepted. They did not concern the methods of the state system of the USSR. They only dealt with the conditions of life of our family in refusal. My husband denied all the accusations made against him.

Four days after his arrest he was brutally beaten in the Leningrad prison and put into the prison hospital with a broken nose and a concussion.

I have firm grounds for believing that this beating was no accident. It was a method to compell my husband to admit to crimes which he never committed.

On 19 March 1986 the Leningrad Court declared my husband guilty and sentenced him to three years in labor camp, the maximum punishment

permitted for the crime my husband was accused of. .

I told the Court that my husband never violated Soviet law, while at the same time these laws were repeatedly violated in respect to my husband. His only guilt was his fight to get permission to go to Israel, a fight forced by the arbitrariness of those who place official obstacles in the way of this goal.

We will never betray our principles, our belonging to the Jewish people, or our dream to live in Israel. I think that keeping us by force in a state where we are treated as enemies and imprisoned for crimes we did not commit is not the best way to solve this problem.

I hope you will intervene to restore justice. Without any doubt, the release of my husband will be highly appreciated all over the world as a proof of the truth of your numerous statements that there is no Jewish problem in the USSR.

I hope this appeal will reach you and that you will realize that the matters discussed in it concern not only our family but also the prestige of the Soviet Union, where according to the law citizens must not be punished for their convictions.

Signed,

4 April 1986

Anna Lifshits

NEWSBREAK

MARCH 13, 1986
NB 03-86

IDA NUDEL APPEALS TO COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS

BENDERY -- In an effort to join her sister in Israel, long-term refusenik IDA NUDEL sent an urgent appeal to the 27th Soviet Communist Party Congress. "What benefit does Russia have from my suffering?" the 54-year-old former economist asked. "I assure all the members of the Congress that exactly one week after I leave, the world will forget my name and my story."

Nudel has been a refusenik since 1971, when she first applied to emigrate to Israel. She insists that her continued "refusal" reflects KGB vindictiveness. "Is it possible," she wrote the Congress, "that such a powerful country as the Soviet Union can allow the urge for revenge of a small number of people to take precedence over the good and honor of the entire nation? I cannot believe this."

According to her sister, ILANA FRIDMAN, Nudel is deeply depressed. This is consistent with reports that Ida is suffering from a severe illness. She believes her efforts to obtain medical care have been impeded by Soviet authorities simply to harass her.

KNESSET MEMBERS URGE MOSCOW TO FREE ZELICHONOK

JERUSALEM -- In a strong letter of protest to the 27th Soviet Communist Party Congress, the six Mapam members of the Israeli Knesset (the left wing of the Labor coalition) pressed for the release of POC ROALD ZELICHONOK.

Zelichonok, an electrical engineer, was tried and sentenced last August to three years in a labor camp for allegedly slandering the Soviet Union. He was hospitalized in February for three weeks because of severe intestinal bleeding. Since his return to the camp it is reported that his blood pressure has risen drastically.

LEADING REFUSENIKS APPEAL TO CPSU

MOSCOW -- In a 1,100 word appeal to the recent Soviet Communist Party meeting here, 142 leading refuseniks described the problems faced by families who wish to emigrate. While acknowledging that Mr. Gorbachev's appointment as Secretary General had already brought important changes to Soviet society, the refuseniks hoped that in "the spirit of law, humanism, and respect for the individual" he would now extend a helping hand to Jews who wish to be reunited with their families in Israel.

IN EARLY 1986 EMIGRATION REMAINS LOW

VIENNA -- In January and February, 79 and 84 Jews, respectively, left the USSR. In February, 29 were from Moscow, 12 from Tbilisi, 7 from Vilnius, 6 each from Leningrad and Odessa, 5 from Donetsk, 4 each from Kiev and Lvov, and the rest were from nine other cities.

NEWSBREAK

BEGUN'S HEALTH IN QUESTION

MOSCOW -- INNA BEGUN finally received a letter from her husband IOSIF. Written from Chistopol prison, the 47-page letter only increased her anxieties about his health and physical safety. Begun, who is seriously ill with heart disease, is serving a 12-year sentence for alleged anti-Soviet agitation. On receiving the letter, Inna immediately appealed for Iosif's release to Karl Ahren, President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe; Paul Schliliter, Prime Minister of Denmark; Karl Willoch, Prime Minister of Norway; and the late Olaf Palme, former Prime Minister of Sweden. (Palme had tried to obtain Begun's release on several other occasions.)

Inna also received a curt reply from Soviet prison authorities answering her urgent inquiries concerning Iosif's health, particularly about the protest hunger strike she believes he has undertaken. The authorities simply said, "Begun is accepting food and his health is in order." Like similar replies in the past, the letter did not mention that Iosif has been hospitalized or that he had been force-fed for weeks.

EDELSHTEIN MAY BE SERIOUSLY INJURED

ULAN UDE -- YULI EDELSHTEIN, a Hebrew teacher, was able to get a letter dated February 13 to his wife TANYA in Moscow. Edelshtein revealed that he is being treated in a prison hospital for a broken leg. It appears that the accident occurred while he was working in the prison at Vydrino. The Central Health Management told Tanya that his condition was satisfactory, but Yuli wrote that he may be hospitalized for six months. His injury may be serious enough to cause permanent disability. He requires professional treatment.

Tanya intended to leave for Ulan Ude March 10. Yuli, who has served half of his sentence, is entitled to two "open" visits a year and three more during which he can talk to visitors only through a glass partition. The journey from Moscow takes seven hours by plane, six more by train, and another four kilometers by foot.

SOVIET RESTRICTIONS ON MIKVA USE

LENINGRAD -- Soviet authorities have imposed severe restrictions on Jewish women who wish to use the mikva -- ritual baths -- in Leningrad and Moscow.

According to basic religious tenets, each woman must have her own date and time to use the mikva. But the baths in Leningrad are only open twice a week, and the synagogue administration reportedly uses a guard dog, which frightens the women. In Moscow, the mikva hours are so restricted that not everyone can be there on time. Women living in other cities in which there are no mikvot depend upon the facilities in Moscow and Leningrad.

LONGEST WAITING REFUSENIK APPEALS TO GORBACHEV

MOSCOW -- BENYAMIN BOGOMOLNY, who first applied to emigrate in 1966, has now appealed to Mikhail Gorbachev to allow him and his wife, TANYA KHEYFETS, to go to Israel.

Tanya has had surgery for cancer and is receiving chemotherapy. Benjamin, a mathematician until he announced his intentions to emigrate, has been forced to subsist on the wages of a male nurse. In his appeal to Gorbachev, he said that "the state of stress which we have been under for many years has played a crucial role in causing my wife's illness."

An OVIR official told Tanya to apply to emigrate under her maiden name -- without Benjamin. Benjamin's applications have been consistently rejected on the grounds of "state security."

NEWSBREAK

APRIL 22, 1986
NB 06-86

MOSCOW REFUSENIKS APPEAL TO BERN CONFERENCE

MOSCOW -- Dismayed that only 47 Jews were allowed to leave the Soviet Union in March, long time activists sent an urgent appeal to the Conference of Experts meeting in Bern, Switzerland. Representatives of 35 countries, which signed the 1975 Helsinki Accords, met to discuss issues of human contacts, including telecommunications, tourism, and family reunification during the six-week conference.

The activists wrote, "The signatories of this letter are Jews who have been trying for many years to get a chance to reunite with their relatives and their people in Israel. We appeal to you with the request to help us in realizing our legitimate right to leave the USSR, the right that has been guaranteed in particular by the Helsinki Accord."

Citing the fact that many East-West problems could be interpreted differently, "in the case of Jewish emigration from the USSR, any alternative interpretation is impossible, for there are thousands and thousands of living witnesses whose rights have been violated and whose names and addresses are widely known."

The Jews raised the question of trust and stated that "If no solution to such a simple problem as Jewish emigration from the USSR is found soon, then other issues of the Helsinki Accords, more difficult to resolve and control, may be in danger of being indefinitely shelved."

The signatories also requested that the problems of emigration be on the agenda of the forthcoming meeting on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to be held in Vienna later this year.

Among the 43 signatories were: INNA BEGUN; ALEXANDR, ROSA, and OLGA IOFFE; ALEXANDR LERNER; MIKHAIL KHOLMIANSKY; LEV OVSISHCHER; LEONID OZERNOY; and SERGEI RUZER.

NON-JEW HAS SENTENCE QUASHED

MOSCOW -- There is a report on a rare instance of the quashing of a dissident's sentence. The story is of interest, in that the man, Vladimir Poresh, was the first political prisoner to be sentenced under a pernicious new part of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, on "Malicious Disobedience to the Administration of a Corrective Labor Institution."

Poresh, a young historian and employee at the Library of the Lenin-grad branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, was first arrested in 1979 with others participating in religious-philosophical seminars. He was sentenced to five years in strict-regime camps and three years' exile for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, and to an additional three years in 1984. His sentence was revoked as a protest by the chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR, and was released last February.

YULI EDELSHTEIN TO HAVE SURGERY

ULAN UDE -- Medical authorities informed TANYA EDELSHTEIN that her husband YULI will undergo a series of operations to correct the injuries he sustained after an accident at Vydrino Labor Camp. (NEWSBREAK, March 26, April 7, 1986) The operations may take several months to complete. While Tanya's request that Yuli be released will be considered, she believes that his recovery has been severely hampered because of inadequate hospital facilities.

NEWSBREAK

MAGARIK'S FATHER APPEALS FOR HIS RELEASE

JERUSALEM -- Convinced that the arrest of his son ALEKSEY on charges of possessing drugs was KGB-provoked (NEWSBREAK, April 7, 1986), ZEEV MAGARIK has sent an urgent appeal from Israel, where he and his daughter now live: "For those who know Aleksey and who are acquainted with the conditions of life of Hebrew teachers in the USSR, it is clear that the charge is completely false. Because of his vulnerability to provocation, no refusenik would knowingly break the law or lay himself open to criminal arrest. My son has never taken drugs nor been involved in distributing them."

Aleksey and his wife NATALYA applied for an exit visa to Israel in 1983 and were told their "departure from the USSR is not desirable at the present moment."

There is concern about the situation since it is the fourth case in which drugs or ammunition have been found in the belongings of Hebrew teachers or refuseniks. Previous victims have been sentenced to long prison terms, and several subjected to physical attacks by common criminals, ostensibly instigated by the KGB.

PURIM PARTIES ARE S.R.O.

MOSCOW -- The demand for performances of a Purimshpiel created by refuseniks is so great that the show continues. (NEWSBREAK, April 7, 1986) More than a thousand people attended the 10 performances in private homes. "Bookings are still coming in," said one of the artists. "We might have to extend the season."

BRODSKY'S WIFE THANKS THE WEST

NEW YORK -- A letter was received from the wife of DR. VLADIMIR BRODSKY, who was sentenced last August to three years for alleged "malicious hooliganism," expressing gratitude for "your concern for the destiny of my husband, Vladimir Brodsky." She believes it is important for Vladimir to realize while in camp "that he has many good friends, who are so concerned for his freedom and for that of others like him. I hope that you will continue your efforts."

COURT REJECTS LIFSHITZ APPEAL

MOSCOW -- The High Court here rejected VLADIMIR LIFSHITZ'S appeal that his three-year sentence for allegedly "defaming the Soviet state" be quashed, despite the claims of his lawyer, Mr. Ostrovsky, that the prosecution had failed to prove their case. (NEWSBREAK, April 7, 1986)

REFUSENIK UPDATE

MILA VOLVOVSKY had a long meeting with her husband LEONID, who looked better. . . .YAKOV LEVIN only receives letters sent by registered mail. He was given a prescription for medication after he was hospitalized because of a heart problem, but was not allowed to keep the pills with him. . . .ALEXANDR KUSHNIR of Odessa was asked to submit documents for an exit visa. . . .MOSHE LIEBERMAN was summoned to the OVIR in Kishinev on March 25 and again refused an exit visa. When he mentioned Gorbachev's Paris statement, he was given a cynical answer. . . .ALEKSANDR PARITSKY's health has improved. . . .MARK NEPOMNIASHCHY is receiving letters and in good health.

EMIGRATION UPDATE

The BEREZIN family from Benzenchuk near Kulbyshev has arrived in Israel. . . .BORIS KALENDARIOV of Leningrad and ARMEN KHACHATURYAN of Moscow have emigrated. . . .After a delay for personal reasons, GRIGORY and ISAI GOLDSHTEIN finally emigrated with their families from Tbilisi.

NEWSBREAK

FEBRUARY 28, 1986
NB 02-86

SHCHARANSKY ARRIVES

JERUSALEM -- The long struggle for the release of ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY came to an end, February 11, at 10:00 a.m., when this prominent Prisoner of Conscience walked smiling across Berlin's Glienicke Bridge. It was the first stage of the journey to freedom that reunified him with his wife AVITAL and brought the realization of his dream to settle in Israel.

The struggle lifted a single victim of Soviet injustice to world renown, making of him a symbol that became a barometer of relations between the USSR and the West.

Anatoly Shcharansky, aged 38, a mathematician, arrived in Israel on Tuesday, February 11. He was sentenced to thirteen years in prison and labor camps in July 1978 on charges of treason under Article 64a of the RSFSR Criminal Code "Espionage and Assisting a Foreign Country in Hostile Activity" and under Article 70 "Anti-Soviet Activity."

The West German newspaper "Bild", which first broke the news of Shcharansky's inclusion in a "spy swap" on February 3, reported later that Shcharansky's mother, 77-year-old IDA MILGROM would also be allowed to leave the Soviet Union. Anatoly's brother LEONID, with his wife and two children, were included in the "permission."

Shcharansky's release was toasted in scores of homes inside the Soviet Union. VLADIMIR SLEPAK, Anatoly's close friend and comrade, was with his wife MARIA at the home of ELENA DUBIANSKAYA when he learned of Shcharansky's release. They opened a bottle of wine and drank a fervent "Mazal Tov."

ACTIVIST A WAITING TRIAL IS BEATEN

LENINGRAD -- VLADIMIR LIFSHITZ has been held in prison since January 8 for allegedly ". . .slandering the Soviet system. . ." (See NEWSBREAK January 24.) According to an appeal to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the prosecution of the 43-year-old mathematician is based on a letter sent to Western Communist Parties last year which was signed by no fewer than 50 refuseniks.

The letter to Western Communists simply told of the harassment of Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate or to study their own language and culture. Lifshitz, it seems obvious, is being punished for his desire to repatriate to Israel.

Vladimir's recent hospitalization arose from a beating he suffered at the hands of fellow prisoners and resulted in a serious concussion. Despite his release from the hospital, Lifshitz was reported to still suffer from serious headaches. His wife, ANNA, attempted to travel to Moscow to petition authorities for her husband's readmission to the hospital. Police told her she would not be allowed to go until the close of the current 27th Congress of the CPSU, in Moscow.

Although no date has been set for the trial, Lifshitz's lawyer believes insufficient evidence has been brought forward to sustain a prosecution, and has asked the court to dismiss the case. The prosecution has completed its case.

NEWSBREAK

HUNGER STRIKE TIED TO 27TH CONGRESS

MOSCOW -- Jewish activists began a two-week hunger strike on February 26, the eve of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, and asked for solidarity action in the West, such as hunger strikes and protests. The emigration activists sent cables to the Congress asking for the release of the Prisoners of Conscience and freedom of emigration for those who wish to go to Israel.

FEAR OF RELIGIOUS PRESSURE MOUNTS WITH SABBATH RAID

LENINGRAD -- Uniformed police raided a dacha at Razliv 40 kms from here and arrested seven youngsters who were holding an informal Oneg Shabbat. Although the young people tried to explain that it was customary among Jews, even those not strictly orthodox, to invite friends on the Sabbath eve to light candles and recite a kiddush, they were forced into the bitter cold and held overnight at the police station. Several were without topcoats and ILYA DVORKIN was wearing only carpet slippers.

The youngsters, including refusenik MARINA DOBRUSINA, an art teacher, were told that they were open to charges of holding a religious ceremony in an unauthorized place. They were questioned whether they had studied either modern Hebrew or religious works and asked for the names of their instructors. Their interrogators claimed they had evidence that some of the youngsters had studied Torah under LEONID ROKHLIN and that others had received instruction in modern Hebrew from his wife GOLDA.

Leningrad activists see the raid on the dacha as part of a general pattern of increased pressure on religious groups in the city, particularly on the young. "Leningradskaya Pravda," in a general article, claimed that religious and Hebrew study groups were a cover-up for subversive activity and made a special point of naming young students, among them SEMION INDIKTOR.

SCIENTISTS SEMINAR

MOSCOW -- To commemorate the 850th anniversary of Moshe Ben Maimon, 42 refusenik scientists attended lectures in YAKOV ALPERT'S home; the largest gathering of scientists since 1980. Among the lecturers were VLADIMIR DASHEVSKY and two visiting professors from Denmark and Norway. Thirty scientists contributed to a poster session with abstracts of their recent works. The group also appealed to the scientific community in the West to help them.

VOLVOVSKY SENT TO SIBERIA

YAKUT, ASSR -- LEONID VOLVOVSKY, the Gorky Prisoner of Conscience, has reached the Siberian outpost of Lensk, where he will serve a three-year sentence for allegedly "defaming the Soviet State."

GEORGIAN CUTBACK

TBILISI -- Instructions have gone out to the emigration or OVIR officials in the Georgian Republic not to process any more exit visas. The only functioning OVIR office remains in Tbilisi, the republic's capital.

MAILING TO SOVIET UNION: NEW POSTAL SERVICE BOOKLET

WASHINGTON -- "Mailing to the Soviet Union," a new 21-page booklet, formulated with the help of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, has just been published by the U.S. Postal Service. The booklet should answer all questions about mailing to the U.S.S.R. It is available from the NCSJ, in individual copies or bulk orders.

TRANSLATED from Russian

FROM: "Sovetskaya Belorussia", 21 Dec. 1985

NOTES ON:

"Bitter Money

or A Dialogue with a Philadelphia Rabbi and
a Postscript Written by an Honest American"

By V. Levin

Subtitled "Beware: Zionism!", the article tells about a meeting between F.G.Vainrub, a Hero of the Soviet Union, and a rabbi from Philadelphia and an American journalist who visited the USSR.

The article mentions several subjects: rabbis who "drank wine and ate honey cake in the company of local moneybags"; while Jewish children starved † rabbis who did not allow Jews to be saved from the Nazis; Soviet Jews who reached high-ranking positions and world-wide fame; Zionists who "engage in slander without any embarrassment"; a Philadelphia rabbi who visited the Soviet Union and who, when asked whether he would tell the truth about it in America, said: "You want me to lose my job?"; the lack of desire of most of Soviet Jews to leave their homeland; the support given by the Zionists to the campaign against the non-existent persecution of Jews in the USSR; the tragedy of those Jews who left their homeland, etc.etc.

The fact that the article was subtitled "Beware: Zionism!", as well as the repetition in this article of all the elements of the anti-Zionist campaign, show that the meeting of this Soviet Jew with the American rabbi was nothing more than a pretext to keep the anti-Zionist campaign up to a certain level.

* A reference to pre-revolutionary times.



S. 410
JKW7

To: Mr. Max Green
From: J. Pratt

I thought you might find this
of interest

with
the Compliments of the
Embassy of Israel
at Washington

NOTES ON: "The Dirty Hands of the Provocateurs"
 / subtitled "Beware: Zionism" /

By A. Borisov*

This article is a long one and deserves special attention both because of its length and its subject: it deals with the "ulpan" courses functioning in the Soviet Union. Describing the studies in such an ulpan the author notes that "The story about this evening (or, rather, one of these evenings) does not contain a single line composed by the author", but consisted of quotes only.

The following are some facts included in the article and quoted here in order to demonstrate what was meant by charges of Zionism.

1. "... Israeli magazines were lying on the table..."
2. "... The sounds of Israeli songs came from the tape-recorder..."
3. "... He spoke in Ivrit while giving the persons who gathered there a lesson in the ancient Jewish language..."
4. "...Then he sang an Israeli song with someone else playing its tune on a guitar".
5. "...There was some music again and the listeners practiced spoken Hebrew".
6. "...Later, having agreed on another meeting - at a different address, this time - they started leaving one by one, going in different directions..."

One does not have to be a lawyer to understand that none of the above-mentioned points contain anything of a criminal nature, no matter what laws one refers to. We would like, however, to comment on point 6.

- "...having agreed on another meeting - at a different address. Since no premises are provided in the Soviet Union for Hebrew lessons, as opposed to other language studies, people naturally

...2

* An unfamiliar name. Might possibly be an assumed name. - Ed.

conduct Hebrew lessons in different private apartments in order not to cause trouble to the hosts by using the same apartment too often.

- "They started leaving one by one..." It is an accepted custom in the Soviet Union that a large group of people does not leave an apartment at the same time, so as not to make noise and disturb the neighbours or to attract the attention of the authorities.

The article contains charges against the "ulpanim" that exist in Israel. In order to show that these charges have no real basis we would like to quote an excerpt from the article itself: "In Israel the ulpanim are a kind of school, a boarding school. This is their formal purpose, but what are they in practice? 'What is an ulpan?' - asks one of the recent issues of the magazine 'Israel Today', and provides a reply: 'The tasks of the ulpan are limited. It can provide the student with only a most basic command of Hebrew... But even this is very important. Hebrew binds us to the country and its people. This, perhaps, is the most important thing... Thus, the ulpan is not only a place for studying Hebrew. It is also a symbol of return to one's native country and one's people.'"

As we can see, the quotation does not contain anything of a criminal nature, but we found it necessary to include it in our comments in order to present "proof" of the negative activities of the Israeli "ulpan" courses.

Apart from a description of "ulpanim", the article contains another very important passage. It says: "The following testimony was given by a person who was once active in one of these 'study groups'. He is now planning to leave our country for Israel for family reasons and for this reason we will not mention here his name or the names and addresses of other persons mentioned in his testimony". /The passage is followed by the testimony itself./

This extraordinary case of showing consideration for a former activists leaving for Israel, immediately makes one think that the testimony of the former activist himself was the reason for his having received an emigration permit. Even if our assumption does not

correspond to reality, the quotation in question still looks like an indirect encouragement of this kind of "testimony". We only have to turn to another passage of the article, which mentions young people /and their names and places of study/, who "run to the synagogue in the evenings, study the literature brought by Zionist emissaries, while consciously or unconsciously preparing themselves to 'struggle against the Soviet regime on a narrow front line'".* The author says about such activities: "Nobody is allowed to do this."

The article also speaks in detail about Ruth Bloch and M. J. Hoch from Switzerland, whose tourist visas were cancelled after their arrival in Leningrad; about Hillel Butman and his book "Leningrad-Jerusalem With a Long Stopover"; about Zelichenok and Amnesty International.

* A quotation from H. Butman's book. H. Butman, a former Prisoner of Zion, was one of the defendants at the 2nd Leningrad Trial.

Editor: Emanuel Litvinoff
Published by European Jewish Publications Ltd.,
31 Percy Street, London, W.1.

Volume 12, No. 1, February, 1986

יוסף בֶּגוּן

Yosif Begun: The "Forgotten" Prisoner

To describe Yosif Begun as "forgotten" may seem incongruous to the many Jews and non-Jews who have campaigned, and continue to campaign, vigorously on his behalf. But the neglect his case has received in the high-level representations made to the Soviet authorities on behalf of victims of Soviet judicial oppression by Western leaders, governments and powerful international organisations during the current movement towards detente fully justifies the term.

Yet there is no excuse for this neglect. Begun deserves to figure among the most urgent cases in the human rights "shopping list." He and Shcharansky were given the longest, as well as the severest, sentences imposed on Jewish activists. Even more to the point, Begun's dedication to the study and teaching of Hebrew in the face of repeated harassment, arrest and trial has made him the principal symbol of the struggle to revive Jewish culture in the USSR, a fact recognised by the KGB when they selected him for scapegoat treatment and exemplary punishment.

A Mission for Jewish Culture

Begun and those who thought like him had a missionary belief that Soviet Jews were threatened with spiritual annihilation unless they could keep alive their historic national and religious culture. When he stood up before the improvised court in the Vladimir Prison complex on October 12, 1983, what was on trial was not a man but the cause of Jewish culture, the right to give lessons in Hebrew and perpetuate Jewish national identity – the struggle in short, for Jewish survival. In every sense of the word, it was a political trial in which the issue was not what Begun may or may not have done in breach of Soviet law but the ideas he represented. He was charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" under Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code ominously covering "Especially Dangerous Crimes against the State", and received the maximum sentence of twelve years imprisonment (seven years strict regime and five years exile) in a two-day trial that constituted a scandalous travesty of justice.

An appeal against the sentence was, predictably, dismissed by the Soviet Supreme Court on January 19, 1984. Shocked by this decision, the prestigious International Human Rights Law Group, situated in Washington, convened a working session of legal scholars in the field of Soviet and International Law to review the judicial proceedings and, on February 22, 1984, sent a petition signed by 23 leading jurists to the Soviet Procurator General, Alexander M. Rekuñkov. This stated: "The legal scholars reviewed all of the materials available to them

regarding Dr. Begun's conduct and the proceedings of the Soviet Courts. Based upon their analysis of the applicable Soviet and International Law, they have concluded that there is a substantial basis for vacating the judgement against Dr. Begun in accordance with Article 379 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, as well as upon the basis of Article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 5 of the International Convention on the elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the Helsinki Final Act which is specifically declared to be binding upon the USSR by former President Leonid Brezhnev. At their direction," wrote the chairman of the International Human Rights Law Group, "I am forwarding to you their request that you exercise your power to protest the judgement of the Vladimir Regional Court of October 14, 1983 and the decision of the Supreme Court of the RSFSR on appeal and that either the judgement be vacated or that your office take other remedial action to relieve Dr. Begun of the sentence imposed upon him and to authorise the approval of the request he made in 1971 for permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union to Israel." The memorandum and petition elicited no response. Yosif Begun's mistreatment and harassment has not been eased. If anything, in cynical disregard of public concern, the prison authorities have intensified his ordeal.

Prelude to Victimization

The memorandum submitted to the USSR Procurator General by the panel of legal scholars who reviewed the case began with an outline of the events that led up to Begun's trial and sentence. He was born on July 9, 1932 and holds a Candidate of Sciences degree in mathematics. In 1971, he applied for an exit visa to emigrate to Israel. This and all subsequent renewals of his application were denied in breach of the fact that the Soviet Union has ratified several international instruments expressly endorsing the right to free emigration including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 12), the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (Article 5), and has signed the Helsinki Final Act which was specifically declared to be binding with respect to the USSR by former President Leonid Brezhnev.

"Immediately upon applying to emigrate, Begun was forced out of his occupation and was thereafter barred from all employment in his field of specialisation," the memorandum points out. "He was unable to find other employment and for several years supported himself through private tutoring including the teaching of the Hebrew language. In 1977, he was arrested and subsequently convicted . . . for 'leading a parasitic form of life' and sentenced to two years internal exile. Several months after his release in 1978, Begun attempted to return to his native city of Moscow and live there with his wife and son; he was then re-arrested, convicted under Article 198 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (which makes punishable 'malicious violation of passport rules in localities where special rules of living or registration have been introduced') and sentenced to three years internal exile. After his release, he was banished from Moscow . . . and compelled to settle in the town of Strunino. There he continued to study, write and communicate with others on the subject of Jewish culture, history and religion until his latest arrest in November, 1982 and conviction in October, 1983 under Article 70."

This conviction and the denial of the appeal against the trial and sentence by the RSFSR Supreme Court had serious implications for constitutional guarantees of individual rights in the USSR and for the implementation of internationally recognised human rights and freedoms, the working session of legal scholars decided. They petitioned the Soviet Procurator General to set aside Yosif Begun's conviction and order his release on the grounds that there were "three main areas in which the Court of the first instance, in our view, misapplied the law and erred in evaluating the factual circumstances." These were: a) the misapplication of Article 70 of the Criminal code of the RSFSR; b) the failure to respect Soviet constitutional guarantees accepted by the USSR of fundamental freedoms of the individual; and c) the failure to observe Soviet procedural legal standards pertaining to the rules of evidence and fair trial.

No Examination of Evidence

Behind the formal legal language of the petition it is not difficult to detect a deeply-felt concern at the travesty of justice meted out to Begun. The authors analyse the trial

systematically, beginning with a critique showing how Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code was in this case misapplied.

“Article 70 . . . should be considered inapplicable in cases where a person exercises his inalienable right to free expression . . . We believe that Dr. Begun acted within his Soviet constitutional, as well as internationally guaranteed, human rights to free expression when he wrote and made known his thoughts on issues of great personal and intellectual interest to him, and that Article 70 should have been so construed as applied to Begun’s conduct. Apart from the above considerations, conviction under Article 70 . . . is contingent upon proof that the accused is responsible for ‘slandorous fabrications which defame the Soviet State and Social System’, and for agitation and propaganda carried on ‘for the purpose of subverting or weakening the Soviet government’. The Criminal Code and its official commentaries make it clear that both criteria, the objective and the subjective, must be established beyond doubt in order to render Article 70 applicable.”

These criteria were not established: they were not even considered. The basis of Begun’s arrest and trial was that he prepared or circulated literary materials considered under Article 70 as being slanderous fabrications defaming the Soviet State, etc. But the court confined itself merely to confirming that the literature in question had been in the possession of the accused, or originated with him, not whether its contents justified the charge. “No evidence was offered at the trial to show that the alleged actions or the seized literature were of a slanderous nature within the meaning of Article 70. The trial court’s error is illustrated by its treatment of what it described to be an ‘anti-Communist collection “Our Heritage”’ and reliance upon what is said to be an ‘anti-Soviet’ magazine published in Israel, ‘Twentytwo’ (Issue No.5, 1979). ‘Our Heritage’ in fact is a collection of writings exclusively on Jewish religious, philosophical and literary subjects with contributions by renowned scholars, writers and thinkers such as Martin Buber, Ahad Ha’am, Haim Nahman Bialik among others . . . None of the articles relate to the politics, economics or social system of the Soviet regime. A comparison of issue no.5 of ‘Twentytwo’ with ‘Our Heritage’ establishes that the only materials used from ‘Twentytwo’ are twelve pages translated into Russian of ‘Fear and Trembling’ by the mid-19th century Danish philosopher and theologian, Soren Kierkegaard. Without evidence that Kierkegaard’s essay contained language that ‘slanders’ the Soviet Union, or that Begun’s rewriting extracts of the essay was intended to ‘subvert and weaken the Soviet government’, his conviction cannot stand. The basic flaw in the proceedings represented by the failure to adduce evidence relating to the key elements of the crime renders the judgement ipso facto illegal and subject to annulment.”

Devastating List of Breaches

The Western legal scholars go on to consider how the Begun case fits in with the substantive rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution and by the applicable international standards of human rights the USSR has undertaken to make part of its legal system and observe scrupulously. These, latter, ratified by the Soviet Union, are: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education, the International Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination, and the Soviet signing of the Helsinki Final Act in which these standards are enunciated. It has also repeatedly upheld, in the United Nations and elsewhere, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The International Human Rights Law Group’s petition to the USSR Procurator General provides a devastating list of the breaches committed by the judgement against Begun in the Vladimir Regional Court trial. “It clearly is in violation of the guarantees of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and freedom to hold meetings and public demonstrations, contained in Article 50 of the USSR Constitution. It also is in clear violation of Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which states that everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes ‘freedom to hold opinions without interference’ and to ‘seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers . . . through any media’ . . . the guarantee of the freedom of expression is highly relevant to the question whether the act imputed to the accused contained the elements of a crime, a question which the local court had the duty to consider in pursuant of

Article 22 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure. The fact that the court was unconcerned with this important right and that it did not deal with the issue constitutes a serious defect which makes the judgement subject to scrutiny and reversal by the Procurator General.

“The conclusion by the trial court that interest in, attention to, and free discussion of the condition of a national minority in the USSR constitute a punishable offence conflicts with the freedom of expression and communication, and also with the specific guarantees which both the Soviet Constitution (Article 36), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education afford to persons belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities. Under these guarantees . . . persons belonging to such minorities may not be denied the right, in community with other members of the group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess their own religion, or to use their own language.”

Court's Violation of Impartiality

The petitioners point out that the notion, apparently entertained by the court at Begun's trial, that a communication by an individual to the UN Commission of Human Rights, UNESCO and other international bodies with recognised competence to receive such communications is contrary to Soviet law, “clearly violates the international obligations of the Government of the USSR not to inhibit the exercise of functions which these bodies exercise by preventing the submission of complaints by aggrieved persons or organisations. This mandate must be respected by all agencies of the Soviet State, whether administrative or judicial. Soviet participation in each of these international bodies assures the Soviet Government the opportunity to refute any allegations in individual communications that may be untrue,” a power that should be sufficient to protect the interests of the Soviet Government without the need to limit the right of individuals to bring their complaints before international bodies.

An equally important point is made with regard to a practice often used by the Soviet authorities in breach of its international obligations. This is that an appeal to the follow-up conference of the countries which signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe might be unlawful and punishable as a criminal offence. The Helsinki Final Act, which the Soviet Union has accepted as a binding obligation, proclaims the right of the individual to know and act upon his rights and duties in the international field, a right supported by several legal entitlements embodied in his country's national constitution and laws, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international instruments. These allow him to take non-violent action in defence of recognised rights and freedoms; and to engage in communication with others with a view to contributions to more effective implementation of international human rights standards.

The document then turns to a specific analysis of the failure to observe prescribed legal standards in regard to rules of evidence and other requirements to observe a fair trial in the case of Begun. “There are grounds to believe that the actual proceedings in the court of the first instance violated the minimum standards of impartiality and essential fairness in carrying out criminal justice” according to the Soviet Union's own constitution and legal procedures. “Perhaps the most prejudicial violation of these rules was the failure of the court . . . to determine through proper procedures whether the actions and materials which the prosecution designated as anti-Soviet in fact conformed to the required legal definition.” The judgement relied on presumptions that these were anti-Soviet without putting them to the test in direct contradiction to Article 71 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure which states that “no evidence shall have a previously established force for the court, as well as Article 43 of the Fundamentals of Criminal Procedure of the USSR and Article 309 of the Code of Criminal Procedures which prohibit rendering a verdict of guilty on the basis of mere presumptions.” The court also ignored the requirements of Article 69 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure that evidence in a criminal case must be based on factual data. The “evidence” that Begun's actions was anti-Soviet was not directly analysed by the court and therefore the judgement could not be upheld as legal and well-founded as required by Article 301 of the RSFSR Code of Criminal Procedure.

“Mockery of Open Trial”

Article 18 of this Code, supported by provisions of the Soviet Constitution and international covenants of civil, political and human rights, was violated by the failure of the court to respect the requirement that “the examination of cases in all courts should be open”, excepting only where state secrets, sexual crimes, juveniles and intimate matters are involved. The case against Begun, although involving an alleged “especially dangerous crime against the state”, had no connection with state secrets or other matters excepting it from the general rule and should therefore have been conducted as an open public trial. “In fact, however, the Soviet police made strenuous efforts to ensure that the trial be effectively closed and that no information about the proceedings be transmitted beyond the confines of the courtroom. Even while the preliminary investigation was in progress, Begun’s fiancée, Speranskaya-Shlemova, and his son Boris were threatened and warned against disseminating information about the case. The trial itself was conducted in circumstances which made a mockery of the right to an open trial. The proceedings were held . . . within the grounds of the Vladimir Prison. The only members of the public permitted in the courtroom, apart from witnesses, were employees of the prison. All foreign observers whether diplomatic, journalistic, representatives of non-governmental organisations or otherwise, were excluded.”

Begun’s son Boris and his fiancée were effectively excluded by the ruse of naming them as witnesses. This brought into play Article 283 of the Code of Criminal Procedure which prohibits the presence of witnesses in the courtroom prior to their giving testimony, although Boris was forcibly excluded from the premises and did not testify. Begun’s fiancée did testify, but she was stopped from attending subsequent sessions, unlike other witnesses who were not excluded after their evidence was over.

This was in flagrant breach of Article 283, which specifies: “Witnesses who have been interrogated shall remain in the courtroom and may not withdraw before the completion of the judicial investigation without the permission of the court.”

Begun “Denied Proper Defence”

A travesty of justice was obviously in progress, and the judicial authorities, the police and all concerned were determined to prevent the scandalous details reaching the outside world. Therefore, although Boris and Speranskaya-Shlemova were admitted for the reading of the judgement, when Begun’s son was seen to be making notes, he was compelled to stop. “Three days after the trial, Boris and Shlemova were able to obtain their first brief meeting with Begun since his arrest nearly a year before. The meeting was held under circumstances designed to prevent transmission of any information regarding the trial. The two sides to the conversation sat in separate glass booths and communicated by telephone, while an official controller interrupted the conversation at any mention of details of the trial . . .”

Another flagrant breach of Soviet law and the USSR Constitution was the denial to Begun of the right to a proper defence, including the right to call witnesses and present evidence at the trial. Again, this right is reinforced by an international covenant signed by the Soviet Union, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which in Article 14 (3) specifies that everyone accused of a criminal charge shall be entitled “to defend himself in person or through legal assistance of his own choosing” and “examine, or have examined, the witnesses against him and obtain the attendance and examination of witnesses on his behalf under the same conditions as witnesses against him.”

None of these rights was respected in Begun’s trial. He was denied counsel of choice, and his fiancée Speranskaya-Shlemova was told that Begun’s was “a special case” and consequently only lawyers holding a special dopask, or permit, granted by the authorities would be permitted to undertake his defence. “This restriction,” the Western lawyers comment, “has no basis in any Soviet statute or published regulation and, in fact, was in marked contradiction to the extremely broad range of persons permitted to act as defenders pursuant to Article 47 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. Of the thirty lawyers available in Vladimir, twentysix did not have the required dopask; three of the remaining four, when approached, refused outright to take the case, while the remaining lawyer declined because of illness. After obtaining permission to seek counsel outside Vladimir, Speranskaya-Shlemova found that all lawyers who were approached

in Moscow and Leningrad refused to take the case. Finally (after Begun's failure to find defence counsel had become the subject of an international outcry) a Moscow lawyer, Leonid Popov, agreed to undertake the defence of Begun."

Begun Told: "Plead Guilty"

A problem, characteristic of Soviet justice in political cases, immediately arose. Advocate Popov told Begun that he was only prepared to undertake his defence if he pleaded guilty, albeit to the lesser charge of having violated Article 190-1 of the Criminal Code which covers "Circulation of Fabrications known to be False Which Defame the Soviet State and Social System."

"When Begun insisted on his innocence of all wrong doing and demanded that the defence be conducted on this basis, Popov withdrew from the case," the Western petition notes. "It thus appears that Begun was deprived of the service of a counsel who was willing 'to make use of all means and methods of defence indicated in the law for explaining the circumstances tending to acquit the accused' as required by Article 51 of the CCP and Article 23 of the FCP, and that he had been in effect deprived of his right to defence.

"On the first day of the trial, October 12, a Vladimir attorney appeared in court to defend Begun, but Begun, recognising the ineffectiveness of this last minute intervention, rejected the offer and requested and was granted permission to continue to act as his own defence counsel. In addition to effective defence counsel, Begun was also deprived of the right to present evidence and summon witnesses. Not a single witness appeared at the trial on behalf of Begun. Moreover, Begun appears to have been restricted in his right to question those who did appear, in violation of Article 283 of the Code of Criminal Procedure granting the right to interrogate all witnesses. Begun also appears not to have been granted the opportunity at any stage of the proceedings to present evidence proving that his assertions regarding the severe discrimination against Jewish culture and the Hebrew language were not slanderous fabrications which did not accord with reality."

Breaches of Justice

Another grievous breach of justice was the court's failure to conduct a complete and objective analysis of the circumstances of the case and respect the presumption of innocence of the accused as prescribed by Article 20 of the Soviet Code of Criminal Procedure. This obliges the court, procurator, investigator and person conducting the inquiry to take all legal measures "for a thorough, complete and objective analysis . . . and expose circumstances tending both to convict and acquit the accused, as well as those tending to aggravate and to mitigate his guilt."

These obligations were ignored. "The reason for Begun's activity was his deep sense of grievance and deprivation resulting from the denial of his right to emigrate (and his concomitant persecution for asserting it), and his right as a Soviet Jew of learning his national language and enjoying his national culture. All of the appeals, statements, lectures and other materials which Begun disseminated were directed solely at rectifying this injustice. Any thorough, complete and objective analysis of the circumstances of the case would have disclosed this fact. However, no witness or evidence were sought either during the investigation or at trial which might have revealed the objective reality underlying Begun's actions." The International Human Rights Law Group petition illustrates this omission by noting that Begun's request to call as witnesses the leading Chukchi writer Yuri Ryt'heu, and the celebrated Avari writer Rasul Gamzatov, to establish the degree of cultural discrimination. Also, his plea that he had acted exclusively in defence of Jewish rights "was briefly noted, cursorily dismissed and its factual basis ignored." The court's judgement, therefore, failed to comply with the requirement of Article 314 of the Code of Criminal Procedure which specified that "the descriptive part of the judgement contain the reasons why the court has rejected evidence other than that on which its conclusions are founded."

Violation of USSR Supreme Court Instruction

A great many assumptions and suppositions that supported the prosecution's hypothesis of the alleged crime were assembled, and all evidence which tended to refute it was either

suppressed or ignored. The pre-trial investigator and the trial court "failed utterly to respect the principles of the presumption of innocence with respect to Begun." Yet the obligation to observe these principles was enunciated in a guiding instruction by the Plenum of the USSR Supreme Court in 1978 which stated that it was necessary

"strictly to observe the constitutional principle by which the accused (defendant) is considered innocent until his guilt has been proved according to law and is established by a court judgement that has entered into legal force . . . A verdict of guilty cannot be founded on suppositions. All doubts that are impossible to dispel must be interpreted in favour of the accused."

All this leads the Western jurists to the emphatic conclusion that if the investigator and the court had fulfilled their obligations under Article 20, Begun would have been acquitted since his actions "did not contain the elements of a crime" (in accordance with Article 309 of the Criminal Code). "Indeed, the indictment against him should have been quashed under Article 222 even prior to the trial for the same reason."

Excessive Sentence

They then go on to question what they describe as the "excessive, disproportionate and illegal punishment" imposed on Yosif Begun, the maximum sentence of seven years imprisonment and five years exile passed by the Vladimir Regional Court. "This punishment was 'clearly unjust in its extent' since it did not 'correspond with the gravity of the crime' or with the personality of the convicted person" in the terms of Article 345 of the Code of Criminal Procedure." The jurists argue that "even if the Vladimir Regional Court was determined to find Begun guilty, it should have taken into account the legitimate grievances underlying his actions and the lack of social danger implicit in Begun's activity which was not violent and was directed to a very small part of the Soviet population." Also, the materials which figured in the case were, in the court's own judgement, prepared not later than 1978, at least, five years before the trial, and most of it had been confiscated by the police before Begun's first trial in 1977. The degree of social danger it represented could therefore hardly have been great by 1983.

"The court appears to have been influenced in sentencing Begun by the fact that he had previously been twice convicted. But Begun's conviction for 'parasitism' in 1977 (and his subsequent conviction for malicious violation of passport rules which was based on it) are of highly questionable legality. The anti-parasite law has continually been the subject of criticism in the Committee of Experts of the International Labour Organisation since it conflicts with Convention No.29 concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour . . . Begun's second conviction was also based on an unpublished ex-postfacto decree and is therefore a violation of Article 15 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which provides that 'a heavier penalty shall not be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the criminal offence was committed.'" The court could have taken these factors into account in "other circumstances as mitigating responsibility", and erred in imposing the maximum sentence on Begun.

On the basis of these arguments, the International Human Rights Law group petition submitted that the judgement effected against Yosif Begun should be vacated in accordance with Article 379 of the Soviet Code of Criminal Procedure. (It also cites Articles 342, 343, 344, 345, 346 and 347 of the C.C.P.). The crucial aspects in which justice was found to be remiss was summarised as follows:

- 1) the one-sidedness or incompleteness of the inquiry or of the preliminary or judicial investigation;
- 2) the lack of correspondence of the court's findings set forth in the judgement and the factual circumstances of the case;
- 3) the substantial violation of the criminal procedure law;
- 4) the incorrect application of the criminal law;
- 5) the lack of correspondence of the punishment assigned by the court with the gravity of the crime or the personality of the invited person.

"For the above reasons, and in the name of justice and legality," the petition concludes, "we respectfully ask the Prosecutor General of the USSR to exercise his power under the USSR statute on the Procurancy, Articles 23 and 325 and Article 371 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the RSFSR, to protest the judgement of the Vladimir Regional Court of October

14, 1983 and the decision of the Supreme Court of the RSFSR on appeal from the aforementioned judgement and to vacate the judgement. Alternatively, the Prosecutor General of the USSR is requested to take whatever other action in this matter the interests of justice may require." The 23 signatories include academic and practising international lawyers from the United States, Canada, Britain, France, Italy and Israel.

Subjected to Vindictive Harassment

In the meantime, Yosif Begun is languishing in the dreaded Chistopol Prison of the remote Tatar republic, notorious as the place of confinement where Anatoly Shcharansky endured some of his cruellest torments. Chistopol is used to break the resolve of those stubborn spirits who remain undefeated by the harsh rigours of existence in the Gulag Archipelago. The regime of extra-punishment practised by its jailers has earned the prison the soubriquet of a "hell on earth" by those who have lived to tell the tale. Begun has been incarcerated there since April 3, 1985 when the regional court of the Perm Labour Camp sentenced him to serve three years there for unspecified breaches of camp regulations. This culminated a vindictive campaign of harassment inflicted on him ever since his twelve year sentence was pronounced.

Yosif Begun's long ordeal at the hands of the Soviet secret police and the judicial authorities began when he was 39 years old, the age when Shcharansky was finally released to the West in the sensational great spy swap (despite the fact that Shcharansky's sentence for spying was a trumped-up affair). Unless Begun is also released, he will be 62 when his sentence is completed, and he will effectively have endured a 23 year period of persecution by the Soviet State. The campaign for his freedom must be stepped up by every available means.

S-1110
JEWRY

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

April 29, 1986

Morris Abram
Chairman, National Conference on Soviet Jewry
2027 Massachusetts Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Friend:

A front page article recently appeared in the Washington Times stating that I urged the removal of trade restrictions against the Soviet Union and, specifically, "called for lifting the Jackson/Vanik amendment" during a speech before the American Committee on East-West Accord. I wanted to let you know that the article was flatout wrong.

This irresponsible article was written by a reporter who was not even present during my speech. I am enclosing for your information my unedited, verbatim remarks. My comments concerning Jackson-Vanik appear on pp. 5-7. I am also enclosing my letter of protest to the editor of the Washington Times.

I trust these materials will be sufficient to set the record straight. As I have stated on a number of occasions, I firmly believe that we need to search for new and better ways to increase Jewish emigration and to improve human rights behind the iron curtain. Indeed, only 47 Jews were permitted to emigrate last month. At the same time, I have no intention of proposing or supporting any new policy unless I am sure it has broad, bipartisan support and the desired effect on Soviet behavior.

I am encouraged by signs that some Jewish leaders may be willing to take another look at Jackson-Vanik. It is in our best interests to find some way out of the current cycle whereby the U.S. refuses to ease trade restrictions because of the Soviet's abysmal record on Jewish emigration and the Soviets refuse to improve Jewish emigration in protest of U.S. trade restrictions.

Some have suggested a temporary, experimental easing of Jackson-Vanik restrictions to break the cycle. On the other hand, maybe what we need to do is get tougher with the Soviets. Above all, we must search for more effective alternatives. As you know, despite the well-publicized release of a few of the better known Refuseniks, for most Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate, matters are only getting worse.

Over the past several months, my office has been in regular contact with representatives of the Jewish community on this issue. I know that sloppy reporting will in no way damage the good working relationship we enjoy. I have always worked with American Jewish groups on the Soviet Jewry question, and will continue to do so.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bob Dole", written over the word "Sincerely,".

BOB DOLE
United States Senate

Letters

Sen. Dole clarifies trade remarks

Reporter Ralph Hallow, the headline writer of his April 28 article, and your editorial writers did your readers and me a real disservice on April 28 and 29 with their flat-out erroneous accounts of my position on the Jackson-Vanik amendment.

So let's set the record straight. I am not "urging" the removal of trade restrictions against the Soviet Union, nor have I "called for lifting the Jackson-Vanik amendment trade and credit restrictions against the Soviet Union." The facts clearly show that Mr. Hallow was jumping to conclusions based on second-hand and third-hand accounts; he was not present during my remarks to the American Committee on East-West Accord.

Unfortunately, an editorial writer penned a stinging opinion piece based on the sloppy reporting in Mr. Hallow's April 28 article. Thus, the editorial entitled "Sen. Dole's remarkable idea" is a triple embarrassment for *The Washington Times*: first, it is a dead wrong account of my position on the Jackson-Vanik amendment; second, it is based on Mr. Hallow's inaccurate story; and third, it appears on the same day *The*

Times ran a story correcting Monday's erroneous account.

The following are verbatim remarks from my speech to the East-West forum:

"The bottom line on changing Jackson-Vanik is this: I don't know of anybody in the Senate, the Senate Finance Committee, who is seeking to walk out there alone without some evidence that there is going to be some broadbased support . . .

"The Soviets, as you know, perennially object to the U.S. denial of Most Favored Nation status under the Jackson-Vanik amendment. Since the amendment was passed in 1974, I think it is fair to say it has met with mixed results. The Soviets are offended by the fact that we try to impose restrictions and try to say 'unless you do this we are not going to trade with you.' That is resented by the Soviet Union. On the other hand, we are concerned about human rights . . .

"There are a number of options, and I sure there are a number of suggestions in this audience. One approach would be to suspend the Jackson-Vanik as applied to the So-

viets for one year. See what happens. If the Soviets loosen up on emigration, extend the suspension for another year, and so forth. This might get us out of the circular deadlock we are now in — where they won't loosen up on emigration under the threat of Jackson-Vanik, and we will not repeal Jackson-Vanik because they won't loosen up on emigration.

"We need to look for some way to fashion some new approach to what I consider a very serious problem. Maybe it will be resolved at the highest levels, maybe between the president of the United States and Mikhail Gorbachev at their next meeting or the next one.

"You know they have a lot of other areas to discuss, but certainly in addition to arms control this is of greater interest to many, many people, many business men and women, many corporations, many who are trying to improve our relationship with the Soviet Union — not just for their economic gain but for what they consider to be a necessity and a hope that we can live with each other in peace for the next 50 or 100 years."

ROBERT DOLE
Majority Leader
U.S. Senate
Washington



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REMARKS

BY

SENATOR ROBERT J. DOLE

at the second session of the

1986 FORUM ON U.S.-SOVIET TRADE RELATIONS

April 24, 1986

The Madison Hotel

Washington, D.C.

The Forum is a year-long series of monthly luncheon meetings on U.S.-Soviet Trade Relations sponsored by the American Committee on East-West Accord. For further information, contact:

Margaret Chapman, Trade Program Director, at (202) 544-5300

"U.S.-Soviet Trade from the Congressional View"

REMARKS OF SENATOR ROBERT J. DOLE, April 24, 1986, Washington, D.C.

(Introduced by William G. Miller, Chief Executive Officer, ACEWA)

(Acknowledges introduction) Thank you very much, Bill. I appreciate that -- pretty much the way we had gone over it. You got it right. (Laughter)

I'm very glad to be here. I'm not sure what the media is all around here for. I wasn't going to say anything. You must have another program following this one. (Laughter)

The Senate is in session today. That's the bad news. The good news is we're not going to stay in too long and we'll not be in tomorrow but we'll be back on Monday. We're looking at the budget right now. I'm not here to talk about the budget, but quickly just to give you a thumb-nail sketch of where we are -- many of you already know -- and what we're doing, and that wouldn't take long to tell you that (laughter). But there is a lot of precedence for doing nothing, and we wouldn't want to break the mold. So we are struggling with the budget as we do every year. We'll be struggling with it for some time as we do every year. We have tax reform in the Finance Committee. Up until this morning we have been meeting in the sunshine. Starting this morning, with Chairman Packwood, we are now meeting in the back room, in what I guess you would call a closed session to see whether tax reform will be able to fly. So we're looking at those two basic issues which are with us all the time. But I would also indicate to this group that we're looking at another issue, a broader issue, hopefully not a partisan issue, under the general heading of trade--which means many different things to many different people.

To some of us who are running in 1986, as I am, and to others in the Congress, it means how do we protect, or how do we help--I don't mean to use that word "protect," it may have the wrong meaning! (Laughter). How do we assist our constituents who are trying to sell their products overseas, who believe they

are competitive and believe they should have access to markets around the world. I would only say this, it is bipartisan. It is not a partisan issue. I hope it does not become a partisan issue. As many of you know, on the House side the Ways and Means are engaged trying to mark up a trade bill. We had an experience yesterday in the Finance Committee whether or not we should enter into negotiations with Canada on a free trade agreement. The question is whether we should disapprove the resolution. The vote was 10 to 10. The President won on a tie vote. It was after a lot of heavy work and lobbying. In the last analysis, Senator Matsanaga decided to vote with the rest of us to give us 10 and the opponents had 10. That's an indication in itself. Not that we have any problems with Canada. Very clearly everybody praised Canada and all the great things in our friendship, our border-- we have a few trade problems but not generally with the government. We have good relations. And then proceeded to vote against them. They did it because of their frustration, I assume, with the Administration, as we have been frustrated with other Administrations when it comes to trade.

I guess we have a narrow view. If you come from farm country and you can't sell your commodities overseas. Or if you've lost your job if you're in the textile area or the steel area. There are a lot of reasons that would lead us to believe we ought to do better on the trade side.

We have a rather simple view of trade, many of us. We are not particularly expert, but we are running for election and reelection from time to time--which many of the experts do not do. Ours is simple to the extent that we believe that if we are competitive that we should have access to markets if those same countries where they are competitive have access to our markets. It is hard to explain to people in my state why we don't ^{have} access in certain countries to their markets, when they appear to have unlimited access to ours where they are competitive. I must say that it is particularly difficult coming from a farm state where we find ourselves

in almost a state of depression in parts of the farm belt because of lack of exports, low prices, the high dollar, whatever. It is changing I think, finally, for the better. But I have observed when I have gone home from time to time and gone to town meetings, not frequently but a few times, I have had a few farmers in the front row and they had caps on and across the front it said "Dump Dole." We immediately put them down as "undecided." (Laughter) But it is an indication of the farmers' frustration. I'm not certain they dislike Bob Dole--maybe they do--but they want somebody's attention.

I will just say in a general way that I assume there will be some trade legislation this year, hopefully with the Administration's support. But with or without the Administration's support I have a feeling that something will pass. Whether or not it will be vetoed or signed I'm not certain.

But let me be a little more specific, because I know where I am and I know you are interested in East-West trade. I know that many here are hoping that there are some opportunities with the Soviet Union in particular. I think that first of all we have to understand that we are not interested in giving the Soviets high technology. There are certain limits that we believe are in our own national interest. We wonder how many more Americans may have lost their lives in Libya had they had better ^(the Libyans) equipment. So we are a little leery about people trying to tell us not to worry about technology because we believe we can control that. So I must start off with that caveat. I think the Soviets have greatly increased their military capabilities. They would certainly like to have our technology. There may be some of it we can spare. But when it gets into the high tech and some of these areas, then I think we have to draw the line.

I also believe--though I am not the expert, I am on the Finance Committee and I am on the Trade Subcommittee, and have spent some time on the issue--as I look at the

Soviet Union, and again, I hope that someday there may be everlasting friendship, and I am certainly encouraged by the first visit that President Reagan and Secretary Gorbachev had and I hope there is a second visit, whether it comes before or after the election I don't think makes much difference. It appears now that it is more likely to come after the election just looking at the calendar, looking at the President's schedule, and looking at the latest move by the Soviets. But in any event, we believe that dialogue is very important. We believe that even in the farm belt that trade might improve and mutual advantage to both the Soviets and the United States and the American farmer, for example, if we continue to have the dialogue and continue to break down some of the barriers and some of the notions that we have about one another.

But we are hopefully not naive. Not speaking as someone who wants to trade with the Soviets, ^{speaking as} someone who wants to improve our relationship, but speaking as a member of the Congress. As far as I can determine there are only two reasons for expanding trade with the Soviet Union. One is economic and one is political. Some have more interest in the economics than the politics. The economic benefits that normally flow from trade apply to trade with the Soviets. But we must keep in mind that declining world energy prices probably limited what the Soviets might have available in any event. Now who knows what the oil prices may finally do, but I would guess that they sharply reduced the hard currency earnings in the Soviet Union and the ability of the Soviets to engage in trade with the West. Maybe it is temporary, maybe it's lasting. I don't know.

The political benefits of trade with the Soviets are probably less clear. I think it is rather clear that the Soviets have a record of subordinating their economic interests to political ends. While we would like to think that trade ties normally bring countries together, and people together, whatever, we are not certain that is the case with the Soviet Union. But there is some evidence

that behind all the dogma the Soviets have an interest. And the fact is their desire to trade with the West is not just economic but for political reasons as well. Their interest in participating in GATT as an observer, their interest in MFN treatment is certainly in my view another piece of evidence they want to be accepted as equals in the world of trading nations. I don't think we should ignore these approaches. To me if they are signals they should be pursued. We should determine what the final result might be and what their real purpose might be.

The Soviets, as you know, perennially object to the U.S. denial of MFN under the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. Since the Jackson-Vanik Amendment was passed in 1974, I think it is fair to say it has met with mixed results. The Soviets are offended by the fact that we try to impose restrictions and try to say "unless you do this, we are not going to trade with you." That is resented by the Soviet Union. On the other hand, we are concerned about human rights. And the very basic human right is the right to emigrate, even if it happens in the Soviet Union. We have a right to respond in some way, and this is the way chosen-- an amendment by the late Senator Jackson and now-retired Congressman Charlie Vanik.

I wanted to explore Jackson-Vanik, I think it was about three years ago, and had a brief hearing in the Senate Finance Committee. I remember Senator Jackson appearing at that hearing and indicating that we shouldn't change anything. Whether it was working as well as we had hoped, he still felt it was a statement that needed to be made year after year after year by the Congress on the subject of human rights, even if those people happened to reside in the Soviet Union. Many of us believe, and again it is not a partisan issue--I don't think it is an issue in this audience, as I said the right to emigrate is a fundamental right-- and I think the Congress is unlikely to turn a deaf ear to the Soviet abuse of this right. So what do we do about it.

There are a number of options, and I am sure there are a number of suggestions in this audience. One approach would be to suspend the Jackson-Vanik as applied to the Soviets for one year. See what happens. If the Soviets loosen up on emigration, extend the suspension for another year, and so forth. This might get us out of the circular deadlock we are now in --where they won't loosen up on emigration under the threat of Jackson-Vanik, and we will not repeal Jackson-Vanik because they won't loosen up on emigration. We need to look for some way to fashion some new approach to what I consider a very serious problem. Maybe it will be resolved at the highest levels, maybe between the President of the United States and Mr. Gorbachev at their next meeting or the next one. You know they have a lot of other areas to discuss, but certainly in addition to arms control this is of great interest to many, many people, many business men and women, many corporations, many who are trying to improve our relationship with the Soviet Union--not just for their economic gain but what they consider to be a necessity and a hope that we can live with each other in peace for the next fifty or one hundred years.

So I would just suggest that we are aware of the problem. We are aware of how much U.S. trade we have with the centrally planned economies. We have a little surplus with the USSR, about 2.7 billion dollars in '84, so we have a little the better of it. But I would just suggest in the overall trade debate to take place this year, there may be room for some discussion or recognition of a fact to at least go back and take another look at Jackson-Vanik. There is no question in my mind that in order to make any change there is going to have to be a change in attitude of many groups in this country. Some believe very firmly that we shouldn't change it one bit--that there shouldn't be a suspension, there should not be anything that deviates from the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. But I do see some signs of a change in attitude among some of the Jewish leaders in America who now believe that perhaps there might be some other approach. So I would

guess that whether or not anything is done would depend on the attitude of many leaders in that area, and also the Administration. We don't know what the Administration, what the President's policy might be in this area. I don't know of anybody in the Senate, the Senate Finance Committee, who is seeking to walk out there alone without some evidence that there is going to be some broadbased support--bipartisan support, support of the Administration, support of the groups directly involved, support of the business groups, and support of many conservative groups that have a little different view on particularly the high tech area that I stated.

I think it was President Eisenhower who said that he would be willing to sell the Russians anything they couldn't shoot back at us. That is how some of us from the farm states justify grain sales and other things of that kind. It was repeated by Hubert Humphrey; in fact I think he inserted that everytime he talked about exports. The other theory was that if they are going to spend their hard currency, why not spend it on food. I know that some in this audience have other ideas on how they could spend it, not just on food.

So I would guess that we haven't made any great changes. We like to believe that we are a good supplier. We have some products the Soviets might want if they have the money to pay for it. So I am just suggesting as one member of the Senate Finance Committee and the Trade Subcommittee that we are certainly aware of some of the desires of this group and ^{certainly} ~~willing~~ to be responsive, keeping in mind, I think, what I stated at the outset. I don't believe that there is anywhere near a majority in the Congress who are yet willing to embrace some of the ideas being proposed by the Soviet leaders. We have yet to see any real demonstration of their concern--at least as we see it, they may have just the opposite view--whether it is arms control or cooperation against international terrorism, or whatever it may be. I would guess that until the President and ~~Mr. Gorbachev~~ continue their dialogue and actually have some concrete results that attitude is not going to change.

Mr. Gorbachev continue their dialogue and actually have some concrete results, that attitude is not going to change. There are many in the Senate, not all Republicans but Republicans and Democrats, who pretty much share this view. We want to make progress, but our definition of progress might be a bit different from yours. Sometimes progress is not changing. To others progress is changing, moving in one direction or the other. I just hope that we can work together with this Committee and others.

I might have a little time for some questions. I might not have the answer, but I could mail it to you.

Q: Would you be a little more specific on the trade bill you mentioned..how that is being played out...how hard a fight you think it's going to be?

A: Well I was in a meeting yesterday at 1:45 at the White House when the President met with about eight Senators, trying to convince them to help him out on the Canadian proposal. Out of the eight, one finally did--Senator Matsanaga. Again, the President indicated to Senator Matsanaga quite clearly that he had gotten the message. The message was that many of us in the Senate don't feel we have been properly consulted by the Administration. We don't always mean the President, because he can't consult on everything. We have the highest regard for Secretary Baldrige and Ambassador Yeutter, the USTR, and all that. A couple of things we're looking at...we're looking at a whole host of things, including mandating that the President take certain actions if we find that certain unfair trade practices have taken place. In effect, revising section 201 and 301. I don't think any Administration could support that. But these are the kinds of things we have in mind. I would hope that the trade debate does not become politicized and not become a partisan issue before the '86 election. We don't believe it will on the Senate side. We have ^{the} outstanding leadership of Senators Danforth and Bentsen, the Chairman and ranking member on the trade subcommittee. We may let some of our parochial views show from

time to time, but I think generally we have an objective view of what should be done.

Q: Do you think the Soviet Union should pay for what it imports from us in hard currency, or what would be your position on selling on credit to the Soviets. And secondly, what do you feel about the fact that the trade balance with Romania and some other countries ^{for a few years} has been negative. Just from a financial and trade balance point of view?

A: I think that we have found in the past...I don't have the figures here... that the Soviets have been pretty good in repayment. There haven't been any problems, whether it's cash up front or solid credit terms. We haven't had any problems with that. I think I would leave that up to the Administration that might be undertaking that proposal. We are concerned about our trade deficits. I don't have the figures on Romania. (Turns to Dr. Susanne Lotarski, Department of Commerce) Have we had a trade deficit with Romania?

Lotarski: The last couple of years it has been a deficit.

A: It is not large compared to what we are facing in other countries. We can't always expect X for X. There are always going to be trade imbalances in some countries. I would like to think that overall there is some sort of balance. We haven't had that balance primarily because of our big deficit with Canada and the bigger deficit with Japan. I am not certain that is a big factor.

Q: I wonder if you would comment on the status of U.S. agriculture. Certainly through the years U.S. agriculture has been losing its market share overseas. China is selling soybeans to Japan now, and there is a glut in the market. Do you feel that U.S. agriculture is still competitive and can improve its posture in coming years?

A: I picked up last Sunday's paper, I think it was, saying that farm exports had dropped another 20 percent. You bring that back to the farmer, who is already in a depressed situation. It's pretty tough. They tell the story in Iowa -- I was out there recently checking on Bush and Kemp..(laughter) I was visiting

with this farmer who said "I've got to tell you about my neighbor. He was arrested for child abuse." I said "what happened?" He said "well, he gave his farm to his son." (laughter) That's how tough it is out there in parts of the country. All we need to further depress the market price which is already depressed, is not to be able to export. Now we have this new farm bill. \$53 billion signed by the President on December 23, and the cost has been reestimated at \$60 billion over three years. In that particular bill there are literally billions of dollars for export programs. We have the so-called "bicep" program. The export enhancement program. Again we have a problem there with the Soviet Union, who says "we're not going to buy it from you because we don't get the bonuses." We have a philosophical/ideological difference. We shouldn't subsidize the Soviets at all. Of course, that sort of pits the farmers against other conservatives. Farmers consider themselves to be conservatives. So I am not certain how it's going to work. We have lost a lot of our market shares. ^{Going} ~~Back~~ to the soybean decision ^{that} President Nixon made with Brazil, we lost a lot of our markets. So we haven't had much luck with our on again/off again embargoes. Very frankly, our price support structure in effect did ourselves in. We have changed in our new farm bill the direction of price supports. Now they are going to be flexible. Now they are going to be low. Hopefully they are going to be competitive with other countries. And hopefully we can export some of the \$8 billion of surplus grain we have by using an export program which would in effect tell a country "if you've been a purchaser, and you buy from us, we'll give you a bonus -- unless you are the Soviet Union." You know that presents a real problem. Maybe the President and Mr. Gorbachev can...well, that's a small detail, but it's rather important.

Well, we have a meeting at the White House at 1:45, to thank the ten of us who helped the President on the Canadian vote yesterday. The President leaves

tomorrow for Tokyo. It takes him a while to get there. He will stop in L.A. for one night, in Hawaii for two nights, Bali a couple of nights. (laughter) We told the President to leave his number in case we needed him. We are on the budget, and taxes, and all of these things are coming in focus all at once. I told the President this morning that if I really got into deep trouble I'd check with the Secretary of Transportation. (Laughter & Applause)

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