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Int. Jewry

Yosif Begun Tells The Story of His Release
/As stated in a telephone conversation with
a friend in Israel on 23 February 1987./

...The story of my release really started in the middle of January, when an investigator arrived from the Procurator's Office and started talking about Art. 70. Three or four days later everybody /charged according to Art. 70 - Tr./ was released, except for me. I was told that my "refusal to write" /to appeal for pardon - Tr./ was the reason for not being released with the others. In the end, I wrote a statement, where I said that I do not intend to violate Soviet laws if there will be no need to violate them (meaning by that the right of the Jews to a cultural and national development of their own). I wrote 3-4 days before my release, on the 14 of the 15 of February. They were satisfied. I also wrote that I have never been guilty of committing a crime, that I have never violated Soviet laws and therefore I do not consider myself guilty. Thus, I do not intend to appeal for pardon. The fact that the authorities contacted me indicates that a process of democratization is now on in the Soviet Union and this has lead to the process of release /of prisoners - Tr./.

I think that the declared changes will become real only if true equality is introduced, which means in the case of the Jews that they will be able to enjoy their national culture. I presented a 5-point program on the first steps towards restoring Jewish culture. I did not place special stress on my own emigration, but I did say that emigration to Israel should be considered in the general context of emigration from the USSR. The newly introduced law has stringent restrictions which will become an insurmountable obstacle for many people. Every Jew wishing to live in Israel should be allowed to realise this right. There was also a point on the restoration

of Jewish national education which would enable the Jews to study their own culture and history. This kind of literature should be published in Russian and teaching aids for studying Hebrew should also be made available. The above program was presented as the necessary minimum. No democracy could be possible without it. If events will develop in this direction there will be no reason to violate the law.

All this was written in my statement. I did not place special emphasis on religion because it is a separate subject and this right is not restricted by law. There was also a paragraph on contacts with Jewish communities in other countries and, in particular, in Israel and Rumania.

They demanded that I promise not to engage in any illegal activities. I have no intention of doing anything illegal. It is rather a question of whether my rights will be violated. I claim to have the right to what is proclaimed by Soviet laws.

It is hard to determine what forced them to release me, but I think that Arbatov is being sly; it was the intensive demonstrations of support which have played the decisive role, although many people paid for them by deprivations and much suffering. Yet, it seems to me that they were crucial in the story of my release. We have witnessed some courageous acts by Jews who spoke out in defence of their rights and in defence of the prisoners...

Essas

continued from page 6

that substantial changes are in fact taking place."

Essas said Gorbachev's recent speeches presented his plans for Soviet Jewry by denouncing anti-Semitism on one hand and 'national chauvinism' and Zionism on the other. "This was a signal that he will throw out the Zionists and will oppose efforts for Jews to live as Jews in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, he will strongly oppose anti-Semitism and keeping Jews from contributing to the modernization of the Soviet system. He knows he needs Jewish brains if his program is to succeed... Gorbachev will try to seduce the Jews to stay."

In the process, Essas predicts, increased numbers of Jews will again be allowed to attend elite universities and work in the most prestigious

professions. Over the last generation, rigid quotas have been instituted which have effectively eliminated Jews from universities and those professions.

Essas dismissed as a "gross misunderstanding of reality" claims by ex-refuseniks and western Soviet Jewry advocacy groups that there are 400,000 Jews ready to leave the Soviet Union. "At present there are 10,000 refuseniks potentially ready to leave. If the process continues, maybe 100,000-200,000 more Jews will want to leave. Indeed, I believe there is (over the long run) a potential of maybe one million Soviet Jews who will want more from life than they can find in the Soviet Union, even with the new reforms. But to use the figure of 400,000, because 400,000 invitations were sent from the West, overlooks the reality that many of those people no longer want to leave, and many have changed their minds 20 times since first receiving their invitations."

New Opportunities

Essas believes that many Soviet Jews see opportunities for personal advancement in the new flexibility. "There is a natural human tendency to make the best of things in a place you know rather than to push off into the unknown. There is an old Russian proverb saying, 'Better to have a little bird in your pocket than an eagle in the sky.'"

Essas is certain that large numbers of Jews will continue to want to emigrate because, "Despite the reforms, Soviet Jews won't get a national life, they won't get freedom of religion or a free independent Jewish culture. After a year or two, more and more are going to want to come out."

Essas disagrees with those who have warned that Gorbachev may let out a few thousand high profile refuseniks and then slam the door on further Jewish emigration. "If Gorbachev's reform policy is continued, and East-West relations continue to

improve, he is not going to close the door, because the cost would be too high in terms of East-West relations. I am convinced that emigration will continue."

Essas does not believe that the new regulations, which limit potential emigration to those with immediate family members in the West, will stand in the way of substantial Jewish emigration. "These regulations were quite clearly not made for Jews, but rather to control efforts by non-Jews to emigrate from the Soviet Union. Bilateral agreements (between the U.S. and USSR to allow Jewish emigration) will be above the law." He compared the new law to a regulation imposed in 1972 stipulating that no one would be allowed to emigrate until they paid the state thousands of rubles for their education, to recompense the USSR for schooling paid for by the state. In fact, Essas noted, the law was only enforced for a few months, and then quietly shelved, after the Soviet Union decided to increase Jewish emigration to encourage detente.

Different Colors

Essas gave evidence of a split between himself and Sharansky, Mendelevich and others when he said, "Maybe some people are saying that everything is black (in the Soviet Union) for their own interests. Sometimes it is better to say that everything is bad." Essas declined to elaborate further as to his meaning.

"I am also fighting for Soviet Jews," asserted Essas, "but my means are constructive. It should be acknowledged that some things have changed. There are people in the Soviet Union who teach Hebrew and Judaism, and that was impossible 20 years ago. It is true that some have been arrested, but it is not accurate to say that everything is black. Why not talk to (the Soviet leadership) and reward them if they do move significantly? Why not use some carrots, instead of using only sticks?"

Essas' Plan

In remarks to the plenum of the recent NJCRAC convention, Essas called for a three-year plan to test Soviet intentions. During the first year the Soviets should allow all refuseniks to leave, and if the Kremlin insists on restricting Jews who have had exposure to state secrets, the Soviets should set fixed time periods of five or ten years,

after which those people would also be allowed to leave. If the Soviets met those conditions, the West should accord the Soviets certain economic privileges such as waiving the Jackson-Vanik restrictions on trade.

During the second year, Essas said, the Soviets should allow people with new invitations from Israel to emigrate. If the Soviet government allowed that, he would support the repeal of the Stevenson amendment which denies economic credits to the Soviets.

In the third year, Essas would call upon the Soviets to legalize unofficial Jewish life and the teaching of Hebrew. In exchange for that step, the U.S. and Israel might consider providing the USSR with economic aid. It might also be possible, at that point, to allow a role for the Soviets in the Middle-East, "provided that the Soviets' Arab allies recognize the Land of Israel as the homeland for the Jewish people."

Essas hopes Israel and the Soviet Union will work out a deal providing for Jewish emigrants to be brought to Israel on direct flights from Moscow. "I want Soviet Jews to come directly to Israel so they can see the Land of Israel for themselves. If they then decide they would prefer to live in the U.S. or elsewhere, they should be free to go. I'm against placing restrictions on the right of any Israeli to go abroad. But let them see Israel first so... their decision... is based on their own experience, not on what they have read in Pravda."

The former refusenik thinks Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir is making a mistake by attempting to convince the Reagan Administration to drop the 'refugee' immigration status accorded Soviet Jews. Essas said, "It is not necessary to change American regulations. Instead, Israel ought to be pushing for the principle of direct flights. If direct flights happen, that won't mean freedom of choice doesn't exist, since people who decide they don't want to stay in Israel could later apply to come to the U.S."

Essas looks forward to the possibility that someday his homeland and his birthland will enjoy friendly relations. "Jews are going to live in the Soviet Union for the foreseeable future, and good Israeli-Soviet relations can help them live there on a decent basis." □

NEWSBREAK

MAY 28, 1987
NB 9-87

MAGARIK AND WIFE BRIEFLY VISIT

The city court of Tbilisi confirmed the recommendation of the USSR Procurator's office by reducing by half the prison term of ALEKSEY MAGARIK. He will now be released September 13. However, 132 Moscow refuseniks protested this "halfway decision" to Mikhail Gorbachev and demanded Aleksey's immediate release. NATASHIA was allowed to see her husband for just one half hour May 12 -- speaking to him by telephone through a glass partition. It was her first visit in six months. Aleksey must wear a "yellow badge," denoting a prisoner lacking in discipline.

REFUSENIK CHILDREN APPLY ON THEIR OWN

KHARKOV -- Some refusenik children over the age of 18 have decided to have their cases reviewed separately from their parents, but often with no better luck. DORINA PARITSKY (pictured right), the daughter of veteran refuseniks ALEKSANDR and POLINA PARITSKY, recently had her application rejected.



BORIS NADGORNYY 28, son of NINA and EDUARD NADGORNYY, is about to reapply independently of his parents. Appealing to various women's organizations on behalf of Boris, Nina wrote that he has been deprived of the possibility of engaging in any scientific work for more than five years. "Both my husband and I are afraid that very soon the inevitable disqualification will catch up with him and this will mean the end of his dreams of becoming a physicist."

SECOND GENERATION APPEAL

The following is a petition drawn up by second generation refuseniks to be presented to international student conferences, legal authorities in the Western world, and student groups:

We are refuseniks of the second generation. Our parents have been refused the right to leave for Israel. Although it may seem absurd, we have inherited the reasons for our parents' refusals.

The new emigration rule has made our situation more complicated. To apply for emigration one must have immediate family in Israel. The members of our immediate families, however, have been refuseniks for many years. Because of this, it seems as if one may suppose that we are doomed to keep the status of "refuseniks" for future generations, as well as being consolidated "genetically."

According to the Soviet laws and the moral and legislative norms of the civilized world, we are full and equal citizens and have the right to decide our future. We demand that the Soviet authorities grant us the right to independent emigration.

NEWSBREAK

- 2 -

**KADDISH AT
MINSK MONUMENT
IS THWARTED**

MINSK -- A group of Moscow women refuseniks, including MARA ABRA-MOVICH, INNA USPENSKY, and ELENA DUBIANSKAYA, traveled here May 9 to commemorate the massacre of Minsk Jews by the Nazis during World War II. They were accompanied by COL. LEV OVSISHCHER. More than 2,000 Jews lined up to lay wreaths at the monument. A loudspeaker blasted military marches for three hours, making it impossible for the kaddish to be read, but many people were able to gather around MARK KOGAN, who related stories of the Minsk Ghetto and the Jewish resistance fighters.

**SHPEIZMAN'S
TRAGIC DEATH
SHOCKS ALL**

LENINGRAD -- The sudden death in Vienna of YURI SHPEIZMAN (pictured right with his wife), who was finally on his way to Israel with his wife NELLY after nine years of refusal, was a great shock. Yuri, a mechanical engineer, had suffered from leukemia for many years. He was 55 and hoped to be reunited with his daughter and her family in Jerusalem. Messages of condolences can be sent to Nelly Shpeizman and Rita Levin, Ramot 17-22, Beit Giora, Jerusalem.

Shpeizman's death has renewed urgent appeals from refusenik women on behalf of other seriously ill refuseniks. The women have called particular attention to FAINA KOGAN (suffering from myeloma), ILYA VAITZBLIT (multiple sclerosis), and BENYAMIN CHARNY (melanoma).



**ZUBKO
REAPPLIES**

KIEV -- STANISLAV ZUBKO, who served a four-year prison term on the trumped-up charges of possessing a pistol and a small quantity of hashish, had not been heard from since his release two years ago. Now a friend in Israel reports receiving a letter from Stanislav in March in which he writes that he and his mother ANNA LEVITSKAYA had intended to reapply last winter but were missing a document he says is "totally unnecessary."

**RUSSIAN
NATIONALIST
GROUP EMERGES**

MOSCOW -- A Russian nationalist organization "Pamyat" -- meaning "memory" -- has become vocal and active in the climate of "glasnost." The group seeks a return to traditional Russian values based on a deep sense of nationalism that views the Russian homeland to be threatened by "international Zionism." The group maintains that international Zionists have infiltrated the Soviet bureaucracy and are seeking world domination. While the group has been criticized in several official Soviet publications, many journalists and others are waiting to see how the Gorbachev regime deals with them.

A Soviet Jew referred to them as "Russian fascists," and a western diplomat in Moscow compared them to the "Black Hundreds" -- gangs that attacked and killed Jews in the months following the 1905 Revolution.

Not only is this Pamyat group shattering the myth of Glasnost, it is using Glasnost as a cover to protect these vicious anti-Semitic diatribes in a manner reminiscent of the 1930's in Germany, and pre-October Revolution Russia. This," concluded Pamela B. Cohen, "is part of the Soviets' careful orchestration of internal propaganda to heighten Russian hatred of the majority of those 2,000,000 Soviet Jews who will be locked in after the present limited number of Soviet Jews are permitted to emigrate."

The full text of the Soviet Jewish Refuseniks Alarm, in the form of an appeal to Mikhail Gorbachev, follows:

June 12, 1987

To: Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary

The seed of anti-Zionist propaganda, sown for twenty years by Soviet mass media, has worn through. Blatant anti-Semitism, long smoldering in the depths of society, has broken to the surface and become organized in the guise of the "Pamyat Memory Alliance". In an attempt to fathom the reasons and consequences of the traditional Russian way of life and its cultural destruction, "Pamyat" leadership has thought and come up with a convenient and defenseless enemy who has been made guilty and accountable for all the failures of the past. This culprit is the Jewish people.

Following in the footsteps of pre-October Revolution anti-Semitic groups, the "Alliance" also widely uses the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," a violently anti-Semitic tract of the 1920's. The old Hitlerite slogans of the "world conspiracy of finance and capitalists," "world Jewry and Bolshevism," have been restored by "Pamyat" and adapted for USSR internal consumption in the form of a "world conspiracy of Zionism, mercenaries and imperialism."

The "Alliance" demands the expulsion of Jews from all realms of industrial, public, and cultural activities. Its leaders openly call upon their audience to initiate pogroms, demanding that they tear Jews to pieces; throw them out of windows and find and destroy the enemies' conspiratorial apartments. Being a grass roots organization of ethnic Russians, the "Alliance" has enrolled a network of local chapters in many cities in the USSR. It is led by a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Andreyev. By virtue of these factors, it is conceivable that "Pamyat" members could be elected to important party and government positions, enabling them to carry out their racist doctrine. None of the articles on the subject recently appearing in the Soviet press contains the clear and unequivocal refutation of these absurd and delirious accusations held against Jewish people.

(M O R E)

The "Pamyat Alliance" enjoys the silent support of influential people and provides them with premises for rallies and meetings. None of its leaders have been prosecuted according to the Soviet Criminal Code for anti-Semitic and racial hatred propaganda. Moreover, the reception of the "Pamyat" representative by the Politburo Deputy member, Mr. Yeltsin, afforded them an hour of official recognition and acceptance.

"Pamyat" slogans spread hatred against Jewish people, against those wishing to leave for Israel and those who wish to stay in the USSR. Soviet Jews, devoid of any national representative bodies and being fewer in number than the indigenous population, are unable to fight back against their enemies. On the other hand, existing legislation effectively bars the majority of Jews from repatriation to Israel. Moreover, in the atmosphere of freedom for rallies and demonstrations, the verbal threats can materialize into physical violence against Jews.

The situation evokes tragic memories of slogans and tactics used by the Nazis in the thirties. Therefore, before the first pogrom orchestrated by "Pamyat" spills Jewish blood on the pavement of Russian cities, we turn to you with the following demands:

First: Stop the flow of anti-Jewish propaganda and prosecute those who call for and incite physical violence against Jews.

Second: Allow uninhibited blanket repatriation of Jews desiring to live in Israel; and in the cases where departure is prohibited, allow the repatriation of that person's family.

Natalia Khassina
Lev Elbert
Mikhail Elbert
Hanna Mizruchina
Josef Begun
Arik Rachlenko
Boris Chernobilsky
Vladimir Slepak
Maria Slepak
Tatiana Edelshtein
Yuli Edelshtein
Alexander Schmukler
Lev Gandin
Lobenskaya
Lev Sud
Margulis

Mark Terlitsky
Michael Geizel
Boris Geizel
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Ivanovskaya
Grigory Libitsky
Vadim Kontorer
Irina Gurvich
Alla Sud
Evegeny Gurevich



COALITION TO FREE SOVIET JEWS

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

Rabbinical Council of America,
American Jewish Committee,
Center for Russian Jewry,
Westchester Jewish Conference,

Free Sons of Israel, Hashachar, American Zionist Federation, New York Board of Rabbis, United Synagogue of America, National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors, New York Legislators Coalition for Soviet Jewry, B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, Women's League for Conservative Judaism, Queens Council for Soviet Jewry, Brooklyn Coalition for Soviet Jewry, Herut Zionists of America, Rabbinical Assembly, Betar, Council of Jewish Organizations in Civil Service, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, N.Y. Legal Coalition to Free Soviet Jews, Survivors of Nazi Camps and Resistance Fighters, International League for the Repatriation of Russian Jews, Association of Orthodox Jewish Teachers, Poale Agudath Israel, Zionists Organization of America, Jewish Community Council of Canarsie, B'nai B'rith Metropolitan Conference, Warsaw Ghetto Resistance Organization, Rockland County Committee for Soviet Jewry, Association of Reform Rabbis of New York, Labor Zionists Alliance, Women's League for Israel, Staten Island Committee for Soviet Jewry, Americans For Progressive Israel, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, Jewish War Veterans, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, United Jewish Community of Bergen County, Manhattan Coalition for Soviet Jewry, American Jewish Congress, Oceanfront Council for Soviet Jewry, Jewish Association of College Youth/Hillel, American ORT Federation, Queens Jewish Community Council, Emunah Women, Alumni Association Teachers Institute of Seminary College of Jewish Studies, Religious Zionists of America, B'nai Akiva, Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, National Council of Young Israel, Economists for Ida Nudel, Jewish Community House of Bensonhurst, Women's American ORT, Board of Jewish Education, Jewish Teachers Association, AMIT Women, United Synagogue Youth, American Federation of Jewish Fighters, Camp Inmates and Nazi Victims, National Federation of Temple Youth, B'nai Zion, National Conference on Synagogue Youth, Association of Orthodox Jewish Scientists, Noar Mizrahi, Long Island Committee for Soviet Jewry, Jersey Action for Soviet Jewry, Washington Heights-Inwood Council for Soviet Jewry, Jewish Labor Committee, Young Israel Collegiates and Young Adults, New York Federation of Reform Synagogues, Workmen's Circle, Pioneer Women, Jewish American Political Affairs Committee, Hadassah, National Council of Jewish Women, B'nai B'rith Women, Masada/ZOA

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June 2, 1987

Max Green
Associate Director, Office of Public Liaison
Old Executive Office Building, Room 196
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Max:

Please accept our profound gratitude to you for your efforts in arranging President Reagan's videotaped message to this year's Solidarity Sunday. The President's stirring words were the highlight of the program and ennobled the rally.

This year's Solidarity Sunday was a huge success! The 200,000 people who marched and rallied in the rain are an indication that our ranks are strong and that our cause will endure.

These are positive but treacherous days for the Soviet Jewry issue. We have seen some important progress, but there is still so far to go. While our hopes have been raised in recent months, we will not let down our guard.

The eloquent support of the President makes the campaign for human rights for Soviet Jews infinitely stronger. Your friendship on this issue is deeply meaningful to us.

Max, thank you so much again.

Yours truly,

Alan Pesky
Chairman

Noam Shudofsky
Co-Chair, Solidarity Sunday

Zeesy Schnur
Executive Director

Judy Peck
Co-Chair, Solidarity Sunday

ALERT

INFORMATION FROM THE
UNION OF COUNCILS FOR SOVIET JEWS
1819 H Street, NW
Suite 410
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 775-9770



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. 7/8

November/December 1986

UCSJ Elects New Leadership

The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews is pleased to announce the election of Pamela Cohen as UCSJ president by acclamation. Ms. Cohen has been co-chair of Chicago Action for Soviet Jewry for 8 years. Other new officers elected are Hinda Cantor of Miami, June Daniels of Des Moines and David Waksberg of San Francisco, as vice presidents and Howard Cantor of Miami as treasurer. New members of the Board of Directors are Judy Balint of Seattle, and former refusenik Leonid Feldman of New York. Immediate past president Morey Schapira will be the chairman of the Advisory Board, and past president Lynn Singer was named to the Executive Committee.

During the UCSJ's 3-day Leadership Conference in September, the participants reaffirmed their commitment to the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which links Soviet Jewish emigration to Soviet-American trade. Mr. Schapira described in detail the "solid" support the amendment has among the American Jewish community and stressed that it should not be repealed while 400,000 Jews



Newly elected UCSJ President, Pamela Cohen, presenting award for excellence in leadership to outgoing President, Morey Schapira.

Summit Report:

UCSJ Representatives Gather at Reykjavik

UCSJ was represented in force at the October meeting of President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev. Their presence at the hastily arranged summit in Reykjavik helped emphasize the importance of Soviet Jewish emigration as an issue at this juncture in U.S. Soviet relations.

While the summit meeting produced no new developments, aside from the issuance of several token exit visas to prominent refuseniks, the significant difference was that the Soviets for the

continue to be refused exit visas by the Soviet Union.

The UCSJ leaders also committed themselves to working toward the abrogation of the agreement between the American Bar Association and the Association of Soviet Lawyers. Rather than being the counterpart of the ABA, the Soviet Lawyers' organization is a bogus front created by the Soviet state, whose officers actively promote anti-Semitism in the USSR.

first time publicly agreed to discuss human rights, though they insisted on entitling it the semantically more acceptable "humanitarian issues".

Human rights and regional disputes were originally placed on the agenda, but arms control issues dominated and when negotiations on the latter produced no results, the former dissolved as well. The administration emphasized their stand that progress in all issues would be tied to arms control, though they explicitly stated there would be no firm and formal linkage between arms control and human rights improvements.

In a statement issued by the UCSJ Board of Directors who were meeting in Washington at the time the summit meeting was announced, they acknowledged the Administration's efforts to obtain exit visas for specific Soviet Jewish families, but insisted, "Now is the time to negotiate full freedom for all who wish to leave in accordance with the Helsinki Final Act, which was signed by the Soviet Union."

In Reykjavik, the UCSJ, joined by international Soviet Jewry organizations and concerned Christians, led a human rights prayer vigil dedicated to Soviet Jews seeking to emigrate. Below are excerpts from the remarks of UCSJ's President, Pamela Cohen, issued at Reykjavik:

"There are palpable benefits the USSR wishes to gain from an enhanced relationship with the United States. We urge the President to tell Secretary Gorbachev clearly that many of these benefits are only realizable after an agreement is achieved on a comprehensive solution with the following parameters:

- 1) the immediate release and emigration of all Jewish prisoners of conscience and their families;
- 2) The immediate emigration of all former

continued on page 3

NEWSBRIEFS

The most recent episode of increasing brutality against POC's is **Alexei Magarik's** brutal beating in labor camp while confined to a block with violent prisoners. Magarik, a prominent Moscow Hebrew teacher, was arrested in March while travelling home from Tblisi. Authorities allegedly found narcotics in his luggage, which had been forcibly taken from him, then returned and searched.

In Tblisi, brothers **Edvard and Tenghiz Gudava** have been tried and sentenced based on the charges of "exceptional cynicism that violates the public order," and anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, respectively. Edvard received four years in labor camp and Tenghiz received ten years — seven imprisonment and three in internal exile. The brothers, who are Christian, were active in promoting compliance with the Helsinki accords, and were prominent members of the Phantom orchestra comprised of religious believers, dissidents and former refuseniks Isai and Grigory Goldshtein.

Long term Moscow refusenik **David Goldfarb** and his wife Cecelia were finally permitted to emigrate and join their son Alex in New York. Goldfarb arrived ailing but happy to be reunited with his son. They are currently trying to gain permission for Alex's sister Olga, and her family to emigrate as well.

Yuli Edelshtein of Moscow continues to suffer from serious medical complications from a severe injury he received in the labor camp. Edelshtein is serving a three year sentence on false charges of possession of narcotics. Efforts are being made to secure a release for him based on his invalid status.

Moscow refuseniks, **Tatiana and Benjamin Bogomolny**, were permitted to leave the Soviet Union in October, after waiting for twelve and twenty years respectively. The couple had recently been the subject of stepped-up efforts to allow emigration for humanitarian reasons, in this case because Tatiana is suffering from cancer. Other cancer patients as yet unable to leave are Leah Maryasin of Riga, Inna Meiman of Moscow, Rimma Bravve of Moscow, and Benjamin Charney of Moscow.

For refusing to testify against his friend POC Vladimir Lifshitz, **Semyon Borovinsky** of Leningrad was sentenced to five months corrective labor and a 15% reduction in salary. This is the first known time a Jewish activist was convicted and sentenced because of failure to testify. Fellow refuseniks believe he is being persecuted for his active support of Galina Zelichenok, wife of POC Alec Zelichenok, also of Leningrad.

Elie Wiesel, who was awarded the Nobel peace prize this year, is a member of the UCSJ Advisory Board. Upon receiving the prize, Wiesel made a public appeal to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to permit the emigration of Andrei Sakharov and a number of prominent refuseniks and Prisoners of Conscience. Soon thereafter, he visited the Soviet Union and met with refuseniks and families of POCs. Former POC, Ida Nudel of Bendery, was forcibly dragged off a bus by ten policemen while she was en route to Kishinev to meet with Wiesel. In addition, five young religious Jews were arrested and charged with hooliganism on Simchat Torah near the Moscow Synagogue where Wiesel spoke.



POC Yuli Edelshtein, permanently disabled by an injury sustained in labor camp.



Prior to his arrest, POC Edvard Gudava holds a photo of his brother, Tenghiz, also a POC.



POC Alexei Magarik, serving a three-year term in a labor camp.

SOVIET JEWS: DECOYS IN A GAME?

BY PAMELA COHEN

It is becoming apparent that Soviet Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev is a skillful manipulator of American public opinion.

The Soviet Union's carefully timed release this year of a few prominent refuseniks and prisoners of conscience seems to be part of the Kremlin's effort to paint itself as humane.

Sadly, some in this country have rushed to praise Gorbachev's actions as evidence of a more liberalized Soviet attitude toward Jewish emigration. Others are less easily swayed. Natan Scharansky, Yuri Orlov, and Dr. David Goldfarb are decoys who distract the media's attention from larger problems: The Soviet Union has denied exit visas to a minimum of 30,000 refuseniks. Nearly 400,000 other Jews have taken the first steps toward emigration. Both groups are being thwarted by the Soviets' deliberately designed, obstructive policy.

Given the abysmally slow pace of current Soviet Jewish emigration, it is especially disturbing that the Reagan administration seems to be caught up in Gorbachev's case-by-case approach, continuing the agonizingly slow review of the emigration question.

The case-by-case approach is a band-aid solution to a deeper problem, a smokescreen behind which the Soviet government continues its brutal repression of its two million Jewish citizens.

Official Soviet-sponsored anti-Semitic propaganda appears with increasing frequency on radio and television, in newspapers and in periodicals. Every expression of Jewish faith and tradition is under attack. The Gorbachev government has closed Jewish schools, and prohibited the publication of Jewish books. Jews who teach Hebrew are considered guilty of anti-Soviet behavior and subjected to singularly brutal treatment.

Emigration levels for Soviet Jews

Pamela Cohen is the national president of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews.

have plunged. Despite the obstacles, thousands of Soviet Jews have indicated their desire to leave—30,000 of them, the refuseniks, have been repeatedly denied permission to go. Some of them have been stripped of academic opportunities and professional degrees, dismissed from their jobs and then prosecuted for parasitism. Most Soviet Jews are caught in a hellish Catch-22. They cannot leave, and are unable to live free from government abuse and harassment.

It is apparent that the Reagan administration's use of quiet diplomacy, with its case-by-case approach to the Soviet Jewish emigration question has not worked. The administration should insist upon the immediate release of all Soviet Jews who wish to leave. Such a comprehensive formula would include:

- the immediate release of all Jewish prisoners of conscience and the emigration of all who wish to leave, together with their families.

- the emigration, before the end of the year, of all long-term refusenik families (those who have sought permission to leave for at least five years).

- a scheduled program of emigration for all other families who wish to emigrate according to a mutually acceptable timetable. The process must be free of the Soviets' current coercive restrictions intended to harass and discourage would-be applicants.

The administration must make the Soviet government understand it can expect no concessions in trade, no most-favored-nation status, no access to advanced technology unless the Soviets agree to a comprehensive formula for Jewish emigration. If there is no significant progress in the matter of Jewish emigration, the administration should consider imposition of economic sanctions against the Soviet Union.

Such a broadened, tougher approach would place the question of Soviet Jewish emigration where it properly belongs: as a solution and not a problem. It would remove the issue as a significant obstacle to dramatically improved relations between the two superpowers.

Summit, continued from page 1

Jewish prisoners of conscience and their families; 3) The emigration, before the end of 1986, of all long-term refusenik families; 4) The scheduled release of all other families who have applied to emigrate; and 5) A scheduled program of emigration free of restrictions for all other families who wish to emigrate.

"The problem of Soviet Jewry is of a magnitude too great to be solved on a case-by-case basis. With nearly a half million Jews wishing to emigrate from the USSR, most would die before they ever received an exit visa under current conditions. The case-by-case snail's pace serves Soviet interests, as they can reap benefits without changing their policies. Indeed, it helps create a smokescreen behind which ever greater abuses occur. For Soviet refuseniks, it means that each exit visa granted to an individual results in a longer wait for a fellow refusenik.

"We propose that President Reagan insist on a comprehensive solution to the problem: evacuation of all Jews who wish to leave the USSR. Such a solution can be achieved if the question of Soviet Jewry is addressed in a substantive way. A solution can be found only if this problem is negotiated, as any other important bilateral concern is addressed. Symbolic "raising of the issue" is helpful in demonstrating concern but in the final analysis, a symbolic approach cannot achieve concrete results; only a concrete approach can accomplish that.

"Such a formula would place the question of emigration where it properly belongs: as a solution, not a problem. It would remove this issue once and for all as a significant obstacle to dramatically improved U.S. Soviet relations."

The full text of Cohen's statement, made in a press conference in Reykjavik was endorsed by the London-based 35's *Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry*, and the *Soviet Jewry Education and Information Center* in Jerusalem.

Reprinted from
Washington Jewish Week
October 30, 1986

Action **A**LERT

From Local Councils

Protest Timed In Conjunction with Summit

Chanting "Action now! Freedom now!", 55 rabbis, students and concerned individuals were arrested on October 12, as they demonstrated before the Soviet UN Mission on Manhattan's East Side. The protest, organized by the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry and the **Long Island Committee for Soviet Jewry**, was timed to coincide with the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Iceland.

Lynn Singer, executive director of the Long Island Committee, reported that 25 year-old Dnepropetrovsk refusenik Grigory Stachenko, who had been released from punitive incarceration in a psychiatric hospital and permitted to emigrate after pressure from the West, was again arrested as he arrived at the Soviet border city of Chop. "This kind of Kremlin behavior cannot be tolerated," she declared. The new Jewish year, 5747, must be a year of freedom." Stachenko was subsequently released with no explanation for the arrest.

To the sounds of the *shofars* and chants, three waves of demonstrators sat in the street in front of the Mission. Many wore prayer-shawls and carried large photos of Prisoners of Conscience. After refusing the order of the police to disperse, they were placed under arrest and charged with disorderly conduct, and must stand trial November 12th.

Among others arrested were Victor Davidov, a Jewish dissident who spent 1979-83 in the Soviet Gulag for "anti-Soviet slander".

Mayor Voices Solidarity with POC's Wife

Chicago's Mayor Harold Washington received a letter in August from the wife of Soviet Prisoner-of-Conscience, Zachar Zunshain, thanking him for his compassion and support. Tatiana spoke by phone from Riga to the mayor on May 21 at which time Washington expressed his concern for her husband's health and safety. Zachar Zunshain is currently serving a prison term in Irkutsk, Siberia. He was falsely accused, charged, and convicted of "defaming the Soviet State."

Tatiana's letter describes the two years Zunshain spent in "damp, unlit dungeons", and "the cruel beatings he has endured." She assured the Mayor, however, that despite the humiliation and injury the Soviets have inflicted on her husband, "they have not broken his will."

The letter ends with the words: "Sir, I approach you with feelings of unlimited gratitude and trust in your all-embracing help to my husband, Zachar Zunshain."

Mayor Washington was made aware of and is kept apprised of, the case of POC Zachar Zunshain by **Chicago Action for Soviet Jewry**.

Hunger Strike at Soviet Consulate

A member of the Board of Directors of the **Bay Area Council for Soviet Jews** went on a 20 day hunger strike in July to focus attention on the plight of Soviet Jews. Reuben Haller stood outside the Soviet consulate in San Francisco on each day of the strike dressed in prison garb and with a shaven head. Haller's protest highlighted the plight of two refusenik families, the Bogomolnys, who were finally permitted to emigrate in October after a 20 year wait, and the Magariks. Alexei Magarik is a 28 year old cellist serving a three year sentence in labor camp on a trumped up charge. Haller undertook his dramatic protest, explaining, "The Soviet Union is a jail for Soviet Jews, so I am dressed as a prisoner." He further described Jews trying to emigrate as living "in a state of siege." Lillian Foreman, President of the Bay Area Council, pointed out this was one of a series of demonstrations and stepped-up protests designed to spotlight the dire situation of Soviet Jews.

Helsinki Accords Topic of Miami Forum

In preparation for the November follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission), a forum was held at the University of Miami to discuss the U.S. position and to solicit comments from the public. Sponsored by the **South Florida Conference on Soviet Jewry**, and the University of Miami, the 150 people in attendance were briefed on the rights of Soviet Jews, within the context of the Helsinki Final Act, a major agenda item for the Vienna talks.

The panelists at the public forum were Spencer Oliver, staff director of the Helsinki Commission; Robert Frowick, deputy U.S. negotiator for the CSCE; Hinda Cantor, co-chair of the South Florida Conference on Soviet Jewry; Ambler H. Moss, dean of the University of Miami graduate school of International Studies; Rep. Dante Fascell (D-FL), chair of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and former chairman of the U.S. Helsinki Commission; Dr. Jiri Valenta, UCSJ Advisory Board Member and director of Soviet, East European and Strategic Studies, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Miami; Ambassador Warren Zimmermann, chief of the United States' CSCE delegation to Vienna; Rep. Larry Smith (D-FL); and Lynne Davidson, Helsinki Commission liaison.

Message Relayed at Sports Event

At a volleyball game between the U.S. and USSR teams held at Stanford University, activists distributed leaflets and waved banners with the single message: "It's one thing to wait in line for a sports event. But one shouldn't have to wait in line for freedom!"

continued on page 5

UCSJ Leadership Conference 1986



Former refusenik Vladimir Magarik, in his international campaign, urges continued support for his son, POC Alexei Magarik.



Former Leningrad refusenik, Yakov Gorodetsky, continuing his campaign for freedom of emigration for Soviet Jews, learning news of the status of fellow activists in the USSR.



Panelists speaking on "Scientific Exchanges with the Soviets" included (r. to l.), Dr. Jeff Colvin, Chairperson of the Los Alamos Committee on Soviet Anti-Semitism; prominent physicist Armen Khatcheturian; and physician Lev Goldfarb. Khatcheturian and Goldfarb, both of Moscow, were permitted to emigrate in 1986.

Local Councils, continued from page 4

Representatives of the Bay Area Council for Soviet Jews, the majority of them from Palo Alto, handed out 2,000 leaflets to the crowd prior to the August event, which featured a volleyball game between the U.S. Men's Olympic Team and the Soviet Men's National Team.

A Soviet Jewry tee-shirt, and a three-page letter signed by Lillian Foreman, president of the **Bay Area Council for Soviet Jews**, were presented to the coach of the Soviet team. Bay Area Council representatives also unfurled a giant banner inside the pavilion during the game that said "Let My People Go! Free Soviet Jews!"

The international sports event was used as a forum to inform the public and Soviet representatives of the dramatic increase in virulent anti-Semitism in the official Soviet media, as well as the firings, ejections from institutes, KGB raids, and arrests of Soviet Jews who have applied to emigrate.

UCSJ Member Councils Commemorate Night of the Murdered Poets

On August 12, UCSJ member councils throughout the nation sponsored events to memorialize those Jewish artists, writers, musicians, actors and poets executed in Moscow on August 12, 1952. These victims were targets of Joseph Stalin's effort to completely obliterate Jewish culture in the USSR.

The theme chosen for the **Colorado Committee of Concern for Soviet Jewry's** 17th annual observance of The Night of the Murdered Poets was "Youth speaks out for Soviet Jewish survival."

On the steps of the State Capitol in Denver, 200 people participated in the rally through song and dramatic readings. Campers from the Jewish Community Center and Chabad Lubavitch were out in force. Colorado elected officials represented at the rally included: Senators Gary Hart and William Armstrong; Representatives Pat Schroeder, Tim Wirth, Hank Brown, and Dan Schaefer; Governor Lamm, Mayor Pena, and State Representative Bill Owens. As members of the Congressional Advisory Board for the Colorado Committee, they all brought messages of solidarity and encouragement to continue to fight against blatant human rights violations in the Soviet Union.

The **South Florida Conference on Soviet Jewry** sponsored a "Symphony of Sounds" on August 12. Local poets, artists, and musicians and dancers performed at the event, attended by over 200 people, at Temple Beth Shmuel in Miami Beach.

On the night of August 11, outside the Soviet Consulate in San Francisco, the **Bay Area Council for Soviet Jews** and the Jewish Community Relations Council held a candlelight vigil in memory of the executed artists and poets. About 90 people attended the ceremony, which featured readings from the executed poets' works and the reciting of an original work written for the annual event by UC Berkeley instructor, poet and journalist Thomas Simmons. Also attending were San Francisco Supervisor Bill Maher, and the Rev. Emil Authelet Jr., representing the American Baptist Churches of the West.

Transplant Delayed: Success Questionable

It may be too late for a Soviet emigree suffering from leukemia to benefit from the bone marrow transplant to be contributed by his sister. Inessa Flerov was blocked from leaving the USSR earlier this year by Soviet authorities at the time when her brother, Michael Shirman's chances of benefiting from the transplant were the greatest. She was finally granted an exit visa and arrived from Israel in early November, but by that time her brother's health had deteriorated to such a point that he was unable to undergo the procedure.

The case caused an international outcry as Flerov first submitted her application to Soviet visa officials in February 1986 to go to Israel and contribute the urgently needed bone marrow to her ailing brother. After a series of application rejections and bureaucratic roadblocks, she was finally, during the summer, granted permission to leave along with her children. Her husband, however, was required to stay in the Soviet Union on the pretense that he had outstanding financial obligations to his father.

To bring attention to his case and to underscore its urgency, Shirman flew to the Reykjavik Summit and appealed to the administration to intervene on his behalf. He visited a number of U.S. cities and in October, he held a news conference in Washington co-sponsored by the UCSJ, Senator Paul Simon (D-IL), and Senator Charles Grassley (R-IA).

Testing has shown that Flerov's bone marrow is compatible, but the transplant has been delayed indefinitely until Shirman is strong enough to undergo the procedure.

Law Group Continues Activities on Behalf of Soviet Jews

The Goldshtein brothers, formerly of Tblisi, and the Goldfarb family, formerly of Moscow, were among the guests at an awards dinner honoring Senator Ted Kennedy (D-MA) for his longstanding commitment to human rights. The award was presented by the Washington-based International Human Rights Law Group, established in 1978 to promote and protect international human rights by providing information



Former refusenik Mikhael Shirman on the line to Moscow at a New York news conference in late November. The news was encouraging — his sister would be permitted to leave the USSR for Israel to donate life-saving bone marrow to Shirman, who suffers from leukemia. Sadly, her departure was delayed so long that Shirman's chances of survival are minimal. Activist supporters who assisted Shirman in his fight for life are (L) Shmuel Azarkh, Director of the Soviet Jewry Education & Information Center in Jerusalem; standing, Lynn Singer, Executive Director of the Long Island Committee for Soviet Jewry and (r.) Dr. Kenneth Prager of Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center in New York. The news conference was co-sponsored by UCSJ member council, the Long Island Committee for Soviet Jewry, and UCSJ affiliate, the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry.

and legal assistance to victims of human rights violations. In addition to his involvement in a myriad of international human rights causes, the Senator was recognized at the May 13 dinner for the integral part he played in gaining freedom for the Goldshteins and Goldfarbs. The Goldshteins had been waiting 14 years to emigrate and were the victims of continuous KGB harassment including a year-long sentence in a labor camp for Grigory Goldshtein. The Goldfarbs recently left with their son and daughter, though were forced to leave their daughter-in-law and grandchild behind as they had not been granted permission to emigrate.

Begun Petition

The International Human Rights Law Group has taken a strong position on behalf of Soviet Jewish POC Iosif Begun, convicted in 1983 on charges of anti-

Soviet agitation and propaganda, and currently serving a twelve-year sentence. The Law Group convened a conference of international law experts to review the case — they concluded that Begun was convicted in a closed trial that denied him the opportunity to conduct an effective defense. Moreover, his conviction was based on insufficient evidence for the crime charged, and his sentence was disproportionate to the alleged offense.

In February 1984, the conference participants, 23 leading jurists, sent the USSR's Procurator General a memorandum listing violations of international law in Begun's trial. The conference was co-sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and was held in cooperation with the International Human Rights Committee of the American Bar Association's Section of International Law and Practice.

Moral Subsidies For Moscow

By Francis L. Loewenheim

A few months ago, not long before Kurt Waldheim was inaugurated President of Austria, it was suggested that, as a form of moral protest, James Levine, the renowned artistic director of the Metropolitan Opera, should cancel his scheduled appearances at this summer's Salzburg Festival, where he has performed annually for the past decade. The suggestion created something of an international stir. But Mr. Levine is not a political person, and nothing came of the idea.

Now comes a very different proposal. According to recent reports from Washington, there is talk of an exchange of opera companies between the United States and the Soviet Union. Russia would send the Bolshoi from Moscow. The United States would send the Washington Opera and the Metropolitan Opera. The visit of the American companies would coincide with an envisaged Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Moscow in May 1987.

Whoever is giving Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, his cultural-political advice these days is certainly earning his salary. For years, going back to the Eisenhower 50's, Americans have been avid cultural exchangers with the Soviet Union. The movement continued to flourish in the Vietnam 60's and the Nixon-Kissinger 70's. It did nothing, significantly or permanently, to reduce East-West tensions. All it did was to give Moscow the added international respectability, legitimacy, and moral credibility it craves.

It will be said about the proposed opera exchange, as about other such visits, that music is nonpolitical, and that, if the exchange can be arranged, it should by all means proceed. No more serious misjudgment in this realm is possible.

In the Soviet Union, virtually everything is political, and culture especially so. If the White House doesn't know that by now, President Reagan should have a chat with Washington's most distinguished Soviet musical émigrés, Mstislav Rostropovich, the head of the National Symphony Orchestra, and his wife, Galina Vishnevskaya, the noted soprano. Or perhaps Mr. and Mrs. Reagan might take a little time and

Francis L. Loewenheim, a professor of history at Rice University, was a member of the Historical Division of the State Department in the Eisenhower Administration.

read Miss Vishnevskaya's memoirs, which should tell them all they need to know about Soviet musical politics, past and present.

Of course, the Soviet Union isn't the first police state to use culture and cultural exchange to attain its international objectives. No nation did it better than Hitler's Germany, which was encouraging musical state visits almost until the bombs began to fall in September 1939, and to some neutral countries after that.

No one suggests that cultural exchanges should be suspended until all important issues with the Soviet Union have been resolved. Moral self-respect, however, dictates one condition. The Soviets must stop arbitrarily deciding what Russian musicians

Let's keep our maestros at home

may perform abroad, and what musicians may not — a shameful practice that has gone on, largely unnoticed, for years.

It is not difficult to surmise what the late Arturo Toscanini would have thought about his son-in-law, Vladimir Horowitz, allowing himself to be lionized in the Soviet Union, at the same time that Mr. Horowitz's fellow pianist, the young Jewish virtuoso Vladimir Feltsman, saw his career politically destroyed solely because of his expressed desire to emigrate to Israel, which the Soviet authorities will not permit him to do.

It might be added that, in the summer of 1936, Toscanini threatened to boycott the Salzburg Festival, unless the performances of his colleague Bruno Walter, who was born a Jew and converted to Catholicism, were likewise broadcast to Germany, which had threatened to cancel the programs for racial reasons. The broadcasts went on, and so did Toscanini.

Some Americans oppose subsidized grain sales to the Soviet Union. Some of us oppose cultural exchanges that are a form of moral subsidy to the Soviet regime. The Metropolitan Opera and Maestro Levine don't need Pravda's critical approval. We already know how incomparably great they are. Let them stay home, and enrich us, until the Soviets are worthy of their presence. □

Soviet Imports Continue Unabated

A federal appeals court dismissed a lawsuit brought by 84 members of Congress seeking to bar the import of Soviet-made goods to the U.S. The members' position was that importing products made by forced labor violates a 1930 tariff law. The law states that all goods produced in a foreign country by forced or indentured labor acting under possible punishment cannot be allowed entry at any U.S. port. More than 16 Jewish Prisoners of Conscience are interned in Soviet labor camps producing goods under work conditions fitting that definition.

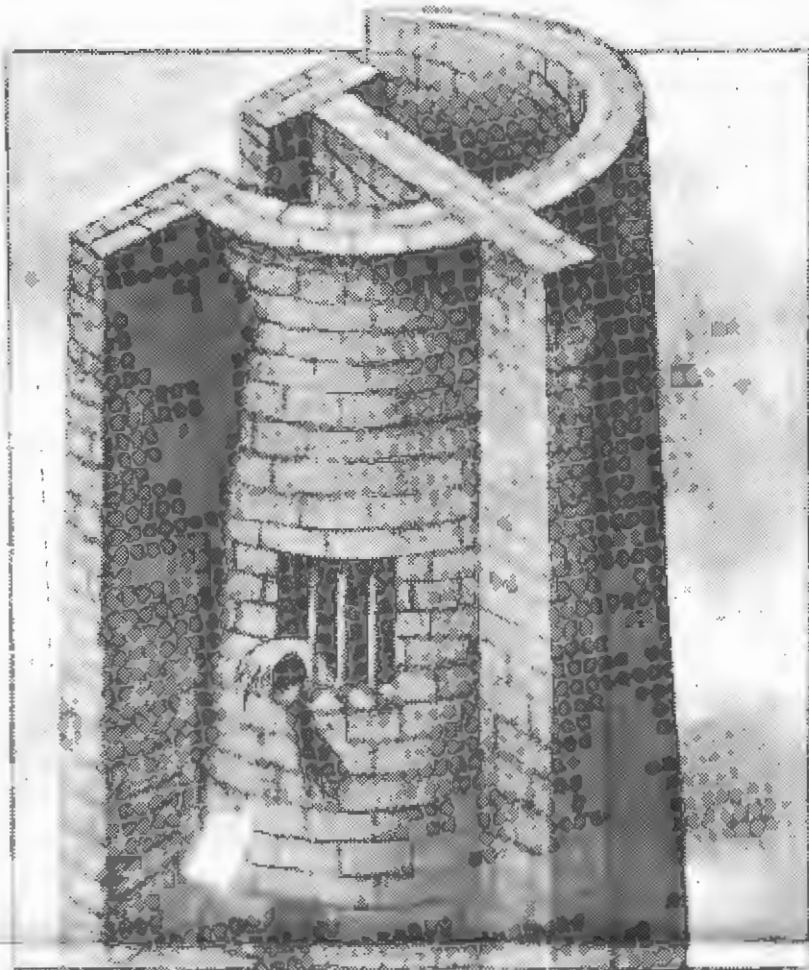
In their August decision, the court did not address the merits of the case, but rather, argued that the members of Congress who leveled the charges lacked legal standing. In other words, those who brought the case did not adequately show they were directly harmed by the Soviet imports, evidence of which is necessary to bar the product from the U.S. The members plan to appeal the decision.

Harassment of Refusenik Gets Progressively Worse

Stepped up harassment against refusenik-activist Natasha Khassina of Moscow is seen as cause for alarm. The authorities may be preparing a case against the woman whom Ida Nudel designated to keep the world apprised of the fate of Prisoners of Conscience when Ida was arrested and sent to Siberia.

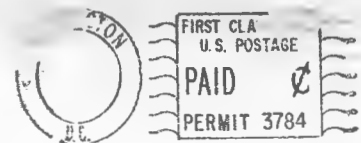
In September, a Moscow newspaper published an attack on the Khassin family and a U.S. Senator's gestures of moral support. This recent incident is the culmination of six years of KGB harassment including apartment searches and seizures, being called in for "questioning," overt threats, and previous news reports attacking her activities.

Khassina, 44, and her husband Gennady Khassin, 49, have been denied exit visas since 1977. She was instrumental in establishing and operating Moscow's Jewish kindergarten — a play group for the children of refuseniks, in which they were taught Hebrew language, and Jewish culture and history. Gennady is one of Moscow's most prominent Hebrew teachers.



Kim Drew

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The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews is composed of 35 local councils, 4 domestic affiliates, 3 international affiliates and 55,000 individual members dedicated to helping Soviet Jews, especially those desiring to emigrate

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President: Pamela Coben. Vice Presidents: Hinda Cantor (Miami, FL), June Daniels (Des Moines, IA), David Waksberg (San Francisco, CA).

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

102 Jews left the Soviet Union in November

TYPED

TO: PUBLIC COMMITTEES FOR SOVIET JEWRY
JURISTS' COMMITTEES FOR SOVIET JEWRY

THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES REFUSE PERMISSION TO REPATRIATE TO ISRAEL TO JEWS WHO CANNOT SUBMIT "STATEMENTS" FROM RELATIVES REMAINING IN THE USSR IN WHICH THESE RELATIVES STATE THAT THE APPLICANT HAS NO OUTSTANDING OBLIGATIONS TOWARDS THEM.

TILL JANUARY 1, 1987, SUCH "STATEMENTS" WERE DEMANDED FROM PARENTS AND FORMER SPOUSES (IF THE APPLICANT TO LEAVE IS DIVORCED AND HAS MINOR CHILDREN). AS OF JANUARY 1, 1987, WITH THE ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE NEW VERSION OF THE NEW "REGULATIONS FOR LEAVING THE USSR", THEY ARE NOW ALSO DEMANDED FROM BROTHERS, SISTERS AND CHILDREN OF "REGULATIONS FOR LEAVING THE USSR", SUCH "STATEMENTS" ARE ALSO DEMANDED FROM BROTHERS, SISTERS AND CHILDREN OF PERSONS WISHING TO LEAVE. THIS HAS SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHOSE APPLICATIONS ARE NOT CONSIDERED FOR LACK OF "STATEMENTS" FROM RELATIVES.

THERE IS NO SOVIET LEGISLATION OBLIGATING ANYONE TO ISSUE A "STATEMENT" AT THE DEMAND OF A PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL CONCERNING THEIR FINANCIAL RELATIONS. RELATIVES, THEREFORE, HAVE THE RIGHT TO REFUSE TO SIGN A "STATEMENT" SAYING THAT THEY HAVE NO LAWFUL CLAIMS AGAINST THE APPLICANT. THERE IS NO LEGAL WAY TO COMPEL THEM TO ISSUE SUCH A "STATEMENT". IN FACT, RELATIVES WHO WISH TO HAMPER REPATRIATION TO ISRAEL CAN (AND DO!) DO SO BY REFUSING TO PROVIDE THE "STATEMENT" REQUESTED OF THEM.

THE AUTHORITIES CLAIM THAT IN DEMANDING THE STATEMENT, THEIR PURPOSE IS TO ENSURE THAT THE FINANCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE APPLICANT AND HIS RELATIVES HAVE BEEN SETTLED. HOWEVER, THEY REFUSE TO ACCEPT AFFIDAVITS IN PLACE OF THE "STATEMENT" FROM RELATIVES THAT REGULATES THE RELATIONS, BUT RECEIVED THROUGH A PUBLIC NOTARY ACTING AS A GO-BETWEEN, UNDER ART. 84 OF THE RSFSR NOTARY LAW AND SIMILAR ARTICLES OF THE LAWS OF THE UNION REPUBLICS.

THERE HAS BEEN NO SUCCESS IN ATTEMPTS TO APPLY PROCEDURES IN SOVIET CIVIL LAW FOR ESTABLISHING A JURIDICAL FACT (ART. 245-250 OF THE CODE OF CIVIL PROCEDURE); IN ALL THE CASES KNOWN TO US THE COURTS HAVE REFUSED TO ESTABLISH WHETHER PEOPLE WISHING TO DEPART HAVE OUTSTANDING OBLIGATIONS.

PAR. 7 OF THE DECREE ON EXAMINING SUGGESTIONS, STATEMENTS AND COMPLAINTS BY THE PUBLIC OBLIGATES THE AUTHORITIES THEMSELVES TO OBTAIN ANY "STATEMENTS" FROM RELATIVES THAT THEY REQUIRE. HOWEVER, IN VIOLATION OF THE DECREE, THE AUTHORITIES REFUSE TO OBTAIN "STATEMENTS" FROM THE RELATIVES.

IDA NUDEL ANALYSES HER "SECRECYP"-BASED REFUSAL

ON DECEMBER 15, 1971, IN REPLY TO MY APPLICATION FOR EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL, AN OFFICIAL OF THE MOSCOW OVIR OFFICE TOLD ME: "YOUR APPLICATION FOR EMIGRATION IS REFUSED BECAUSE OF STATE INTERESTS. YOU HAD A 2ND DEGREE SECURITY CLEARANCE ("DOPUSK") UNTIL SEPTEMBER 1971. WE KNOW THAT YOU DO NOT POSSESS ANY SECRET INFORMATION, BUT YOU COULD HAVE OVERHEARD SOMETHING. A COMPETENT COMMISSION DECIDED THAT YOUR EMIGRATION IS UNDESIRABLE UNTIL JANUARY 1977."

IN 1967 THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ISSUED A DECREE AUTHORISING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MAIN ADMINISTRATION OF THE MICROBIOLOGICAL INDUSTRY AT THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. THE ADMINISTRATION WAS ASKED TO CREATE A MICROBIOLOGICAL INDUSTRY FOR THE NEEDS OF SOVIET AGRICULTURE AND FOOD INDUSTRY. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT IT WAS ENTRUSTED WITH OTHER TASKS AS WELL, BUT I WAS NOT AND AM NOT AWARE OF THEM.

WORKING AS AN ECONOMIST IN THE SECTION FOR TECHNICAL-ECONOMIC EVALUATIONS, I MAINLY PARTICIPATED IN THE WORK ON PRELIMINARY CALCULATIONS REGARDING THE CONSTRUCTION OF FACTORIES FOR THE PRODUCTION OF:

ENTOBACTERINE - A MICROBIOLOGICAL SUBSTANCE USED IN AGRICULTURE AGAINST FOLIAGE-DESTROYING INSECTS;

PECTIN-RELATED SUBSTANCES - MICROBIOLOGICAL SUBSTANCES USED IN FOOD INDUSTRY FOR PREPARATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF FRUIT JUICE PRODUCTION;

ANTIBIOTICS - FOR USES IN HUSBANDRY IN AGRICULTURE;

HELMINTHOLOGICAL SUBSTANCES - SUBSTANCES USED TO CURE WORMS IN AGRICULTURAL ANIMALS;

A ESTIMATED OUTLINE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED PRODUCTION LINES UP TO THE YEAR 1990;

A TECHNICAL-ECONOMIC ESTIMATE FOR THE PRODUCTION OF ENTOBACTERINE AT THE FACTORY IN BERDSK.

IN ADDITION, MY NAME APPEARED ON THE TECHNICAL-ECONOMIC ESTIMATES PREPARED FOR THE PRODUCTION OF ENTOBACTERINE AT A CLOSED FACTORY, ALTHOUGH I DID NOT PREPARE THE RELEVANT CALCULATIONS. THE CALCULATIONS COULD NOT BE CLASSIFIED, I.E. COULD NOT CONTAIN CLASSIFIED

INFORMATION, SINCE THEY WERE CONCERNED WITH THE OPENLY CARRIED OUT PRODUCTION OF ENTOBACTERINE. MY NAME WAS MENTIONED IN THE ESTIMATES IN ORDER TO UNABLE ME TO RECEIVE A PREMIUM ADDITION TO MY SALARY, SINCE THE CALCULATIONS I WORKED ON ONLY CONCERNED OPENLY PRODUCED MATERIALS, AND NO PREMIUM WAS DUE FOR WORKING ON THEM.

AT THE TIME OF MY WORK AT THE "GLAVMIKROBIOPROM" (MAIN ADMINISTRATION OF THE MICROBIOLOGICAL INDUSTRY) NO ECONOMIC DATA WAS AVAILABLE ON THE PRODUCTION OF MICROBIOLOGICAL SUBSTANCES FOR AGRICULTURE. ECONOMISTS USED THE DATA ON PRODUCING ENTOBACTERINE AT THE BERDSK FACTORY, WHICH HAD STARTED WORK ONLY A SHORT TIME AGO, AND THEY ALSO USED FOR ORIENTATION PURPOSES DATA RELATING TO FOOD INDUSTRY. IN ADDITION, CALCULATIONS FOR FUTURE PRODUCTION PROJECTS HAD TO BE BASED ON LABORATORY-BASED ESTIMATES OR THE FANTASIES OF TECHNOLOGISTS WHICH MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO CALCULATE REALISTICALLY THE COST AND THE VOLUME OF THE PRODUCT, AND THE CAPITAL INVESTMENTS INVOLVED.

EVEN THOUGH I DID NOT WORK ON CALCULATIONS RELATED TO CLOSED PRODUCTION LINES, I SOMETIMES HAD TO USE MATERIALS FROM THE SPECIAL SECTION.

ONLY A SINGLE WORKSHOP PRODUCING A SINGLE MICROBIOLOGICAL SUBSTANCE - ENTOBACTERINE - WAS FUNCTIONING DURING MY WORK AT THE "MOSGIPROBIOSINTEZ" INSTITUTE. IT WAS, THEREFORE, NATURAL THAT THE CALCULATIONS RELATING TO THIS PRODUCTION LINE SERVED AS A BASIS FOR COMPARISON FOR ALL THE OTHER PRODUCTION LINES TO BE SET UP IN THE FUTURE. THE FACTORY WHERE ENTOBACTERINE WAS BEING PRODUCED WAS A CLOSED ONE AND, NATURALLY, ALL THE DOCUMENTATION CONNECTED WITH IT WAS CLASSIFIED. THE WORKSHOP FOR PRODUCING ENTOBACTERINE WAS CONNECTED WITH THE FACTORY NOT ONLY BY A COMMON FENCE, BUT ALSO BY COMMUNICATION LINES, PERSONNEL, A COMMON DINING ROOM, FACTORY ADMINISTRATION, GUARD UNIT, ETC.

AN ECONOMIST DOES NOT NEED ANY DATA ON THE TECHNOLOGICAL PART OF THE PROJECT (WHICH COULD BE CLASSIFIED) IN ORDER TO DO HIS CALCULATIONS. A TECHNOLOGIST IN CHARGE OF A PROJECT SUPPLIES THE ECONOMIST WITH THE BASIC DATA NEEDED FOR ALL THE CALCULATIONS.

CALCULATIONS OF TECHNICAL-ECONOMIC ESTIMATES BY THEMSELVES CANNOT CONSTITUTE A SECRET, ESPECIALLY IF THEY DEAL WITH SUBSTANCES WHICH ARE NOT CLASSIFIED. EVEN DATA CONCERNING CLASSIFIED SUBSTANCES COULD HARDLY BE CONSIDERED CLASSIFIED SINCE NUMBERS AND CALCULATIONS CANNOT REVEAL WHAT THEY REPRESENT. IF THE NAME OF THE SUBSTANCE PRODUCED AND THE PURPOSE FOR ITS PRODUCTION ARE NOT STATED, NO

CALCULATION COULD BECOME A SOURCE OF INFORMATION SINCE NUMBERS HAVE NO TASTE, COLOUR OR SMELL.

SINCE THE PRICES FOR THE SUBSTANCES TO BE PRODUCED IN THE FUTURE WERE FIXED ARBITRARILY AND WERE PREPARED ON THE BASIS OF ENTOBACTERINE PRODUCTION OR ON THE BASIS OF SOME PRODUCT IN THE FOOD INDUSTRY, THE DATA ON VOLUME OF PRODUCTION COULD HARDLY SERVE AS A CHARACTERISTIC OF THE PRODUCTION PROCESS. IT FOLLOWS FROM THE ABOVE, THEREFORE, THAT THE CALCULATIONS OF THE FUTURE INVESTMENTS THEN PREPARED COULD HAVE HARDLY BEEN ACCEPTED AS REALISTIC AND COULD BE USED FOR REFERENCE PURPOSES ONLY. WAS THERE ANY SENSE IN PREPARING SUCH CALCULATIONS AT ALL? IT IS POSSIBLE THAT IN THE FIRST STAGES OF ESTABLISHING A NEW INDUSTRIAL FIELD ALL THESE APPROXIMATE CALCULATIONS WERE NEEDED IN ORDER TO MAKE AN ESTIMATE, EVEN A VERY ROUGH ONE, OF THE CAPITAL INVESTMENTS NECESSARY FOR DEVELOPING THE FIELD IN QUESTION.

WAS IT POSSIBLE FOR ME TO "OVERHEAR" SOMETHING I WAS NOT SUPPOSED TO KNOW? DURING THE PERIOD OF MY WORK AT THE "MOSGIPROBIOSINTEZ" INSTITUTE THE PREMISES WERE NOT GUARDED. SINCE THE INSTITUTE WAS SITUATED NEXT TO A MEAT SHOP PEOPLE VERY OFTEN CAME INSIDE THE INSTITUTE BUILDING IN ORDER TO GO TO THE TOILET, ETC. AND THE FACT DID NOT SEEM TO BOTHER ANYONE. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IF THE INSTITUTE HAD INDEED BEEN INVOLVED IN A PROJECT FOR SOMETHING CONSTITUTING A STATE INTEREST, THE KGB WOULD HAVE TAKEN CARE OF SEEING TO IT THAT NO OUTSIDERS COULD ENTER IT.

IN 1969 OR 1970 I VISITED THE "GLAVMIKROBIOPROM" FACTORY IN THE TOWN OF BERDSK ON BUSINESS. IN ADDITION TO THE ORDER FOR THE TRIP I ALSO RECEIVED A SECURITY CLEARANCE ("DOPUSK"). I NEVER WENT FURTHER THAN THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING AND THE DINING ROOM. THE PURPOSE OF MY TRIP DID NOT ENTAIL VISITING THE WORKSHOPS OR ANY OF THE OBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE PRODUCTION PROCESS. I HAD TO SEE DOCUMENTATION RELATING TO THE TECHNOLOGICAL-ECONOMIC PLAN BECAUSE PART OF THE DATA IN IT WAS NEEDED FOR CALCULATIONS RELATING TO ANOTHER FUTURE PROJECT. THE NOTES I PREPARED DID NOT REPRESENT THE WORK OF THE FACTORY AND THEY WERE KEPT IN MY DESK AND NOT IN THE SPECIAL SECTION.

THE VERY FACT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MAIN ADMINISTRATION OF THE MICROBIOLOGICAL INDUSTRY AT THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR CAN NOT BE CONSIDERED A SECRET BECAUSE THE RELEVANT DECREE WAS PUBLISHED IN SOVIET PAPERS.

I THINK THAT THE REFUSAL TO GRANT ME AN EMIGRATION PERMIT, AS IT WAS FIRST PLANNED, UNTIL JANUARY 1977, DID NOT HAVE ANY VALID GROUNDS, WHILE THE EXTENSION OF THIS REFUSAL UNTIL THE PRESENT CAN ONLY BE CONSIDERED AN ACT OF

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- 4 -

REVENGE FOR MY OPENLY EXPRESSED POSITION ON THE QUESTION
THE RIGHT OF SOVIET JEWS TO EMIGRATION.

15 JUNE 1987
BENDERY

IDA NUDEL

... /

ROALD ZELICHENOK - PERSONAL DATA

NAME: ZELICHENOK, ROALD ISAAKOVICH
ADDRESS: USSR 197022, LENINGRAD,
NAB. REKI KARPOVKI 19/56.
TEL. 2341858

DATE OF BIRTH: 1936
FAMILY STATUS: MARRIED TO GALINA BABRINA;
HAS A GROWN UP DAUGHTER FROM A
PREVIOUS MARRIAGE.

OCCUPATION: ELECTRICAL ENGINEER
EDUCATION: PH.D. IN ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING.

LANGUAGES: RUSSIAN)
HEBREW) FLUENT KNOWLEDGE
ENGLISH)
JAPANESE) TECHNICAL TRANSLATION
LEVEL

WORK EXPERIENCE: 1960-1975 - RESEARCH FELLOW AT THE
CENTRAL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE
FOR PHYSICAL INSTRUMENTS FOR THE SEA
("ZNII MORPHYSPRIBOR");
1975-1985 - RESEARCH FELLOW AT THE
COMPUTER LABORATORY OF THE INSTITUTE
OF CYTOLOGY OF THE SOVIET ACADEMY OF
SCIENCES.

DATE OF 1ST REFUSAL: 1978
REASON FOR REFUSAL: "REGIME (SECRECY) CONSIDERATIONS"
DATE OF LATEST REFUSAL: APRIL 1987

DATE OF IMPRISONMENT: JUNE 11, 1985
SENTENCE: 3 YEARS IMPRISONMENT (ON CHARGES
OF "FABRICATION AND DISSEMINATION
OF DELIBERATELY FALSE FABRICATIONS
DEFAMING THE SOVIET STATE AND ITS
SOCIAL SYSTEM" - ART. 190(1) OF
THE RSFSR CRIMINAL CODE).

REASON GIVEN FOR
THE GRANTING OF
RELEASE BEFORE THE
END OF TERM: "GOOD WORK AND IRREPROACHABLE
BEHAVIOR"

STATE OF HEALTH: SUFFERS FROM ADVANCED HYPER-
TENSION, VEIN VARICOSIS,
OPOSTOMATOSIC PYELONEPHRITIS,
MINIER DISEASE, MULTIPLE
HEMORRHAGES OF FUNDUS.

UPDATE: JULY 1987

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January 22, 1985

BY HAND

Editor, Letters to the Editor
THE NEW YORK TIMES
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

5-2109
JFWA

Dear Sir:

I agree (and who politically and morally could not) with the view expressed by Martin Peretz and Leon Wieseltier (letter to the Editor, New York Times, January 22, 1986) that it is "ridiculous" and (worse) to advocate that agreement on arms control be linked to Jewish emigration--or for that matter with other human rights concerns.

The Times story of January 7, 1986 to which Messrs. Peretz and Wieseltier reacted specifically referred to a statement which I, as head of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry (NCSJ) handed to the President on September 9, 1985, which put the issue bluntly: "The National Conference on Soviet Jewry does not believe that freedom for Soviet Jews and other human rights concerns should be formally linked to arms or other bi-lateral agreements with the USSR."

I go further: A good arms agreement should not be rejected on human rights concerns.

In the statement to the President we noted a fact:

". . . United States negotiators must take into account American public opinion especially as reflected in the Senate which must ratify any treaty.

At the present the American public lacks confidence in the Soviet word, for though there may be dispute as to Soviet compliance with existing arms arrangements, there is no doubt that the Soviets have flagrantly violated the Helsinki Accords of 1975.

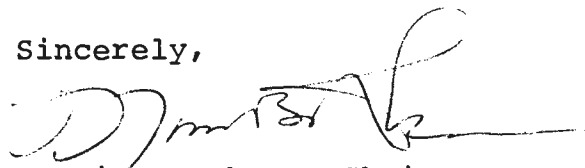
The fact is established by actual emigration figures, the Soviet public record (of) arrests, trials, and imprisonment of refuseniks and teachers of Hebrew, not to mention the sad fate of the Soviet Helsinki monitors." -- most of whom are not Jewish.

In the same January 7 New York Times article, Spurgeon Keeny, head of the Arms Control Association, who is also opposed to formal linkage, noted that, "politically, there is an inevitable linkage in society--that certain things cannot be done if relations are too bad in other areas."

Relations include trust when the stakes involve nuclear threats or destruction. As we said to the President, ". . . it is very unlikely that the American people will trust the Soviets on new agreements affecting the vital security of both countries while they persist in violation of the merely humane provisions of the Helsinki Accords."

It may not be easy to distinguish formal linkage (which is wrong and impractical) from the atmospheric conditions necessary for good and lasting agreements. But, these are two issues which must be taken into account, particularly by the leader of a free society as he negotiates with the Soviet Union.

Sincerely,



Morris B. Abram, Chairman
National Conference on Soviet Jewry

pmf

S. Z. J. J. J.

Two Tests of the Breadth of Glasnost

Permitting More Jews To Leave

By Morris B. Abram

By freeing nearly all Jewish prisoners of conscience, allowing some prominent high-profile refuseniks — those once refused permission to emigrate — to leave the country and opening the gates slightly to Jewish emigration, the wily Mikhail S. Gorbachev has shown welcome signs of change and has scored points with his country's critics.

This has been done, however, without any real change in the Soviet Union's policy toward its Jews. The Soviet Jews' movement both in the Soviet Union and in the West is deeply worried. We know that Moscow, alleging security considerations, still denies emigration to Jews, many of whom have not worked in their fields for 15 or 20 years.

This practice violates a Gorbachev pledge in Paris in October 1985 that no applicant for emigration and family reunification would be rejected for this reason after 10 years' absence from any position involving state security.

In fact, the current use of the secrecy disqualification for repatriation to Israel and family reunification has been expanded. It is being used

The gate is only slightly ajar.

arbitrarily in the cases of a number of well-known Jews, all of whom have not been privy to secrets for more than a decade.

Morris B. Abram, a lawyer, is chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.

Furthermore, regulations in effect since January permit emigration for family reunification only to those with parents, a spouse, siblings and children abroad, thus effectively barring most Jews from even applying to leave. Local emigration offices, while more cordial than in the pre-Gorbachev period, still do not accept most new applications.

Even if Jewish emigration did rise to 3,092 during the first six months of 1987, it is proportionately a long way from the Soviet-inspired speculation of 11,000 by the end of the year and the precedent-setting 51,320 in 1979.

Several thousand refuseniks' cases are being reviewed, and most of these Jews apparently are receiving permission to leave. But we fear that further movement will be stymied. At stake is the future of one out of every six Jews in the world. Will they disappear into a black hole? Will the century that witnessed the loss of six million Jews also see the forced assimilation of the last major community of Jews in Eastern Europe?

These questions are important not only to the Jewish community but also to the American people, Congress and Administration. For the Kremlin's sorry performance in complying with the 1975 Helsinki Accords, which include the right to practice one's religion and culture and to leave one's country, has created doubts about its credibility in other fields.

Discussions that Edgar M. Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, and I had with Soviet officials last March in Moscow were marked by a refreshing absence of traditional Soviet obfuscation.

Not once did we hear, as had been the case many times before, that there was no Jewish problem in the Soviet Union and that Jewish institutional life was flourishing. Nor did the officials argue, as they habitually did, that all Jews who wanted to leave had already done so. On the contrary, they seemed to suggest a more positive approach on emigration and on Jewish life in the Soviet Union.

Since these talks ended there has been little progress. The number of Jews permitted to emigrate has been disappointing, and the fundamental obstacles to their departure have not been lifted. In fact, the review process set up to deal with the tangle of refusals has been operating under deliberately imposed obscurity: Refuseniks face incredible difficulty even trying to make contact with members of the review commission.

Pressing Moscow to honor its international obligations does not threaten the Soviet system. The Government is permitting an increased number of ethnic Germans and some Armenians to leave. Nearly 270,000 Jews have been permitted to leave over more than 15 years.

In some Eastern bloc nations, Jews are routinely permitted to emigrate to Israel, and cultural and religious institutions are allowed to function. By contrast, the Soviet Union has the most despondent and dejected Jewish community I have ever seen.

The fate of more than two million Jews serves as a kind of litmus test. The Soviet Union's response to Jews' demands for the right to leave will be a significant measure of the application of glasnost to human rights. It will also determine the credibility of the Soviet Union's proclaimed intention to live in peace with the West. □

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Allowing Publication of A Journal

By Martin Garbus

Sergei Grigoryants, who was released in February after serving 10 of his last 13 years in prison, is putting Mikhail S. Gorbachev's proclaimed policy of free expression to a critical test.

With breathtaking courage, Mr. Grigoryants and other dissidents and freed political prisoners are publishing a journal, appropriately called Glasnost, that contains political, literary, cultural and religious writings of a kind not seen in the Soviet Union since the early 1920's.

On July 6 in his book-lined Moscow apartment, Mr. Grigoryants arranged for me to get a copy of the 56-page journal in typescript.

On June 19, he had asked for permission to publish it openly. Not having heard from Soviet officials, he asked me to take it out of the country and see if I could get it published. Although he had never met me he trusted me because he knew I had delivered Andrei D. Sakharov's plea for human rights to President Jimmy Carter in 1977.

The journal, reproduced with typewriters and carbon paper, is remarkable. It reprints a Sakharov statement asking for the release of all prisoners of conscience and all those whose prison terms have been arbitrarily extended. Dr. Sakharov also calls on the Soviet Union to pull out of Afghanistan and "put an end to this cruel war," and he asks for a world safe from nuclear accidents like the kind that occurred at Chernobyl.

Another article argues that free-market economics and socialism may not be able to co-exist and that "only free-market relationships allow people to survive." A third says that the Soviet bureaucratic system is built on fear and that only the Government's encouragement of glasnost can end such fear.

The journal contains a list of political prisoners held in the dreaded Chistopol Prison and urges their release. The mere printing of prisoners' names in the Soviet Union violates the law.

Mr. Grigoryants, a literary critic, told me he believed Mr. Gorbachev's glasnost policy faced a two-year experimental period and that "if it does not seep in and change the society, there'll be a severe backlash."

He says that if a backlash comes, "I will be back in jail," where he was sent for working on an underground human rights publication.

As we chatted, I knew he was being watched. But it is different today than in the years I previously visited the Soviet Union. In 1977, when I walked the streets with Natan Sharansky (who, in Israel, changed his name from Anatoly B. Shcharansky) and Dr. Sakharov, the K.G.B. openly followed us. When I met with them in their living rooms, we knew the rooms were tapped.

Today the K.G.B. seems not as visible. There is less of a feeling of oppression, less of a feeling of Big Brother watching you. As I walked with various dissidents who contributed to the journal, no one followed us, I think. And as I traveled through

It offers political, literary and religious topics.

four cities meeting dissidents, I never felt that any of the rooms we were in were tapped. But I could be wrong.

Nonetheless, most of the dissidents with whom I spoke were under maximum supervision. This meant that at the end of each day they had to report to officers and tell them with whom they spoke and what they said.

When I tried to call Dr. Sakharov from hotels in Leningrad and Tiflis, the hotel operators insisted on knowing with whom I wanted to speak. When I gave his name, 10 different times I was told the calls could not get through. The only times calls got through was when Russians helped me and I did not have to give his name.

If General Secretary Gorbachev's glasnost policy means anything, it means that Mr. Grigoryants and his colleagues would not face jail for publication and distribution of his insightful magazine. In fact, it would mean that the Kremlin would permit him to publish Glasnost 36 times a year, as he wants to do. □

Martin Garbus is a New York City trial lawyer who specializes in First Amendment cases.

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EMIGRATION FIGURES

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>ARRIVED IN VIENNA</u>	<u>ARRIVED IN ISRAEL</u>
1979	51,320	17,614
1980	21,471	7,570
1981	9,447	1,767
1982	2,688	731
1983	1,314	387
1984	896	340
1985	1,140	348
1986	914	206
1987		
January	98	32
February	146	29
March	470	138
April	717	168
May	871	226
June	790	121

Source: The Soviet Jewry Research Bureau of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry

National Conference on Soviet Jewry

SUMMARY

RESCUING SOVIET JEWRY IN LIGHT OF "GLASNOST"

A MID-YEAR SURVEY

The movement on behalf of Soviet Jewry is a unique struggle for emigration in the context of a tradition of four thousand years. It is the struggle to reunite and redeem one-sixth of World Jewry, the remnant of East European Jewry after the Holocaust. It fits within the tradition of the people who have returned to the land of Israel from exodus, exile and dispersion.

Emigration remained the central issue of concern to Jewish activists and refuseniks alike, and the first six months of 1987 may be characterized as a period of bureaucratic gestures and promises, heightened anticipation within the refusenik community and abroad, and relatively meagre results, combined with contradictory and confusing signals from Soviet officials.

- If there is a new "glasnost", or "openness" in Soviet society, it is not being applied to the Jewish minority.
- While emigration did rise for a total of 3,092 during the first six months of 1987, it is a long way from the Soviet inspired speculation of "11,000 by the end of year."
- Virtually no one who lacks first degree relatives abroad can even get their applications accepted, and there is no flexibility applied with new applicants.
- "Secrecy" disqualification for emigration to Israel, and family reunification, has expanded and is abused, as in the cases of Ida Nudel, Aleksandr Lerner, Lev Elbert, Vladimir Slepak and Naum Meiman, all of whom have not been privy to "secrets" for many years.
- Despite the releases of "high profile" refuseniks such as Vladimir Feltsman and all but one Prisoner of Conscience, Aleksei Magarik, questions remain as to why any Jewish refusenik was ever arrested when their desire to emigrate was completely justified under the 1975 Helsinki Accords, to which the Soviet Union is signatory.
- The Soviet Union continued to send ambiguous signals to the West, witness reaction to the March visit to the Soviet Union of NCSJ Chairman Morris B. Abram and World Jewish Congress President Edgar Bronfman, who at that time received assurance on a variety of points concerning human rights and emigration.
- Refuseniks responded, articulating their expectations that "practical realization" of their suggestions could ensue through "some kind of special arrangement between the USSR and Israel on the repatriation of Jews," including the possibility of direct air or ship service.
- There did appear to be a change in Soviet public posture, reflecting a new sensitivity to Western concerns.

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A coalition of forty-five national organizations and over three hundred local community councils and federations

- The new sensitivity is evidenced by the Soviet call for an International Conference on Humanitarianism to be held in Moscow. While the Soviet Union wants to be considered a major power, equal to the U.S., this Conference, in the absence of any real progress on human rights issues for Soviet Jews, would be absurd.
- "Glasnost" has been selective, providing a new public platform for anti-Semites, witness the activities of the official "anti-Zionist Committee," and the emergence of "pamyat," but failing to give refuseniks, such as Viktor Fulmakht and an increasingly vocal group of women refuseniks, a platform for response to anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist activities and pronouncements.
- Exchanges, such as Sister Cities programs and the American Bar Association/Association of Soviet Lawyers Agreement, must be platforms for the dissemination of information on human rights, and forums for the specific discussion of Soviet Jewry issues.
- Despite Soviet protestations of "glasnost," there is scant human rights protection for Jews in the Soviet Union. In the words of Ambassador Warren Zimmerman, head of the U.S. delegation to the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, "Promises are not performance; objectives are not achievement. 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika' represent an encouraging process. But they do not -- at least not yet -- describe considerable accomplishments."

Submitted to Secretary of State George P. Shultz
July 9, 1987



National Conference on Soviet Jewry

STATEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY

As representatives of Jewish communities throughout the world, we gather in London to affirm our commitment to work unceasingly for the rights of our brothers and sisters in the USSR. We have come together as members of a unique movement -- a Jewish national movement that seeks the redemption of Soviet Jews by enabling those who wish to leave for Israel to do so, to facilitate the reunification of families, and to allow those who are in the Soviet Union to openly practice and transmit their culture, religion and traditions.

This proud but beleaguered community of over two million represents the major surviving remnant of European Jewry which was decimated during the Holocaust. The issue facing us is the future of more than one-sixth of our people.

We welcome the changes that have taken place in the Soviet Union since we last met, particularly the release of nearly all of the Prisoners of Zion. We also note that there has been a small increase in Jewish emigration.

The plight of Soviet Jews, however, remains essentially unchanged. In fact, the new legislation affecting emigration has created greater obstacles which restrict the right to leave to narrowly defined family relations. Long-term refuseniks and former prisoners continue to be denied exit visas, often by the arbitrary ruse of "access to state secrets".

On behalf of the World Conference on Soviet Jewry, we now proclaim that we shall not stand by awaiting the fulfillment of vague promises, or be silent by token gestures. We shall not be misled or deceived by Soviet blandishments, while Soviet Jews continue to be denied the rights guaranteed to them by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Human Rights Conventions and the Helsinki Accords.

The promise of "glasnost" has not yet been fulfilled for Soviet Jews. Basic Soviet policy in regard to the Jewish minority remains unchanged.

- more -

A coalition of forty-five national organizations and over three hundred local community councils and federations

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We endorse and will champion the recent call of twenty-seven former Prisoners of Zion then in the Soviet Union (full text attached). This call insisted that "every Jew should have the right and the possibility to be repatriated to Israel without having to explain the reason for his decision to do this, and with no connection as to whether he has relations in Israel." This should be part of a regularized and sustained process, with the right of appeal and the removal of all arbitrary obstacles, especially that which the Soviet Union describes as "based on regime considerations".

We support the insistence of the Jewish activists that as a humanitarian priority the Soviet Union should grant immediate exit permits for Israel to all present and former Prisoners of Zion and refuseniks, many of whom have been waiting ten years or more.

The Conference reaffirms the principle of emigration to Israel, directly or indirectly through Rumania, by Soviet Jews holding Israeli visas.

We will continue to forthrightly expose the failure of the Soviet Union to fulfill its promises and obligations. Soviet credibility on issues affecting the security of the West will be judged by the degree to which it honors its commitments undertaken in the Helsinki Accords and other international agreements. We must not relinquish existing restrictions on trade and credit, and exchanges of various kinds until the Soviet Union honors its commitments.

We urge all Western governments to seek every opportunity to raise the issue of Soviet Jewry, and to take into account in all dealings with the Soviet Union its compliance with international obligations.

We will press forward in the deep conviction that in fighting the cause of the Jews in the USSR we are not only seeking to protect the future of our own people, but are advancing principles which alone can lead to the trust on which world peace and cooperation depend.

Adopted July 6, 1987

London

TO: NIKOLAI IVANOVICH RYZHKOV
CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM
OF THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

YITZHAK SHAMIR
PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL

FROM: 27 FORMER PRISONERS OF ZION AND WIVES OF CURRENT
PRISONERS OF ZION

ESTEEMED HEADS OF STATE:

DURING THE PAST 15 YEARS THE QUESTION OF SOVIET JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR HAS ALMOST WITHOUT CESSATION, TO ONE DEGREE OR ANOTHER, CAPTURED THE RAPT ATTENTION OF POLITICAL AND PUBLIC CIRCLES IN MANY COUNTRIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. MEANWHILE, NUMERICAL INDICATORS ARE OFTEN PROPOSED AS THE CRITERION FOR A SATISFACTORY SITUATION REGARDING JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR, AND NUMBERS LIKE 40,000, 100,000, AND 400,000 PERSONS ARE CITED. ALSO, IN RECENT YEARS WE HAVE WITNESSED CASES OF THE OPEN RANSOM OR ATTEMPTED RANSOM OF FAMILIES AND PERSONS, CONDUCTED ON THE BASIS OF LISTS AND REQUESTS OF GOVERNMENTAL FIGURES AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS IN THE WEST.

IT IS OUR VIEW THAT NEITHER OF THESE APPROACHES IS THE WAY TO A GENUINE SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM. A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUE OF SOVIET JEWISH EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL SHOULD INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

1. EVERY JEW SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT AND THE POSSIBILITY TO EMIGRATE TO ISRAEL, WITHOUT HAVING TO EXPLAIN THE REASON FOR HIS DECISION TO DO THIS AND WITH NO CONNECTION TO WHETHER HE HAS RELATIVES IN ISRAEL.
2. IN A CASE OF REFUSAL BASED UPON REGIME CONSIDERATIONS, THE REFUSAL SHOULD BE GIVEN IN WRITING. THIS DOCUMENT SHOULD INDICATE THE ORGANS TO WHICH AN APPEAL MAY BE MADE AND THE PRECISE TIME LIMIT OF THE RESTRICTION ON THE RIGHT TO EMIGRATE FROM THE USSR. WHEN THIS TIME LIMIT HAS BEEN REACHED, AN EXIT PERMIT SHOULD BE GRANTED AUTOMATICALLY.
3. THE USSR SHOULD GRANT EXIT PERMITS TO ISRAEL TO ALL PRISONERS OF ZION IN THE USSR, AND ALSO, IN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME REEXAMINE THE CASES OF REFUSENIKS WHO HAVE BEEN WAITING TEN YEARS OR MORE.

IT SEEMS TO US THAT AT THE PRESENT TIME, WHEN POSITIVE CHANGES ARE TAKING PLACE IN THE SOCIAL LIFE

OF SOVIET SOCIETY AND CONTACTS BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL ARE TAKING SHAPE, THAT A SOLUTION SUCH AS WE HAVE SUGGESTED IS A PRACTICAL POSSIBILITY.

AS IS WELL KNOW, JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR IS CURRENTLY REGULATED BY THE DECREE OF THE SOVIET COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF 28 AUGUST 1986, NO. 1064, WHICH LIMITS THE POSSIBILITY OF EMIGRATING TO THE FRAMEWORK OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION. ALSO, THE ONLY PERSONS HAVING THE RIGHT TO APPLY TO EMIGRATE ARE THOSE HAVING FIRST DEGREE RELATIVES ABROAD: HUSBAND, WIFE, CHILD, BROTHER, OR SISTER.

HOWEVER, POINT 30 OF THESE REGULATIONS ENVISION A CHANGE IN PROCEDURE ON THE BASIS OF BI-LATERAL AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE USSR AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THE PRACTICAL REALIZATION OF OUR SUGGESTIONS CAN BE BROUGHT ABOUT BY SOME KIND OF A SPECIAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE USSR AND ISRAEL ON THE REPATRIATION OF JEWS.

WHEN PROPOSING THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF CONCLUDING SUCH AN AGREEMENT BE EXAMINED, WE BASE OURSELVES ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE USSR IN PRINCIPLE RECOGNIZES THE IDEA OF REPATRIATION AND HAS IN PRACTICE APPLIED IT, FOR EXAMPLE, IN REGARD TO GREEKS, SPANIARDS, AND POLES. SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD ALLOW THE REALIZATION OF THE GENUINE REPATRIATION OF JEWS IN ISRAEL. AS A TECHNICAL MEANS OF CARRYING OUT SUCH AN AGREEMENT DIRECT MOSCOW-TEL AVIV FLIGHTS OR A DIRECT ODESSA-HAIFA PASSENGER SHIP LINE MIGHT BE INSTITUTED.

WE APPEAL TO YOU, ESTEEMED HEADS OF STATE, WITH THE REQUEST TO EXAMINE OUR PROPOSALS ATTENTIVELY AND TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS FOR THEIR REALIZATION.

SIGNED:

BRAILOVSKY, BEGUN, VOLVOVSKY, GEISHIS, ZELICHENOK,
ZUBKO, KISLIK, KOCHUBIEVSKY, LEVIN, LEIN, LIFSHITS,
LOKSHIN, MAGIDOVICH, NUDEL, PARITSKY, SLEPAK, FRIDMAN,
FRADKOVA, KHOLMIANSKY, TSUKERMAN, CHERNOBYLSKY,
SHNIRMAN, ELBERT, YAKIR, FANIA BERENSHTEIN, NATALIA
RATNER-MAGARIK, TATIANA EDELSHTEIN

26 March 1987



National Conference on Soviet Jewry

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY DELEGATION

MEETING WITH SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE P. SHULTZ, STATE DEPARTMENT, JULY 9, 1987

Morris B. Abram, Chairman, National Conference on Soviet Jewry; Chairman, Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

Jerry Goodman, Executive Director, National Conference on Soviet Jewry

Shoshana Cardin, President, Council of Jewish Federations

Theodore Ellenoff, President, American Jewish Committee

Malcolm Hoenlein, Executive Vice-Chairman, Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

Michael Pelavin, Chairman, National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

Seymour D. Reich, President, B'nai B'rith International

Constance Smukler, Vice-Chairperson, National Conference on Soviet Jewry/Philadelphia

Sandra Weiner, Chairman, National Advisory Council, National Conference on Soviet Jewry/Houston

Mark Levin, Washington Representative, National Conference on Soviet Jewry

A coalition of forty-five national organizations and over three hundred local community councils and federations

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY

10 East 40th Street, Suite 907
New York, New York 10016

RESCUING SOVIET JEWRY IN LIGHT OF "GLASNOST"

The movement on behalf of Soviet Jewry is a unique struggle for emigration in the context of a tradition of four thousand years. It is the struggle to reunite and redeem one-sixth of World Jewry, the remnant of East European Jewry after the Holocaust. It fits within the tradition of the people who have returned to the land of Israel from exodus, exile and dispersion.

Emigration remained the central issue of concern to Jewish activists and refuseniks alike, despite interest and concern with other matters, including religious and cultural life within the Soviet Union.

While 1986 was characterized by the National Conference on Soviet Jewry (NCSJ) as "a year of dramatic, but largely disappointing, developments" for nearly two million Jews in the Soviet Union, the first six months of 1987 may be regarded, in terms of both emigration and Jewish life in the Soviet Union, as a period of bureaucratic gestures and promises, heightened anticipation within the refusenik community and abroad, and relatively meagre results, combined with contradictory and confusing signals from Soviet officials.

EMIGRATION

Until the end of June, 1987 seemed to be better for Soviet Jewry than the recent past. (See emigration chart, p. 7.) Emigration for the first six months (3,092), although a long way from the Soviet-inspired speculation of "11,000 by the end of the year," was nevertheless a marked increase over the 914 Jewish exit permits for all of 1986!

Nevertheless, Mikhail Gorbachev had a very long way to go before he could claim to be truly solving the classic Soviet "Jewish problem." Despite the improved emigration figures, the issue of the long-term refuseniks, almost all of them "regime refuseniks," appears as intractable as ever. In this regard Soviet bureaucracy can be blamed for many utterly ludicrous decisions and, in general, Soviet policy regarding security matters was out of step with practices in the Western democracies. In fact, emigration figures for the "best days" of the Gorbachev regime are much lower than those of the "worst days" of the Brezhnev era.

Since almost all those individuals concerned, including an increasingly active Jewish women's community, many now with adult children, were directly involved in the initiation of the movement for Aliya, and also the resurgence of Soviet Jewish national identity, their release remains a priority.

In January, 98 Jews left the Soviet Union followed by monthly increases peaking in May at 871. The next month, the figure slipped to only 790 prompting the NCSJ to observe: "We had hoped that the June figure would follow the pattern of monthly increases in emigration visas granted during the first five months of 1987. But it appears that emigration has once again dropped."

It should be noted, also, that while Jewish emigration increased significantly in the first six months of 1987, the following situation remained:

- If Jewish emigration this year would continue at the current rate, the year's total would reach only 7,000 -- less than one seventh of the peak year of 1979 when 51,320 Jews arrived in Vienna.

- Almost all of those granted permission are drawn from a list of 11,000 documented refuseniks, with little evident breakthrough concerning the thousands of others who are known to seek to emigrate.
- Very few new applicants are being approved, or even processed.
- Virtually no one who lacks first degree relatives abroad, whether parents or siblings, can get new applications accepted.
- There is virtually no flexibility applied with new applicants, leading to the assumption that "glasnost" does not apply to Soviet Jews, and that the Soviet Union seeks to close the door on Jewish emigration once the refusenik backlog has been resolved.
- The use of the "secrecy" disqualification has expanded, and the concept abused, as in the cases of such refuseniks as Ida Nudel, Aleksandr Lerner, Lev Elbert, Vladimir Slepak and Naum Meiman, all of whom have not been privy to "secrets" for many years. An increasing number of people were denied exit permits in May and June whose cases were on the refusenik list submitted to Soviet officials by Secretary of State George Shultz. Soviet officials had promised to review the list, and implied speedy and more favorable responses.
- Seriously ill refuseniks were denied life-saving permission to leave, as in the case of cancer victim Benjamin Charny, who qualifies for emigration on the "kinship" ground, as he has a brother living in the U.S., but was told not to re-apply until 1995. It is doubtful that, from an actuarial viewpoint, he will be alive.

PROMISES, GESTURES AND NON-DELIVERY

The NCSJ's expression of optimism, tempered by regret, concerning June emigration figures, characterized other aspects of the plight of Soviet Jewry: Permission to leave was given to prominent refuseniks, such as pianist Vladimir Feltsman, and the Jewish Prisoners of Conscience (POC's) were released, except for Aleksey Magarik. This was welcomed by Jewish and non-Jewish groups. Yet questions remained.

Refuseniks wondered why any Jewish refusenik was ever arrested when their desire to emigrate was completely justified under the 1975 Helsinki Accords to which the Soviet Union is signatory. Furthermore, at mid-year, Aleksey Magarik remained in prison for a crime he did not commit. Under the provisions of even the restrictive emigration decree, effective in January, he is a candidate for emigration and could be released immediately and be reunited with his father and sister in Israel.

It seemed that it would be in the Soviet Union's own self-interest, and in the spirit of "glasnost," to free Magarik now and allow him, and the many other long-term refuseniks and former POC's, to emigrate without further delay. Yet Soviet officials seemingly refused to grapple with these issues, while sending ambiguous and even contradictory signals to Western leaders concerning emigration and rights for Jews who remain in the Soviet Union.

An example of these confusing signals was the reaction to the visit to the Soviet Union in March by NCSJ Chairman Morris B. Abram and World Jewish Congress President Edgar Bronfman, who, at that time, received assurance on the following points, as reported to Jewish community leadership in New York on April 1:

- Soviet Jews with exit visas for Israel will travel via Rumania on flights to be established.

- All refuseniks and their families will be allowed to emigrate to Israel within a one-year period, except for legitimate national security cases. A procedure will be established, however, to review previous visa denials on national security grounds. This procedure may involve officials on as high a level as the Supreme Soviet.
- First degree relatives may emigrate for family reunification within an established time frame. There may be flexibility within the framework of the current narrow interpretation of "first degree relative."
- Cases of those refuseniks recently placed in a "never allowed to emigrate" category will be reviewed.
- All Jewish religious books may be imported into the USSR, and a recommended list of books will be submitted.
- Synagogues will be opened in all sites where there is a demonstrated need.
- Soviet Jews will be allowed greater access to rabbinical training. Some may even be allowed to study in the United States.
- The teaching of Hebrew in school or synagogue settings will be considered together with similar restrictions applied to other religious groups.
- A kosher restaurant will be opened in Moscow, and liberal provisions will be made for ritual slaughter.

Subsequent official Moscow reaction, and little evidence of real commitment to deal with these issues, indicated that their implementation remained to be seen. Indeed, even the promise of a refusenik review could result in continuing refusals.

REFUSENIKS ARTICULATE EXPECTATIONS

A group of refuseniks, including former POC's, responded to public discussion concerning how many Jews could leave, as opposed to ensuring a regular process. They noted that:

"Numerical indicators are often proposed as the criterion for a satisfactory situation regarding Jewish emigration from the USSR, and numbers like 40,000, 100,000 and 400,000 persons are cited. Also, in recent years we have witnessed cases of the open ransom or attempted ransom of families and persons, conducted on the basis of lists and requests of governmental figures and public organizations in the West....

"Point 30 of the Decree of the Soviet Council of Ministers of 28 August No. 1064 Regulations envision a change in procedure on the basis of bi-lateral agreements between the USSR and other countries.

"It is our view that the practical realization of our suggestions can be brought about by some kind of a special agreement between the USSR and Israel on the repatriation of Jews.

"When proposing that the possibility of concluding such an agreement be examined, we base ourselves on the assumption that the USSR in principle recognizes the idea of repatriation and has in practice applied it, for example,

in regard to Greeks, Spaniards and Poles. Such an agreement would allow the realization of the genuine repatriation of Jews in Israel. As a technical means of carrying out such an agreement, direct Moscow-Tel Aviv flights or a direct Odessa-Haifa passenger ship line might be instituted."

Among the signatories were VIKTOR BRAILOVSKY, YOSIF BEGUN, LEONID VOLVOVSKY, ROALD ZELICHENOK, STANISLAV ZUBKO, VLADIMIR KISLIK, FELIKS KOCHUBIYEVSKY, EVGENY LEIN, VLADIMIR LIFSHITZ, OSIP LOKSHIN, ALEXANDER MAGIDOVICH, IDA NUDEL, ALEXANDER PARITSKY, VLADIMIR SLEPAK, KIM FRIDMAN, BORIS CHERNOBILSKY, LEV ELBERT and ALEXANDER YAKIR.

CHANGES IN THE SOVIET PUBLIC POSTURE AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

There did appear to be a change in Soviet public posture, notably in their official willingness to discuss these and other issues with the Jewish community. This new response, coupled with the seemingly more "open" posture in evidence during the 1986 summit in Reykjavik, suggests that the Soviet Union is at least becoming more sensitive to Western concerns and that Western human rights advocates have touched a raw, albeit tough, Soviet nerve.

This new sensitivity is evidenced by the Soviet call for an International Conference on Humanitarianism to be held in Moscow. While the Soviet Union wants to be considered a major power, equal to the U.S., this Conference, in the absence of any real progress on human rights issues for Soviet Jews, would be absurd, despite the stance of those who speak of "windows of opportunity."

In a position taken by the NCSJ, and endorsed by many scholars, members of Congress, and the Administration, it would be difficult to support such a conference on human rights as guaranteed in the Helsinki Accords, in the capital of a country in which monitors of that state's compliance were placed in jail, sent into exile or silenced or persecuted, and where guarantees of emigration and family reunification are still in violation of international accords and law. According to the NCSJ, "If a Soviet proposal for such a human rights conference were to foreshadow a reversal of Soviet policy from violation to compliance, the NCSJ position would be reviewed. In the meantime, we await the Soviet deeds to match the principles to which Leonid Brezhnev affixed his signature on August 1, 1975, at Helsinki."

The NCSJ position was supported by Ambassador Warren Zimmerman, chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting still in progress, where a final statement is now in preparation. Such a document, Zimmerman stated, "should highlight and strengthen the obligations of the Helsinki Final Act, particularly those obligations -- as in the human rights dimension -- where implementation has been weak.... We must not lose sight of an element of the Helsinki process that is even more important than words on paper -- performance on the ground.... Much has happened in the bi-lateral relationship between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. It is clear that changes continue to affect major areas of Soviet life.... There has also been some progress in the human dimension of the Helsinki Final Act. Here I would like to examine as specifically as possible the major categories, with the objective of welcoming what has been accomplished but also recognizing how much still remains to be done."

In fact, under the new policy of "glasnost," mixed signals were in evidence. While no Jewish refuseniks were sent to prison this year, and most public demonstrations were undisturbed by the police, there have been reports of allegedly "spontaneous" attacks on activists, as in the case of the assault on Inna Begun as she demonstrated on behalf of her then imprisoned husband, Iosif Begun; and the emergence into the open of extremist elements who are known to be extremely nationalistic, xenophobic, and anti-Semitic. Most prominent among them was a group named Pamyat ("memory").

"Glasnost" has been selective, providing a new public platform for anti-Semites, but denying it to Jewish activists. An example of this is the publication of Let Us Live As We Choose, by Jews of the official "Anti-Zionist Committee," and the failure to permit the publication of the response of veteran Moscow refusenik Viktor Fulmakht, who stated:

"...The authors of the letter demand: 'let us educate our children and grandchildren in peace and quiet.' But how are they going to answer their children's and grandchildren's question: 'Who are the Jews?' Will they refer them to their school textbooks, where the Bible, the Old Testament -- the greatest cultural monument of the Jewish people and the world -- is not mentioned? Or will they take them to a Museum of Jewish History and Ethnography? Will they take them to a lecture at a Jewish Culture Society? Alas, no such museums or lectures are available here, even though they do exist in other Socialist countries.

"Jews, like any other nation, are a community built on historic memory. How can any person whose memory has been amputated bring up his children and grandchildren, and defend his personal dignity?..."

Another example of the silencing of Jewish activists is the treatment accorded recently to an increasingly vocal group of Jewish refusenik women: A two-day Conference of Women in June, called by the group Women Against Refusal, to coincide with the International Women's Conference in Moscow, from which they were excluded, came in for unexpected publicity in separate issues of Vechernaya Moskva.

In the last six months, Jewish women, concerned about the dislocation in family life and the negative impact living in refusal has had on their children ("The Second Generation"), have become increasingly active and articulate.

On June 24, the second day of the alternate Conference, the Moscow evening paper published a report of how two women had been turned away by the refuseniks. This, the newspaper said, showed how "ill-mannered" and "unfriendly" the women were. Indeed, two women, who may have been KGB provocateurs, were denied admittance. One claimed to be a relative of IDA TARATUTA from Leningrad, a claim that turned out to be false; the other spuriously claimed to be a member of APR, a national press agency.

Two days earlier, Vechernaya Moskva had resorted to a convoluted stratagem to attack some of the women involved in setting up the refusenik conference. The newspaper alleged to have received an anonymous letter from a woman refusenik outlining her own grievances and those of several of the women involved in the Conference. The language used by the "anonymous" writer made it obvious that the letter was used purely as a vehicle to attack the parallel conference. The conference was less parallel than a "crooked way" of obstruction, the paper wrote. Among the names of refuseniks mentioned in the article were: RIMA YAKIR, ELENA DUBIANSKAYA, VLADIMIR PRESTIN, PAVEL ABRAMOVICH, NELLIE MAY, YUDIT RATNER and GRIGORY ROSENSHTEIN.

The following day Moscow Radio, in Russian for broadcast abroad, cited the publication of the article which was entitled Crooked Conscience, signed by N. Arefyev and R. Stokov. In response, one of the refuseniks noted that "since February, no less than twenty articles have been published about us, all of them either untrue, misleading or tendentious. We wrote letters to the editor many times -not once were our letters published."

Another product of "glasnost" was in the area of U.S.-Soviet exchanges, including cultural and scientific relations, and "people-to-people" contacts, such as sister cities programs, which the NCSJ endorsed, provided that, in the words of Ambassador Stephen Rhinesmith, coordinator of the president's U.S.-Soviet Exchange Initiative, "There should be no

misinterpretation that the human rights issue of freedom and conscience is a fundamental issue for all Americans and that responsible dialogue requires us to feel free to discuss the issues of concern" with Soviet visitors.

The NCSJ stated further that in such contacts "U.S. participants must have an opportunity to raise those concerns which divide as well as unite the USA and the USSR.... Not to raise the issue of human rights as a formal part of the agenda would be to deny our own system of American values..." The NCSJ also believed that cultural exchanges are valuable opportunities for engaging the Soviets on the issues and "to bring attention to the plight of Soviet Jews and to highlight specific cases, as appropriate."

In another exchange area, the NCSJ believed that the agreement in effect between the American Bar Association (ABA) and the Association of Soviet Lawyers (ASL) could be the focus of an effort on behalf of Soviet Jewry, and that the ABA, under the terms of its on-going relationship with the ASL, must assume the obligation of demonstrating a commitment to those Soviet citizens denied fundamental human rights, guaranteed by international law and procedure. The ABA "should also implement its commitment to organize exchange programs with the Soviet bar in the areas of prison visitation and trial observation. The declaration of cooperation between the two organizations should be reviewed for adherence to stated goals, as the ASL, unlike the ABA, is an arm of the State, and uses its relationship with the West to gain credibility (and) ... serve as a forum for the abuses of the human rights of the thousands of Soviet Jewish refuseniks."

CONCLUSION

The large list of cases still unresolved remained mute evidence that despite Soviet protestations of "glasnost," there is scant human rights protection for Jews in the Soviet Union. Despite the welcome news that many "high profile" Soviet Jews, including pianist Vladimir Feltsman, have been or are about to be granted permission to emigrate, and that only one Jewish prisoner remains incarcerated, or that cultural rights for Soviet Jews who remain there are imminent, in the words of Ambassador Warren Zimmerman, "promises are not performance; objectives are not achievement. 'Glasnost' and 'perestroika' represent an encouraging process. But they do not -- at least not yet -- describe considerable accomplishments."



United States Department of State

Washington, D. C. 20520

July 10, 1987

INFORMATION MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

S/S

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Secretary

FROM: HA - Richard Schifter *RS*

SUBJECT: Soviet Intentions on Jewish Emigration

Summary. In addition to putting barriers in the way of Jewish departures from the Soviet Union, the present Soviet leadership may very well make an effort to encourage Soviet Jews to want to stay. That effort will probably be half-hearted and is likely to fail. Given the deep-rooted, large-scale discrimination against Jews over the last 20 years, the Soviet leadership may neither have the will nor the ability to reverse this established pattern. End Summary.

In our brief conversation following your July 9 meeting with Morris Abram and other Jewish community leaders, we discussed the intentions of the Soviet leaders with regard to Jewish emigration, with particular reference to the brain drain issue. The purpose of this memorandum is to offer a few thoughts on the question you raised concerning Soviet positive inducements to Jews to stay put.

My memorandum to you of July 6 suggests that the Soviets (a) are now limiting Jewish emigration to a rate of slightly under 10,000 per annum, and (b) are particularly intent on frightening persons with needed scientific and technological qualifications against applying for exit permits. Denials of emigration applications on obviously spurious security grounds are intended to send a message to persons with similar professional backgrounds that they are not likely to receive an exit visa even if they resign their jobs and wait for a reasonable period to pass before they apply for permission to leave the country.

But what about positive inducements, designed not to scare potential emigrants into staying, but creating an affirmative desire to stay? There is no doubt that the Soviet leaders will attempt to offer such inducements. They may very well succeed in some instances, but I believe that they will by and large fail.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

Authority *DIS hawer*

BY *CEL*

NARA DATE *10/23/17*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Only a very small percentage of Soviet Jews is religiously observant and will be persuaded to stay in the USSR because prayerbooks may be imported, a ritual bath may operate, or ritual slaughter is authorized. Though these points have been raised as issues of consequence, they are raised as symbols of the problem of restrictions on freedom, but are not the essence of the problem.

Similarly, the effort at Yiddish cultural revival is not likely to succeed. Yiddish culture survives in the religious communities of Mea Shearim (in Jerusalem), Bnei Brak (near Tel Aviv) and Brooklyn, N.Y. In Eastern Europe it is dead. The culture in which Soviet Jews are interested is a culture based on Hebrew as a spoken language, a culture which the Soviets will continue to try to suppress because it is oriented toward emigration.

The only way in which the Soviet leadership could significantly affect the desire of so many Soviet Jews, particularly Soviet intellectuals, to leave the country is to reduce the level of anti-Semitism in the USSR. But any effort along these lines will be too little and too late. Soviet anti-Semitism has found expression in (a) government propaganda, (b) discrimination in education and employment, and (c) insults encountered in day-to-day life.

There is some indication that anti-Semitic content in Soviet Government propaganda has been reduced during the last year. But I do not believe that discrimination and expressions of popular anti-Semitism can be significantly reduced by government edict.

That really brings us to the heart of the matter. The Jewish parents in the Soviet Union, like parents anywhere, do not want their children to lead a life which is in every respect worse than that which they have enjoyed. Yet, the large-scale discrimination against Jews which has been common practice in the last 20 years is not likely to be turned around. The leadership may neither have the will nor the ability to reverse the established pattern. There are a number of important reasons why this is so: (1) The leaders as well as the general public may sincerely believe what Soviet representatives have on occasion told me in justification of their policy: Jews constitute 0.7% of the total population of the Soviet Union and are heavily overrepresented in the professions. (2) Increasing Jewish quotas will antagonize professionals in other ethnic groups whose opportunities of education, employment, and promotion would thereby be reduced. (3) There is an increasing feeling in the Soviet Union that Jews are basically disloyal to the state. Why take a chance on educating or employing such persons? The policy of excluding

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Jews from the Foreign Service and the military command structure has worked. Why not expand that approach? In the long run, the Soviet state will be able to do without them.

As for the matter of insults encountered in day-to-day life, we must keep in mind that anti-Semitism is endemic in many of the regions that make up the USSR. Pogroms, mass killings of Jews, took place as recently as the early years of this century. A major effort to stamp out anti-Semitism was undertaken immediately after the 1917 revolution, but this effort was ended about 15 years later and was succeeded by an increasingly virulent government-sponsored campaign of anti-Semitism. The kind of consistent effort in which our own governmental and religious leadership as well as major parts of the community leadership were engaged to cut back racism in the United States will not be duplicated in the Soviet Union, where even the top leaders may, at best, be ambivalent on the issue.

To sum up: there are sound reasons why the Soviet Union may want to make life in the country more comfortable for Soviet Jews. Efforts in that direction will probably be undertaken, but they will be half-hearted efforts. When combined with the partial relaxation of controls in the field of culture and the enthusiasm engendered by Gorbachev's effort "to get the country moving again" they might cause a few Jews to change their mind. But the fundamental changes in the status of Jews which would be necessary to cause the great majority of Soviet Jews to modify their basic outlook on life in the Soviet Union are not likely to take place.

Drafted:

HA:RSchifter:srd
7/10/87 647-2126

Cleared:

HA:PDobriansky *AP*
HA:WFarrand *AP*

cc: EUR:Ambassador Ridgway
C:Ambassador Kampelman
S/P:Mr. Solomon
INR:Ambassador Abramowitz
S:Mr. Hill ← HAND CARRIED

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NEWSBREAK

SEPTEMBER 11, 1987
NB 16-87

PRE-SUMMIT
GESTURE:
PERMISSIONS

MOSCOW - In a noteworthy pre-summit human rights gesture by the Soviet Union, leading long-term refuseniks, and their families, including former Prisoners of Conscience (POC's) IOSIF BEGUN (see NEWSBREAK, August 7) and VIKTOR BRAILOVSKY (Moscow), and VLADIMIR LIFSHITZ (Leningrad), (see NEWSBREAK, August 25) were told on Monday, September 7, that they have permission to emigrate.

Others included in Monday's announcement, all from Moscow, are VLADIMIR and ELENA PRESTIN, BORIS and EMMA LANDSMAN, ARKADY MAI, and his wife, HELEN SEIDEL; SEMION JANTOVSKY, and his wife, ERENA MATLINA; and LEV SUD, who had been told by officials that he would never be allowed to emigrate.

Their permissions follow by one week that of Colonel LEV OVSISHCHER, a World War II hero, and his wife, TATIANA ULANOVSKY. Following the September 7 announcement, other prominent "security" refuseniks were told that they have permission, including: Muscovites BORIS and GEDI KUN, thirteen year refuseniks; VALERY and JANNA LERNER, ten year refuseniks; LEV MORGULIS, a seven year refusenik; and EVGENIA and VILLI PALANKER, and their sons, eight year refuseniks, from Yerevan; and EMMANUEL SMELIANSKY, and his wife, ALLA, fifteen year refuseniks; and LEV ELBERT, of Kiev, eleven year refusenik.

These permissions are offset by the continuing denial of visas to prominent, long term, refuseniks including: VLADIMIR and MARIA SLEPAK, Professors ALEKSANDR LERNER and NAUM MEIMAN, IDA NUDEL, VALERY SOIFER, and others; and by the refusal of several family members of those granted permission. Facing separation are: the VLADIMIR PRESTINS, from their in-laws, the PAVEL ABRAMOVICHES; and IOSIF and INNA BEGUN, from his son, BORIS, from a previous marriage.

Professor ALEKSANDR IOFFE, of Moscow, reacting to the news of the latest permissions, stated: "The news about IOSIF (BEGUN), VIKTOR (BRAILOVSKY) and the rest is wonderful, but there is no evidence that their good fortune betokens any change in official policy. One does not know whether names are being picked out of a hat, or why others are left behind. All we can do is to press on with our demands for a declared set of rules by the authorities, so that we can estimate our own futures." VLADIMIR SLEPAK, who with his wife, Masha, has been separated for many years from their two sons, and was not included in the current permissions, stated: "It's inevitable that our joy is tempered with anxiety. If we are pleased that 'X' is going, we can't help asking - What about 'Y'? People tell me we should be optimistic, but we've not heard one thing to make us so and there are many, many others who must feel like us."

NEWSBREAK

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**PRE-SUMMIT
GESTURE:
PERMISSIONS**

continued

Commenting on his permission, Mr. Begun observed: "Getting permission does not solve the problem of emigration as a whole. Let not this good news of relatively few people overshadow the vast majority of still detained refuseniks.

As of Thursday, September 10, EVGENY VASSERMAN, an orthodox Leningrad refusenik, and his family, and SERGEI MANESHIN, of Moscow, have been given permission. Also ABA TARATUTA, IOSIF RADOMYSLASKY, and LEV FURMAN, of Leningrad; and ARON GUREVICH, of Moscow, were informed that their "security" classification has been lifted, and therefore, there is no bar to their leaving.

REFUSENIK UPDATE

MIKHAIL BIALY (Moscow) has not yet received confirmation of permission to emigrate.

Former POC ALEKSANDR KHOLMIANSKY (Moscow) has been refused a signed "spravka" by his father-in-law, (ANNA's father), and plans to picket his father-in-law's work-place once a week, beginning September 10, in order to obtain the necessary document for their permission.

In addition, Aleksandr will hold a protest vigil outside the Interior Ministry, on September 14.

Former POC FELIKS KOCHUBIEVSKY and his wife, VALENTINA, (Novosibirsk) are mourning the death, in Israel, on August 27, of their younger son, Aleksandr, in a car crash. Aleksandr and his brother emigrated in 1979, and Aleksandr was a founder of "Let My Parents Go". Only recently, Valentina wrote to a friend in London, "...For the past month Feliks has been unwell. He suffers from severe arthritis...We are waiting to be with our children, then I am sure things will be better..."

MIKHAIL LURIE and his wife, BRONISLAVA, (Leningrad) refuseniks since 1980, and their five-year-old son, FELIX, were again refused permission to emigrate on August 25. When Bronislava questioned this latest decision, OVIR head Rudolf Kuznetsov (see NEWSBREAK, August 7 and 25) was alleged to have replied that he was not required to offer any explanation for their refusal, and that the Luries, themselves, should know the reasons.

VYACHESLEV ROYAK (Bendery) has again been refused permission to emigrate.

Two families who have recently received permission to emigrate, the MIKHAIL SPEKTORS (Baku), and the VAISERS (Beltsy, Moldavia) share the dilemma of having sons, who were included in their visa applications, now being refused permission to emigrate, on the grounds of "security" due to army service: IGOR SPEKTOR completed his service in 1985. His parents are seeking official information as to how long his "security" classification will be in effect. MUNISH VAISER is in a somewhat different position, having completed his service fourteen years ago.

ALEKSANDR ZIKHERMAN (Leningrad), a Regime Refusenik, has again been denied permission, while his wife, VIKA, and their three-year-old son, DANIL, will be allowed to emigrate.

Permission: Moscow: SERGEI DYACHKOV-BRENNER; Vilnius: VENYAMIN and BELLA LIFSHITZ; Minsk: GENNADY FELDMAN; Leningrad: MIKHAIL MAKUSHKIN; Bendery: MOISEY LIEBERMAN.

Families arrived in Israel: Moscow: MIKHAIL KHOLMIANSKY, Ben Dor 1, Knisa Gimel, Jerusalem; Leningrad: LEONID KELBERT, Merkas Klitah, Mevasseret Tzion, Jerusalem; Ilyinka: The MATVEYEVS.

NEWSBREAK

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SOVIET PROMISE: "COMMISSAR" RELEASE

MOSCOW -- Soviet authorities have reportedly promised that the film, Commissar, an indictment of anti-Semitism made twenty years ago by a non-Jewish director, and banned then, but shown recently to foreigners and Soviet elite at the Moscow Film Festival, will eventually be released for general viewing.

Set during the Civil War, Commissar offers a sympathetic portrait of the family of a Jewish handyman named Magazinik. There is a flash-forward sequence depicting the family, wearing Stars of David, as they are marched to a death camp during the Holocaust.

Commissar's director, Aleksandr Askoldov, has been quoted as decrying "chauvinism," a codeword for both nationalism and anti-Semitism, as "The cancer of our society."

TO OUR FRIENDS IN THE WEST

MOSCOW -- Writing on behalf of A GROUP OF REFUSENIK FRIENDS, ANDREI BRUSOVANY has sent a message to the West, drawing attention to the latest refusal of Soviet Jews on the grounds of "state security":

None of us have ever had access to state or military secrets. This fact can be confirmed by the authorities at all the institutions where we have worked. The state itself has also acknowledged this, by the fact that we were previously refused exit visas on other grounds.

To pick out persons at random and say they had access to state secrets is an arbitrary manner of behaving which is obviously a violation of human rights.

This policy does not correspond to the declarations of "openness," "humanity," and "legality" being made in the USSR.

"REGIME REFUSENIK" DILEMMA

LENINGRAD -- The plight of the ILYA LEVIN family typifies the dilemma confronting "regime refuseniks," who are increasingly being told by OVIR that their families might as well emigrate without them, as they themselves will be "classified" indefinitely.

In the Levins' case, Ilya, 42, a chemical engineer, was told by authorities on July 6, that his wife, ELENA, and their nineteen-year-old daughter, ALEKSANDRA, may leave, but that he may not, as he is still considered a "security risk," and will remain so for an unspecified period of time.

Others recently mentioned who share the Levin family's plight are the SIMOVSKYS, of Leningrad.

"NOT EVEN REFUSENIKS"

MOSCOW -- Identifying themselves as "a group of Jews unable to apply for repatriation," due to the complexity of Soviet emigration regulations, which require close relatives to sign financial waivers, a number of Soviet Jews have petitioned lawyers in the West to assist them in removing this, and other bottlenecks to Jewish emigration.

The group cites "countless, unsuccessful attempts to enjoy the right to go to Israel. . . though formally and legally unrestricted in their rights to leave," the would-be refuseniks say "they simply cannot do so."

NEWSBREAK

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MOSCOW BOOK FAIR: MIXED REVIEW

MOSCOW - While refuseniks attending the opening of the Sixth International Book Fair here, on September 8, reported high attendance at the Israeli booth, and had only praise for the quality and quantity of the exhibition, there were some hitches, including the Soviet confiscation of at least twenty titles, and the impounding of 2,000 posters supplied by the Association of Jewish Book Publishers (U.S.A.).

Of the Israeli booth, one refusenik enthused: "It was like being in a mini-replica of the State of Israel," while another observed, "I have attended a number of these exhibitions, but this year the Israeli stand is the most comprehensive and most instructive I have ever seen."

Colonel David Dragunsky, of the Anti-Zionist Committee, was reported to have visited the booth, and said that while Israel's existence is an accepted fact, it must not be at the expense of the Palestinians.

REFUSENIKS PLAN "SECURITY" SYMPOSIUM

MOSCOW -- Decrying almost two decades of "arbitrary decisions and violated fundamental human rights" by Soviet officials, thirty-two prominent, long-term refuseniks have announced that they will hold a two-day symposium in Moscow, in late November, on Refusals Because of State Security - Judicial and Humanitarian Aspects.

The Symposium's organizers are from Moscow and other cities with large Jewish populations, and include: PAVEL ABRAMOVICH, a sixteen year refusenik; and JULIAN KHASINA and BORIS CHERNOBILSKY (seven and twelve years, respectively), Moscow; ABE TARATUTA (fourteen years), Leningrad; LUDMILA VOLVOVSKAYA, wife of former POC LEONID VOLVOVSKY, (thirteen years), Gorky; and FELIKS KOCHUBIEVSKY (nine years), Novosibirsk.

The refuseniks invite experts on the subject from the West to submit papers to be read at the Symposium. They should be between two and ten typewritten pages in length, and should be sent to any of the above mentioned organizers, on the following subjects:

- The general situation. (Specific data regarding the place of work or the nature of classified jobs will not be either discussed or considered.)
- Judicial problems: laws and judicial procedures in the USSR and other countries.
- The moral aspect of the problems (relation between the State and the individual; humanitarian effects.)
- The problem of 'regime' (security) refusals: Political relevance.

PROFESSOR MEIMAN: "MY ONLY HOPE"

MOSCOW -- Professor NAUM MEIMAN, widower of cancer victim INNA MEIMAN, has written to the NCSJ: "I know that many people in your country are concerned about me, and that is my only hope."

Professor Meiman reported that while he is "now very short of physical possibilities" for survival, he will continue his fight to survive, and, to emigrate. He stated that the Soviet refusal to allow his wife to go abroad for medical treatment until it was too late, was "murder that I cannot forget, or forgive."

שחרן שחרן

NATAN SHCHARANSKY

at the

Conference of Presidents

Of Major American Jewish Organizations

May 12, 1986

New York City



Natan Shcharansky (second from left), the freed Soviet Jewish activist, with (from left) Kenneth J. Bialkin, chairman of the Presidents Conference; Yehuda Hellman, executive vice chairman; and Morris Abram, chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.

Photo by Alexander Archer

ON MAY 12, 1986, on the occasion of his first visit to the United States, Natan Shcharansky addressed the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations in New York City. To commemorate this historic meeting, we have published Mr. Shcharansky's address as well as his responses to questions posed by members of the Presidents Conference.

This booklet is dedicated to the memory of the late Yehuda Hellman, founding executive vice-chairman of the Conference, who served the organization from its inception in 1959 and who died suddenly just five days after this meeting took place. May his memory be for a blessing.

Kenneth J. Bialkin
Past Chairman

Morris B. Abram
Chairman

Malcolm Hoenlein
Executive Director

**Conference of Presidents
Of Major American Jewish Organizations
August 1986**

KENNETH J. BIALKIN

Chairman, Conference of Presidents

BEFORE I BEGIN, ladies and gentlemen, I want to introduce our friends at the front of the room alongside our honored guest: Ambassador Moshe Yegar, Consul General of the State of Israel in New York; Morris Abram, chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry; Morey Shapira, chairman of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews; Avi Weiss, chairman of the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry; and, in the rear of the room, Isai and Grigory Goldstein, longtime refuseniks from Soviet Georgia who have just made aliyah to Israel, *baruch ha-shem*.

We have come together today to recognize the reality of a symbol, a name that has been on the lips of every Jew in the world for the past 10 years. We do not know why it is that the Soviets finally freed Natan Shcharansky. We do not know why that land of oppression, which has imprisoned the souls of so many of our Jewish brethren, has released a hero who will now speak out in a way that will far exceed the voice that could not be stilled while he was sitting in prison.

We do know that for the last 10 years and more, his wife Avital conducted a campaign that teaches us a great and unforgettable lesson: In the struggle for rights and freedom, one never gives up, even when the outlook is utterly bleak, even when the world is against you, even when there is no place to turn. Avital and those who sustained her during that period never gave up. And we too will never give up. While there is breath in the Jewish community and in each of us, we will never give up.

Natan Shcharansky is now added to that list of men and women who have moved from prison to freedom. Having crossed the line, he speaks to those who struggle still and cry out for the freedom of all those still left behind: Vladimir Slepak, Iosif Begun, Ida Nudel, Vladimir Lifshitz and thousands of others.

Our community is varied, but we are united in support of Soviet Jewry, in support of the freedom of our brothers and sisters to live as Jews and to be free to leave. As a united Jewish community, our message to our friends and brothers, to our representatives in the Congress, to the leaders of the Soviet Union and the world is simply this: There will be no yielding, no concessions, no interruption in the struggle in which we are engaged to free Soviet Jewry. We will not bow to those who want to repeal the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. We will make no unilateral concessions. And we will not cease until the Soviets move to release all of our Jewish brothers and sisters who yearn to be free.

Natan, you have in this room representatives of Jews throughout America. They have come here to show their solidarity with you and with Avital and with all those you left behind. I will no longer stand between you and them, because they want to greet you themselves. Ladies and gentlemen, Natan Shcharansky.

[*"Am Yisrael Chai"* is sung].

NATAN SHCHARANSKY

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I am very glad to see so many Jewish presidents in one room. I am also very glad to see here representatives of different organizations struggling for Soviet Jewry. I know very well that solidarity with Soviet Jewry transcends the borders of any organization. In fact, the solidarity of American Jewry with Soviet Jewry, with which I became very familiar during my days as a spokesman of the Soviet Jewry movement in Moscow, is the brightest example of the fact — maybe the most convincing proof of the fact — that we Jews all over the world are united around our State of Israel.

Of course, the doors of the USSR were opened because of the courage of the first Soviet Jews who dared to say openly, for the first time in the history of that state, that they wanted to leave, that Israel and not the Soviet Union was their motherland. But they could never survive, and hundreds of Soviet Jews could never have left that country, if there had not been such a strong and constant and unprecedented support from American Jews. I know this very well, first-hand, because I had been constantly meeting with American activists who were coming to Moscow from different organizations. I know very well how important these channels of information were, supplied to us by American Jewry, through which we made the world know about our fate. I know very well how important that political support was which they were giving to us. That is why I can say that without your support, without your solidarity, we could never survive. Without your solidarity, hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews could never join their people in Israel.

But now I want to say also some words about two tendencies which exist in our Jewry movement — I'll call them the line of hope and the line of distress. Many people think that for the Soviet Union to release Soviet Jews is a kind of business; that they are only waiting to be given a good price for Soviet Jews. And if we try to establish normal trade relations with them, if we create an atmosphere of encouraging them to support good trade relations with us, and, finally, if we propose a good price, they will sell us all these Jews. I think the roots of this approach are not only in the fact that it's quite natural and pragmatic in the West to think so, but also because the USSR makes its best effort to support such policy. The Soviet Union itself increases the price of some of the Jews and then tries to sell them. The fact that I am so famous is, of course, because of my wife, Avital, but not only because of her. There is also the KGB. It is the KGB that tries to raise the price for us and then to sell us.

I can give you a very simple example. When I was in prison, five years passed without a meeting with my relatives, although according to the law I had the right of such a meeting every year. The time came in 1985 when I was finally told there would be a private meeting with my mother in the camp. My mother was waiting, but suddenly they simply stopped all communications. For two months my mother and my wife received no information about me. They knew nothing. They were very alarmed, troubled about what was happening. They appealed to American authorities to help. Then there was a meeting of Mr. Gromyko and Mr. Shultz, during which

Mr. Gromyko said that everything is okay and in two days Shcharansky will be permitted to see his mother. This was accepted as a big victory. What a good step! What a humane act! But actually, in accordance with Soviet law, they had to give me this meeting five years earlier. They were deliberately trying to draw as much attention to the meeting, in order to sell it. The idea was to create a good atmosphere before the meeting of Shultz and Gromyko. Among the comments that appeared in the Western press was, "What a good sign the Soviet Union is making about the liberalization of their policy!"

This is how they can sell every meeting in prison and even every letter a prisoner gets. But then we can ask, why are they doing this? Why don't they want to make a real good deal? The reason is that it's not a commercial thing with them; people who try to take such an approach to the Soviet Union don't understand the nature of that society. The Soviet system is basically different from the kind of society that we live in. Here an individual is the center of life. The system exists for the individual and not for the country. The law is something which protects us from the possible arbitrariness of the state.

In the Soviet Union, human beings are only part of a big system and nothing more. The law is an instrument by which authorities operate their system. And because the people are part of this system, they operate on them too. That's why it's senseless to discuss, for example, a violation of law. What does it mean, a violation of law, if the law is simply an instrument used by the authorities to operate their system? Even more, as a people, loyal Soviet citizens have such a mentality that they associate themselves with this system. They have self-respect for themselves only because they belong to this big, powerful system.

If in this system appears a people who dare to think not as they are told to think and to say not as they are told to say and, even more, dare to decide where to live, that's a very serious danger for this system. Anti-Semitism, as you know, existed also in Czarist Russia, but Jews at least could emigrate. Now they can't because to give the right to their citizens to decide whether to leave is a danger to the very principles on which this system is based.

That is why they can manipulate some people to make cosmetic improvements. They will never open the doors for 400,000 Soviet Jews until the losses which they will have and the danger for them if they don't open the gates are greater than if they did permit the Jews to emigrate. That is why it is so important that American Jews do not agree to cancel the Jackson-Vanik Amendment until 400,000 Soviet Jews will be able to leave that country.

One more thing from my experience with the KGB: While the KGB has even the slightest hope that they can destroy you, that their pressure will break you, they will never give up. They will continue pressing you in different ways. If they suspect that you have some weakness, they will try to find it.

They will try the same thing on the level of international relations. They think that by quiet negotiations with some they can deceive the others until they get what they want without letting 400,000 Soviet Jews go. It's very important that they have no illusions. It's very important that they will understand that we Jews, the American people, the American Congress and the American President will never sacrifice the interest of our brothers in Russia. That's the message I wanted to give you. Thank you.

Questions and Answers

MR. BIALKIN: Natan Shcharansky will take questions.

Q. *Toby Willig, Emunah Women of America:* The true facts about the disaster at Chernobyl evidently had to come out, and the Soviet people are becoming more and more aware of it. Do you feel this will cause any loss of faith among the Soviet people in their government?

MR. SHCHARANSKY: As our prime minister likes to say, yes and no. Yes, because such things of course influence people, especially when it endangers their children. No, because there are not many dissidents in the Soviet Union. For the majority of Russian people, the mentality is such that, as I said before, they associate themselves fully with the system and with the country with which they belong, not with any particular leader. Their self-respect is by means of their country. So they can be sorry for what happens but that doesn't undermine the basis of their support.

For example, Mr. Gorbachev is speaking more openly about the drawbacks of the system than any of his predecessors. He can never do any serious damage to the system because he is a part of this system. And the same with the citizens. Of course, it disappoints many but it doesn't bring any danger to the government of the U.S.S.R.

Q. How do you regard your fellow prisoners, dissidents like yourself, not refuseniks, in Soviet prisons?

MR. SHCHARANSKY: I'll explain my position. First of all, when I give testimony to the Helsinki Committee in the Congress of the United States, I am going to speak about many Helsinki group members and other Soviet dissidents who are in the Soviet camps. I was one of the founding members of the Helsinki group. I joined this group as a representative of the Jewish emigration movement. I joined as a person who decided to leave the country. I think I have no moral right to say to the people who live there how they should live. As a Jew, because principles of universal justice are sacred, I discussed all these concerns with the people I met. Of course, I'm going to speak to defend them.

It's different, let's say, from the position of those dissidents who are struggling to change Soviet society. My desire was to leave that society, not to change it.

Q. During your imprisonment we kept a constant vigil with your mother and your brother. What is the state of their emigration?

MR. SHCHARANSKY: They applied for a visa and now for approximately 45 days they are waiting. The Soviets are not in a hurry to give them an answer. By the way, it's a good example though it's a very personal one. It's quite possible that the Soviets won't give them permission, although, as a rule, in previous cases when people were exchanged all of their family members were permitted to go almost immediately. It's quite possible that they will use this to try to make me less outspoken. I'm absolutely sure that the moment the Soviets think they have at last found some way or other

to make me silent, my mother and my brother will never have a chance to emigrate. That's why I'm speaking openly and definitely.

Just before leaving for America I had a telephone conversation with my brother in the U.S.S.R. He isn't active in politics at all. He took part in the campaign for my release and that's all. Nevertheless, he said, "Please don't connect these two equations, our fate and your speaking out." He said it because he understands how the Soviet system works. I think it's a good example for those who think that in speaking openly we harm those people in the Soviet Union. The moment we stop speaking, that is when the harm will come.

Q. *Bernice Balter, Women's League for Conservative Judaism*: Natan, welcome. My husband and I were with you in Aleksandr Lerner's home in 1976. Seeing you here is joy beyond measure. Would you care to comment on the debate we have in the West on the effect on the emigration statistics of Jews coming out of the Soviet Union and going to America rather than to Israel?

MR. SHCHARANSKY: I didn't study this question thoroughly. I didn't have enough time and enough information. Since I was released, I am frequently asked this question. It seems it's almost the general opinion of everybody that the Soviets stopped emigration because Jews go to America and not to Israel. Of course, I want to say that I want all Jews to go to Israel, even the Jews of America. I think the argument that the Soviets stopped emigration because the Jews go to the United States is naive. In the Soviet Union, the fact that a person dares to leave the country, dares to decide whether to leave the Soviet Union or not, is much more important than where he goes. Of course, maybe there are some reasons for the Soviets to prefer they go to Israel, but that's negligible in comparison to the fact of opening the gates. It can't seriously influence the politics. I think it is one of the arguments which may be promoted by the Soviets.

Q. *Daniel Thursz, B'nai B'rith*: There are many people who argue that we ought to ask for religious freedom in the Soviet Union for Jews. You have taken a personal stand by leaving the Soviet Union. Do you think that it's at all possible for us to argue for freedom of religion within the Soviet Union as you know it?

MR. SHCHARANSKY: Nobody has freedom of religion in the Soviet Union — especially Jews. Jews can't study their language like other people and are deprived of their history. Of course, it's very important to raise this argument at every meeting with the Soviets and at every opportunity. But there is one danger — that the struggle for emigration might be replaced by the struggle for Jewish culture and religion. Why do I say it is a danger? I repeat that the cultural struggle in the Soviet Union is very important. People like Iosif Begun, Volvovsky, Magarik, and Edelshtein, who suffer for teaching Hebrew, are really heroes, heroes of the Jewish people.

The Soviets have many ways of making cosmetic improvements, like they do with the Christian church in Russia. The U.S.S.R. has contacts all over the world and tries to persuade people that there is freedom of religion when there is none. They can make cosmetic changes also with Jewish culture and they try from time to time. In 1979, for example, they published for the first time in Soviet history a Hebrew Bible, in very limited copies, of course. During my trial, one of my arguments was that

they never published religious material.

Now the next one who is sentenced will not have this argument. But it's no improvement at all. That's why I think if we concentrate on this, on the right to practice Jewish religion and culture, they can easily neutralize us by making some gestures. But they cannot do this with the issue of emigration. And in the long run I don't believe the opportunity exists for serious Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. It's simply against the principles of the system.

Q. *Morris Abram, National Council on Soviet Jewry:* From the very first time we met, you have indicated that you agreed with the principles that I think all of us in this room have adopted for the liberation of the Jews — namely, demonstrations and tremendous pressure on the outside, and quiet diplomacy at the top. Would you explain why you think this is the program?

MR. SHCHARANSKY: First of all, I want to clarify one point. Of course I fully agree with it, but the President of the United States of America, like other political leaders, really must find a good balance between quiet diplomacy and open pressure. If we Jews start dividing our efforts between quiet diplomacy and open pressure, the Soviets will always have hope to deceive us. During my imprisonment I was told by my friends — and I saw it in the press — that before the summit meeting with Gorbachev, our Jewish community became in some way divided. There were many voices. People went to Moscow and said, now we have very good signs and everything will be okay soon. Then many demonstrations were cancelled. This was a very serious mistake. President Reagan has the right to decide at what moment to stop his diplomacy, but we Jews do not have such options. I do hope we won't repeat this mistake before the next summit meeting. Yesterday, speaking at the reception of Mayor Koch, I said that 400,000 Soviet Jews are now in prison in the Soviet Union. Let 400,000 American Jews meet Mr. Gorbachev in Washington when he comes!

Q. *Stephen Shalom, American Sephardi Federation:* What are your personal plans now? Do you intend at one point in addition to your work for Soviet Jewry to get involved in the Israeli political scene? I hope you will, because you are a natural leader.

MR. SHCHARANSKY: Well, from the moment I came to Israel, many people are trying to persuade me that I am a natural leader. As a rule, those who do so are already leaders of their political parties.

I was recently in an Israeli prison. I deliberately decided to go to a prison because I wanted to see something to compare. Of course, there was absolutely nothing to compare. I was glad to see we have such a liberal society in Israel. I also talked with many prisoners. I think the official who is responsible for the prisons was probably a little bit insulted because he told me everything about conditions. Then, while going cell to cell, he started asking prisoners about conditions, as if checking. I felt he was absolutely right in everything he told me. But one of the prisoners told me, you look like a good guy, but please don't go into politics.

So you see, there are different opinions.

Q. What about visits to the Soviet Union, their impact not only on Soviet Jews, but on the Soviet government? Is it good to have Jews from America coming and visiting in the Soviet Union?

MR. SHCHARANSKY: In the period between '74 and '77, I had the experience of meeting with all types of foreigners and passing on information from abroad. I think this road of tourism — of American Jews to Soviet Jews — is the road of life, because without this road Soviet Jews will never survive.

Everytime the KGB thinks, for some reason or another, that the interest of American Jews in the plight of Soviet Jewry is becoming less, the KGB immediately starts repressions. An example of this would be the Yom Kippur War in 1973 when attention was drawn to Israel. That's why it's very important for the Soviet authorities to know that the interest of American Jews is constant.

Q. *Ruth Popkin, Hadassah*: I know you had a profession before all this happened. Do you have any intentions of going back and practicing your own profession?

MR. SHCHARANSKY: Intentions, yes. Ambitions, no.

Q. *Rabbi Richard Yellin, Synagogue Council of America*: We've used your statement in all of our pulpits across the country, Orthodox, Conservative and Reform, in every congregation. We perceive you as a religious leader, as a religious symbol within the synagogue. Can you make a statement on this?

MR. SHCHARANSKY: Well, it's difficult for me — actually it's not so difficult. Since the day I came, all the press in Israel started writing that my wife and I are supposed to have very serious family problems because my wife is Orthodox and I am still not wearing a *kippa*. Every day they look to see if I am in a *kippa* or not. I could never imagine that it could be such a serious political problem. But the moment I stop reading the Israeli press, these problems disappear.

I think religion, our religion, means a lot for me. I think I could have never survived all these years without our religion. When I started reading the Book of Psalms in the prison, it was a new and strong stream of force. During the hardest moments I survived just because I read the Psalms of David and spoke of religion in my letters to Avital.

Our ways are different. Some went further in this direction, some not so far, and some are still in the beginning. To me, the forms are not so important as the essence. I view myself as a religious person, though from the point of view of many people I am probably not religious. I think the definitions are not so important. Probably one day I'll put on a *kippa*, not because of political reasons but when I'll feel that I need it. I think that's all.

Q. *Rabbi Moshe Birnbaum, New York Board of Rabbis*: Admittedly, the difference between Western prisons and Soviet prisons is the difference between day and night. In line with the last question, it's estimated that 5,000 Jewish inmates in this country are legitimately incarcerated. Do you have a spiritual word to say to them because — as you can see — they are somewhat forgotten in the Jewish community?

MR. SHCHARANSKY: Well at this moment, I can't say anything except that they should be happy to be in American prisons and not Soviet ones.

Q. Would you please comment on the relationship of the disarmament issue and the Soviet Jewry issue?

MR. SHCHARANSKY: Again, yes and no. Let's remember the Helsinki agreement. Was it good or not that America signed it? I think it was very good. What is bad? The bad is that we don't insist that the Soviet Union fulfill the agreement. You permit them to separate issues and make progress in one direction without the other.

With all my love for Soviet Jewry, I can't say, okay, let there be the Third World War if the Soviets do not open the gates for Soviet Jewry. Of course I'm not ready to say this and I hope nobody is.

If America wants to have serious agreements with the Soviet Union, not like what happened with the Helsinki Accords and many other obligations that the Soviet Union never thought to fulfill, there must be an atmosphere of trust and an atmosphere of mutual control. You can't create this atmosphere without demanding that the Soviet Union fulfill its obligations. You can't create an atmosphere of trust without fulfilling the Helsinki Accords. That's why I think it's quite natural to demand that the Soviet Union must open the gates to Soviet Jews, must respect its obligations in accordance with Helsinki, must let the prisoners of Zion and the prisoners of conscience out. Then the necessary conditions can be achieved for this atmosphere of mutual trust. That's my approach.

Q. *Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, American Jewish Committee:* One of the great concerns we have now is Gorbachev's new international image, his new big lie about the situation of the Soviet Jews. He began talking about Jews as being a respected, a talented people, as a way of trying to remove the perception of the harassment and the oppression of Soviet Jews. It's going to be essential to cope with that lie because Soviet forces on the one hand are pressing that while, at the same time, they're pressing anti-Semitism.

The other part of my question — I'm not optimistic at the moment — is this: America has been magnificent in the Soviet Jewry situation, but increasingly we are finding voices in our government that are beginning to raise the question of security versus human rights, arms control versus human rights. The Jewish community may be placed in the unenviable and indefensible position of appearing to create a linkage between world peace and the cause of Soviet Jewry. This is going to have to be dealt with and dismantled before we are isolated from the great concern for peace and justice.

MR. SHCHARANSKY: Yes, all you said is absolutely correct, but it's a statement, not a question. I fully agree that this new image which Gorbachev tries to create is only an image. He belongs to a system which can't be basically changed. So, of course, it's very important not to be deceived.

As to security problems, well, we must explain to people, What does it mean, security? Everybody wants peace. Even Hitler wanted peace — on his own conditions, without Jews. But it is exactly as I felt sitting in the prison — if you are ready to save your life for any price, your life is worthless. Then it costs nothing.

In the Soviet Union during detente, while they were speaking about detente, about its necessity, and about reaching new agreements, the Russians were writing in their magazines that detente is the way to victory for world Communism.

Look how stubborn they are on the human rights question. Why? All the questions we ask about liberalization decrease their ability to deceive the West. It makes society

more open. The more independent the people are from their government, the more dependent the government is on their people. The American government is almost fully dependent on their people, while the Soviet is not. That's why it can easily do whatever it wants — Afghanistan, for example, and Czechoslovakia or any other country. That's why the issue of human rights, with the emigration of Jews the most keen question of human rights, is intrinsically connected with how open or closed a society is. What is needed is the mutual trust, mutual control, and reaching serious agreements. The more serious the agreements are that the West wants to reach with the Soviet Union, the more serious must be demands for mutual control. That's how I see it.

MR. BIALKIN: Natan Shcharansky, your brothers and sisters in the United States rejoice in your freedom. We welcome you to the Free World. We welcome you to join the fight for Soviet Jewish emigration and freedom. We welcome you as a leader. We wish you Godspeed. And you have our support and our love.

Thank you very much.

Conference of Presidents Of Major American Jewish Organizations

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

American Israel Public Affairs Committee	Na'amat USA
American Jewish Congress	National Committee for Labor Israel
American Zionist Federation	National Conference on Soviet Jewry
Amit Women	National Council of Jewish Women
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith	National Council of Young Israel
ARZA — Association of Reform Zionists of America	National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
B'nai B'rith	National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council
B'nai B'rith Women	North American Jewish Youth Council
Bnai Zion	Rabbinical Assembly
Central Conference of American Rabbis	Rabbinical Council of America
Council of Jewish Federations (observer)	Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Emunah Women of America	Union of Councils for Soviet Jews
Hadassah	Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America
Herut Zionists of America	United Synagogue of America
Jewish Labor Committee	Women's American ORT
Jewish National Fund	Women's League for Conservative Judaism
Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation	Women's League for Israel
Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.	Workmen's Circle
JWB	World Zionist Organization-American Section, Inc.
Labor Zionist Alliance	Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi	

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