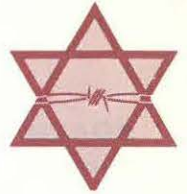


# ALERT

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



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

Vol. XI No. 3

June 30, 1985

## Soviet Authorities Admit to Mail Interception

To protest the authorities' interception, reading, and withholding of his international mail, refusenik Vladimir Livshits of Leningrad, went on a 20-day hunger strike in April.

Livshits learned of this violation of Soviet law and Soviet-signed international postal agreements from letters received from postal officials in late March. He was informed that four of his letters to Great Britain, Nos. 187, 300, 301, and 363, were passed to Customs officials. Although their actions clearly violate international postal agreements, authorities cited Articles 36 and 37 of the International Postal Covenant as legal grounds to permit interception of any letters sent abroad, making reference to "forbidden enclosures" in his letters. Livshits assumes they meant references to his son's being kept from attending the Leningrad Institute of Fine Mechanics, despite his qualifications.

While ample evidence has existed all along that Soviet authorities regularly intercept mail, the significance in Livshits' case is that he has received official notification from the authorities that his mail was confiscated. This is believed to be the first time a refusenik has received such notification, though subsequently, another refusenik, Roald Zelichenok has also received similar letters. That the authorities have openly declared that they have intercepted and are holding mail could signify a new tack in their strategy. They are no longer concerned with maintaining the facade of complying with international postal agreements.

Livshits feels he is now in a vulnerable position since authorities could misuse the confiscated letters as

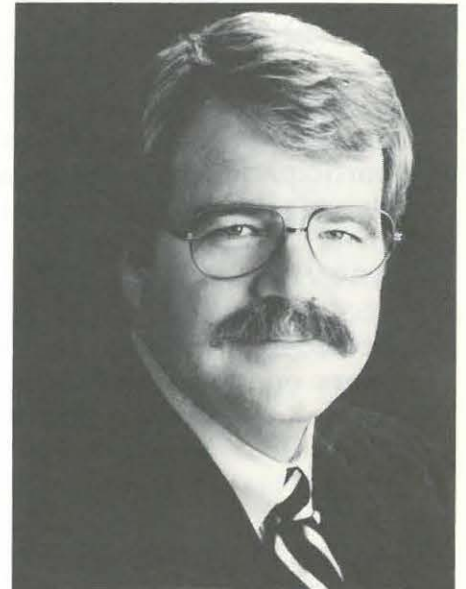
*Continued on page 15*

## Soviet Jews High On Congressional Delegate's Agenda

Representative George Miller (D-CA) visited the USSR in April as part of a U.S. Congressional delegation. The visit was one of a series of encounters in which Soviet and U.S. officials have met with the ultimate purpose of improving relations between the two countries.

Representative Miller was selected to lead the delegation's human rights group. In this capacity, he met with a number of leaders of the refusenik community. Additionally, he held private talks with Soviet leaders, during which he cited Soviet and international law as grounds for allowing Jews and other Soviet citizens the right to freedom of religion and the right to emigrate freely.

*Continued on page 10*



U.S. Representative George Miller

## Ottawa Conference Closes Without Concluding Document

Member nations of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), convened for a human rights "experts" meeting in Ottawa and ended the six-week session on June 17 with no concluding document.

The CSCE is comprised of 35 signatory nations including the United States, Canada, the Soviet Union, and all of Eastern and Western Europe, with the exception of Albania. The experts were charged to submit recommendations to the participating States.

This meeting was one of a series of follow-up meetings provided for in the 1975 Helsinki Accords, and was called for in the Concluding Document of the CSCE Madrid Review Conference of 1981-1983. The stated purpose of the meetings is three-fold: to review implementation rec-

ords of the 35 participating states; to consider new proposals necessary to achieve the objectives established by the Helsinki Final Act; and to adopt a concluding document, recommending steps to be included into the Helsinki process.

The meeting began with a stand-off, due primarily to the unwillingness of the Soviet Union to agree to an agenda during the two week preparatory conference. The agenda was to be made public at the opening session of the meeting. An agenda was finally agreed upon after the meeting officially began. While only the opening and closing sessions were open to the press and public, Western delegates frequently met with the press to fill them in on the happenings behind closed doors and provide them with copies of delegates' statements.

*Continued on page 12*

# NEWSBRIEFS

**ROALD (ALEC) ZELICHENOK** was arrested on June 11 following a 3½ hour search of his home. He has been accused of anti-Soviet propaganda, and is being held with twelve criminals pending his trial. Soviet officials had previously notified him that they had in their possession letters of his. Zelichenok, trained as a computer engineer, was also a Hebrew teacher. In connection with Zelichenok's arrest, the homes of two other Leningrad refuseniks were also searched, Vladimir Livshits and Semyon Borovinsky.

**EVGENY KOIFMAN** of Dnepropetrovsk in the Ukraine was arrested in June on "drug charges." Following Koifman's submission of an application for an exit visa, he lost his engineering job and was forced to become a construction worker. His apartment was searched in 1983 at which time authorities also claimed they were looking for drugs.

**EVGENY AISENBERG** of Kharkov was tried on June 7 and sentenced to 2½ years on charges of anti-Soviet propaganda. Authorities began their investigation following his participation in a Purim play. Aisenberg pleaded guilty only after authorities threatened that his wife would suffer his fate if he maintained his innocence.

**ABE STOLAR**, an American born resident of Moscow, was given permission to leave the USSR along with his wife, Gita, and son Michael. His daughter-in-law, Julia, however, was denied an exit visa on the pretext of her marriage not being officially recognized. Ten years ago, the family had been given permission to emigrate, but it was rescinded just after they had boarded the flight to leave the country. The Soviets are now pressuring Michael to accept Soviet citizenship, but he has refused, fearing it will diminish even further his chances of leaving.

**ALEXANDER KHOLMIANSKY**, after eight months, finally ended his hunger strike in May. He was being treated in the medical department of the labor camp, and his parents were permitted a visit. Kholmiansky was sentenced in February to 18 months in a labor camp.

**STANISLAV ZUBKO** completed his four year sentence in labor camp. He returned home to Kiev and was given three days to get a residency permit, which normally requires two weeks at minimum.

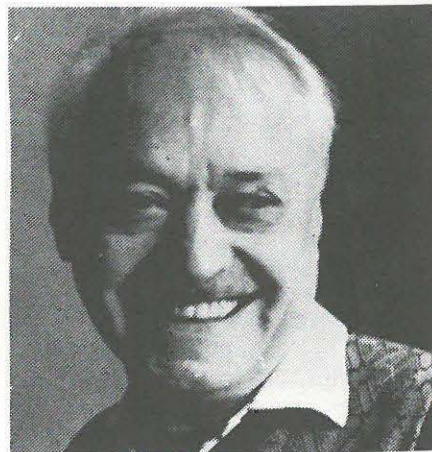
More than fifty families in **Leningrad** were given "eternal" refusals, meaning they can no longer apply through OVIR, the office of Visa & Emigration Registration.



*Alec Zelichenok*



*Stanislav Zubko*



*Abe Stolar*

# NEWSBRIEFS

**ISAI GOLDSHTEIN** of Tblisi was detained and questioned by the KGB on June 28 following a five hour search of his apartment. Goldshtein, a 47-year old physicist, first applied to emigrate in 1971, along with his brother Grigory and wife Elizabeta Bykova. The three were subsequently dismissed from their jobs. Goldshtein and his wife divorced, to allow her and their son Avi to apply separately for emigration, but to no avail.

**LEONID (ARI) VOLVOVSKY** of Gorky was arrested on June 16 on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. His home was searched but nothing anti-Soviet was found — only religious materials were taken. Since the early 1970's Volvovsky and his family were active in religious and cultural circles. They received their first refusal in 1974 and in addition to being subjected to job dismissal, home searches, property confiscation, and arrest threats, they were exiled to Gorky. Volvovsky is being held in a KGB prison.

**VLADIMIR FRENKEL** of Riga was sentenced to 1½ years in June for anti-Soviet slander. Throughout the trial no reference was made to his Jewish activities and numerous requests to emigrate.

**IVAN MARTINOV** of Leningrad who worked closely with **Yakov Gorodetsky**, planned to start a hunger strike in June. A former member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences who lodged official protests against Soviet anti-Semitism, Martinov is now working at a menial job for ten rubles a month and is living well below poverty level.

**YULI EDELSHTEIN** still has not been transferred and is required to do work in the labor camp which endangers his health. He has been subjected to officially sanctioned beatings and various other punishments in an attempt to have him disavow his religious beliefs.

**YOSEF BEGUN** was allowed a visit by his wife Ina and son Boris. He is in fair spirits.

**DAN SHAPIRO** of Moscow was tried and received a three year suspended sentence.

**ALLA** and **LEONID PRAISMAN** of Moscow received permission, as did **BERTA SHAKHOVSKAYA** (Alla's mother and a former inmate of Auschwitz).

**ANATOLY KHAZANOV** of Moscow received permission.



Back row, Elizabeta, Grigory and Isai Goldshtein. Front row, Avi and his grandmothers. On Isai's right is a map of Israel.



Yuli Edelshtein

# Washington Talk

## Illegal Imports

Upon his appointment, U.S. Treasury Secretary James Baker received a Congressional letter chastising his Department for allowing imports of goods made by indentured or forced labor, a violation of U.S. Law. If not cleared in advance, the Customs Service is required to hold such products until it determines their status. Apparently, the Congressional directive has consistently been ignored.

Signed by a bipartisan group of over 70 Senators and Representatives, the letter calls refusal to enforce the law blatant disregard for the will of Congress. Because of Treasury's inaction in response to a May 1984 Congressional petition on the same issue, 36 members of Congress have jointly authorized a lawsuit against the Treasury Department.

According to the U.S. Customs Commissioner, thirty-six classes of merchandise imported from the USSR are made at least partly by using forced labor. By law, such goods can be imported only if they cannot be obtained from another source.

A Helsinki Commission Report has found that, in 1982, almost \$140 million worth of imports from the Soviet Union may have been made with forced labor. The State Department has confirmed that Soviet forced labor is used "to produce large amounts of goods for both Western and domestic export markets." The Congressional letter called such labor an "integral part of the Soviet national economy" and said "in refusing to act, the United States [has] become a not-so-innocent bystander to the inhumane treatment of prisoners in the Soviet Gulag, more than 10,000 of whom are political prisoners."

In a related development, Commerce Department Secretary Malcolm Baldrige visited Moscow in May, meeting with Soviet officials to discuss liberalizing trade relations with the USSR, which have been curtailed in the past six years following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and imposition of martial law in Poland. Noting that neither side had committed itself to any change in policy, Baldrige was cautious in his judgment of the outcome resulting from the meeting.

## CSCE Underscores Support

In a strongly worded statement to the Soviets, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe again exemplified its unwavering support of human rights for Soviet Jews. The letter was delivered on the opening date of the experts meeting in Ottawa.

ALFONSE M. D'AMATO  
CHAIRMAN

STENY H. HOYER  
CO CHAIRMAN

COMMISSION ON  
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE  
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

MICHAEL R. HATHAWAY  
STAFF DIRECTOR  
SAMUEL G. WISE  
DEPUTY STAFF DIRECTOR  
MARY SUE HAFNER  
GENERAL COUNSEL  
237 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, ANNEX 2  
(202) 225-1901

May 7, 1985

General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev  
The Kremlin  
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

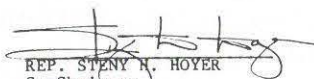
Dear Mr. General Secretary:

We, the members of the United States Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, view with grave concern continued denials of emigration requests by hundreds of thousands of Jews and others in the Soviet Union. We also are deeply concerned about the continued incarceration of thousands of prisoners of conscience, including many leaders of the Soviet Jewish community.

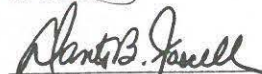
We call upon you, on the occasion of the opening of the Ottawa Human Rights Experts Meeting, to honor past agreements on human rights. We ask that you authorize the immediate release of all Soviet prisoners of conscience, such as Anatoly Shcharansky and Iosif Begun. We urge your government to reconsider its emigration policies to permit all those who wish to emigrate to do so.


Your affirmative action on this humanitarian request would serve to reaffirm your commitment to the Helsinki Accords and other international agreements. It would do much to establish the atmosphere of mutual trust which is a prerequisite to further progress in U.S.-Soviet relations.

Sincerely,

  
REP. STENY H. HOYER  
Co-Chairman

  
SEN. ALFONSE M. D'AMATO  
Chairman

  
REP. DANTE B. PASCELL

  
SEN. DENNIS DeCONCINI

  
REP. TIMOTHY WIRTH

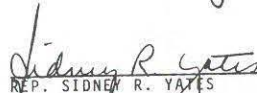
  
SEN. GORDON HUMPHREY

  
REP. JACK KEMP

  
SEN. JOHN HEINZ

  
REP. EDWARD MARKEY

  
SEN. CLAIBORNE PELL

  
REP. SIDNEY R. YATES

  
REP. CHRISTOPHER SMITH

  
REP. DON RITTER

  
SEN. JAMES A. McCLURE

  
REP. JOHN EDWARD PORTER

  
SEN. PATRICK LEAHY

  
SEN. RUSSELL B. LONG

# Washington Talk

## Congress Challenges Attorney General on Selective Prosecution of Rabbis

On June 11, 33 members of the United States House of Representatives Judiciary Committee sent a letter to Attorney General Edwin Meese, III questioning the recent decision to prosecute 24 rabbis and one minister arrested in May for demonstrating at the Soviet Embassy. The letter was sent at the request of UCSJ Executive Director Mark Epstein and Matthew Meyers, one of the attorneys representing the Washington area Rabbis and Minister.

The clergy were protesting the Soviets' brutal crackdown on Hebrew teachers and Jewish cultural activists, and the diminishing number of emigrants in recent years. They were arrested and charged with violating a law which prohibits demonstrators from passing within 500 feet of a foreign embassy. (ALERT, May 30, 1985)

"Unlike the decision by the U.S. Attorney to drop the charges against each of the more than 2,000 people who have been arrested at the South African embassy, U.S. Attorney Joseph DiGenova has decided not to drop the criminal charges against the Rabbis and the Lutheran Minister and is prosecuting these cases," the letter stated. The letter was referring to the daily anti-apartheid demonstrations and arrests in Washington at the South African Embassy.

"We believe the decision to prosecute these members of the clergy in

light of the treatment of those who have been arrested for the same acts in front of the South African Embassy raises serious questions about the consistency and fairness of federal policy. Why has the government decided to prosecute these members of the clergy when it has dropped the charges against all of those who have done the same thing at the South African Embassy?" the letter asked.

The trial was scheduled for Tuesday, June 12, but has to be continued on September 4, as the attorneys for those arrested in May have filed two pre-trial motions to dismiss the charges. One motion questions the constitutionality of the law prohibiting demonstrations within 500 feet of an embassy and the other raises the issue of selective prosecution of the Rabbis. The hearings for these motions will be held in July and August, respectively.

In the case of South Africa, the U.S. Attorney acceded to the foreign government's request not to prosecute. Apparently, the Soviets have asked that the Justice Department bring charges against the demonstrators. U.S. officials are in no way bound by the request, however. The decision to prosecute is at the sole discretion of the Justice Department, in this case, U.S. Attorney Joseph DiGenova.

The Washington Board of Rabbis, (the sponsors of the demonstration), in commenting on the prosecution

of the rabbis by the Attorney General's office, said, "We believe that it is especially unfortunate that, once arrested, the decision made by the U.S. Attorney to prosecute us was dictated by the Kremlin." Gary Fink, one of the rabbis arrested, added, "We do not seek special treatment; we simply ask for equal treatment under the law."

Adding a twist of irony, two of those arrested, Rabbi Gerry Serotta and Reverend John Steinbruck, were among the numbers of those previously arrested at the South African Embassy for protesting against apartheid. The fact that neither was brought to trial for that offense will play an important role in the group's defense.

Also on June 11, 21 rabbis were arrested for partaking in a second demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy. They stood in front of the embassy's wrought iron fence and read a statement of protest demanding the release of POCs Ida Nudel, Iosif Berenshtein, Yakov Gorodetsky, Anatoly Scharansky, Iosef Begun, and Yuli Edelshtein. This time, when they were arrested and charged, they were held in jail for more than six hours, and then released.

The demonstrations are part of a series in an organized national effort by American Rabbis to draw attention to the critical state of Soviet Jewry.

## Mark your calendars!

# UCSJ Annual Meeting

# October 20-22, 1985

## Washington, DC



# **ALERT**

## **On Capitol Hill**



### **Radio Legislation Makes Progress**

Legislation has been passed by both the House and Senate which could create a U.S. government-sponsored radio broadcasting program in the Russian language specifically for the Jewish population of the Soviet Union.

Amendments were offered by Congressman Matthew Rinaldo (R-NJ) and Senator Paula Hawkins (R-FL) to the fiscal year 1986 Department of State Authorization bill which would require Radio Liberty to increase its programming of general cultural, intellectual, political and religious interest to the Soviet Jewish population. While the amendments adopted by the House and Senate differ in their actual language, the legislation provides an excellent opportunity to further encourage and support our friends in the Soviet Union.

The House version, adopted unanimously, would establish a Task Force within Radio Liberty to study the feasibility of increasing broadcasts to the Soviet Union. The Task Force is to: investigate the needs of Jewish audiences in the Soviet Union; study the practicality and desirability of establishing a Russian language program broadcasting to Soviet Jews; and make recommendations about the content of broadcasting programming.

The Senate version goes further by actually establishing a special unit within Radio Liberty to be entitled, "Radio Maccabee Program of Radio Liberty." As stated by Senator Paula Hawkins, upon offering the amendment, "The effect of this amendment will be to provide a lifeline of encouragement and support for the Jewish community in the Soviet Union by increasing the amount of Radio Liberty broadcasts addressing their special needs." The Senate version also authorizes \$400,000 to carry out the Radio Maccabee programming. It was also adopted without objection.

### **Gorodetsky Receives Support From Senate**

Several members of the Senate Armed Services Committee, led by Senator Carl Levin of Michigan, sent a telegram to the Soviet Minister of Defense inquiring about the situation of refusenik Yakov Gorodetsky.

Gorodetsky received notice to report to the military reserves in May. Activists in the West regarded the notice with suspicion because Gorodetsky was informed by military authorities that no muster was planned for people of his military branch and, further, the military does not call upon those citizens who have regular contact with foreign countries or have applied to emigrate. Military police appeared at Gorodetsky's home and gave him a half hour to get ready for the muster. Gorodetsky had a medical emergency, but the police

warned that they would be back for him.

In their telegram, the six Senators stated "we are concerned about this unusual case and hope you can use your good offices to inquire about the circumstances." Those signing the telegram were Carl Levin (D-MI), Gary Hart (D-CO), John Glenn (D-OH), Dan Quayle (R-IN), Alan Dixon (D-IL), and Gordon Humphrey (R-NH).

### **House Subcommittee Presses Soviets to Hospitalize POC**

Ten members of the House Energy and Commerce Subcommittee on Health and Environment, chaired by Congressman Henry Waxman of California, recently wrote a letter to Anatoly Dobrynin regarding the deteriorating health of Yosef Berenshtein of Kiev. Berenshtein received a sentence of four years forced labor on a false charge of resisting arrest. Immediately afterwards, he was the victim of a brutal attack in his prison cell which left him virtually blind.

The members of the Subcommittee, who have a special interest in health matters, asked Ambassador Dobrynin to convey to the authorities their request that Berenshtein be admitted to the Interior Ministry Hospital in Leningrad, in order to receive the best available medical attention. The congressional letter and other strong appeals from the West clearly were the major impetus in Berenshtein's finally being admitted to the hospital for treatment.

The letter was signed by Henry Waxman (D-CA), Thomas Bliley, Jr. (R-VA), Cardiss Collins (D-IL), Howard Nielson (R-UT), Bill Richardson (D-NM), Bob Whittaker (R-KS), Mickey Leland (D-TX), Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), James Scheuer (D-NY), and Ron Wydens (D-OR).

### **Congressional Wives Launch Committee of 21**

On May 7, the opening day of the Ottawa Conference, a group of 21 congressional wives launched a new human rights group to focus on political prisoners in the Soviet Union. The group — "The Committee of 21" — has paired 21 Soviet prisoners of conscience (POC's) with the same number of congressional wives. The 21 prisoners are all leaders of the Soviet refusenik movement.

Headed by Annette Lantos, wife of Congressman Tom Lantos of California, the committee works under the auspices of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus. Their first effort is a letter writing campaign to their adopted prisoners and to Soviet officials.

# Action **ALERT**

## From Local Councils

### Grass Roots Interfaith Support for Soviet Jews

• Nebraskans were urged to become "pioneers for human rights" by Sister Ann Gillen, Executive Director of the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry. Sister Ann made the appeal during a two day visit to Omaha in March. The trip was part of a continuing campaign for active interfaith support for Soviet Jews, the cause for which the Chicago-based group was formed.

Sister Ann's visit was sponsored by the **Omaha Committee for Soviet Jewry**, the National Council of Jewish Women, the Jewish Federation of Omaha, and the Anti-Defamation League. Among those to whom she spoke were members of the clergy and leaders of interfaith organizations at a breakfast at the Jewish Community Center.

During meetings with religious and cultural activists in the USSR in 1974 and 1977, Sister Ann had been "assured personally that Western and public opinion does have an effect on the Soviet government and does encourage the persecuted not to give up hope." She stressed that the free world must not let human rights violations go unchallenged, and recommended contin-

uing an active program of telegram banks, letter writing, phone calls, and "adoption" activities. She called the Soviet Union a "religious wasteland" but pointed out that, in spite of years of oppression and the numerous and brutal attempts by Soviet officials to quash the growing movement, Soviet Jews continue to seek their roots in what is termed a religious and cultural awakening.

Senators Edward Zorinsky (D-NE), J. James Exon (D-NE) and Charles Grassley (R-IA) sent messages in support of Sister Ann's appeal, while Governor Robert Kerrey and Mayor Michael Boyle proclaimed March 31 as a day to honor Soviet Jewry.

Following are excerpts from Congressman Hal Daub's (R-NE) statement made in connection with Sister Ann's visit to Omaha:

"The entire cultural life of the Jewish community is imperiled. The fact that 350,000 out of a total population of the 3 million Jews in that country willingly face the increased persecution leveled at all who ask to leave, demonstrates the grave circumstances under which these people live."

### Galvin, Drinan Speak Out to Free Soviet Jews

• Representing the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, State Representative William F. Galvin (D-Boston) joined forces with Father Robert F. Drinan in an emotional appeal to the President to help free Jews trying to escape persecution and anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

Galvin sponsored a Resolution on Soviet Jewry that passed the Massachusetts House unanimously on April 1. At a press conference, he introduced several Russian emigres and then made statements on behalf of their friends and relatives who remained behind. As their compelling stories were told, a common thread emerged: those seeking visas are guaranteed a certain amount of harassment at best, with forced institutionalization and imprisonment oft used methods of punishment.

"This is our attempt to take concrete and immediate action on behalf of just a few people, while striving in the long run to improve the Soviet human rights environment at large," proclaimed Galvin.

The event was sponsored by **(Boston) Action for Soviet Jewry**. Father Drinan, a former U.S. Congressman from Massachusetts who has long been an outspoken friend and supporter of Soviet refuseniks, flew up from Washington to be present.

Father Drinan warmly praised Galvin for his leadership on the Resolution, pointing out that House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill (D-MA) was about to un-

dertake a similar effort as leader of a delegation visiting the Soviet Union.

Drinan also encouraged the emigres who are still trying to get their relatives out of the Soviet Union. He stated, "260,000 people have been allowed to emigrate in the last fifteen years. That is a miracle. . . in world human rights, one which, with enough work and prayer, can happen again."

Father Drinan went on to describe the movement to liberate Soviet Jews as one which embraces liberals and conservatives. In his words, "it is one of the greatest human rights movements in the history of mankind."

Galvin added, "Now is the time to free those who have applied ten, fifteen times to join their families in the United States and Israel."



Massachusetts  
State  
Representative  
William Galvin



Father  
Robert Drinan

## Scientific Community Divided Over New Agreement

A delegation from the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) returned from a visit to the Soviet Union and announced that formal scientific exchanges between the U.S. and the Soviets would resume. A draft agreement has already been signed and is awaiting ratification by the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Bilateral exchange agreements were suspended in 1980 to protest the forced exile to Gorky of physicist and Nobel laureate Andrei Sakharov. NAS President Frank Press, who led the delegation, said that because there were no positive results from suspending exchanges, it was justifiable to resume them. He asserted that human rights concerns could best be addressed by reopening a dialogue within the forum of the exchange.

A number of Academy members, and other members of the scientific community, have sharply criticized the new draft protocol because of its acquiescence in the face of blatant and continued human rights violations. Three U.S. Nobel prize winners, Christian B. Anfinsen of Johns Hopkins University, Paul J. Flory of Stanford University, and Arno A. Penzias of Bell Laboratories pointed out that the meeting, the agreement, and the timing could not help but result in a "hat-in-hand" image. (Sakharov would have been released after the legal maximum of five years on the day after the signing, if he had been sentenced to exile by an official Soviet court.) The Nobel laureates censured the NAS for abandoning the principles which led to its unprecedented decision of February 1980 to boycott the exchanges.

Before the suspension, Soviet government officials had barred some Soviet scientists from participating in exchanges despite specific requests from U.S. scientists to work with them. Anfinsen, Flory, and Penzias said that at minimum, "any accord should include the right to choose exchange participants for their scientific competence, (and to refuse last minute, mediocre substitutes) and the right to ensure the freedom of scientific contact both in personal meetings and correspondence." Most importantly, they concluded, the National Academy of Sciences should insist that cooperation

*The effects of the planned resumption of scientific exchanges are already being felt by refusenik scientists. The following letter appeared in NATURE, May 2, 1985:*

Sir — Ten years ago, on 12 March 1975, my family applied for exit visas from the Soviet Union for the first time. I was immediately removed from my position in the mathematical department of the Institute for Chemical Physics of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. At the same time, a total boycott was organized against my family in the scientific centre of the academy in Chernogolovka.

For ten years I have been prohibited from attending seminars, conferences and symposia. Correspondence from abroad is not delivered to me. I do not receive scientific journals, including those of the American Physical Society and the American Mathematical Society. The Academy of Sciences presses my foreign colleagues to abandon attempts to meet me and then to take part in the scientific boycott against me.

For ten years we have been stubbornly making efforts to get

exit visas. In 1979, representatives of the academy, academician N. Emanuel, Academician N. Semenov and others, officially stated that the academy had no objections to my departure, and we were informed that the Soviet leaders had made an official decision to give our family exit visas. But this decision has not been implemented.

My numerous meetings with the general secretary of the academy, Academician G. Scrjabin, showed that the academy blocked the fulfillment of this decision.

The situation has abruptly become worse after negotiations between the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the National Academy of Sciences of the United States. Academician Scrjabin and Academician Yu. Ovchinnikov, a vice president of the academy, immediately refused to discuss my problem with me. And Academician E. Velikhov, another vice president of the academy, refused even to speak to me.

SOLOMON AL'BER

*Moscow, Soviet Union.*

be a function of "demonstrable evidence of improvements in the human rights status of those scientists who, like Sakharov, have been denied access to official programs."

The statement of the 3 Nobel laureates was endorsed by Morris Pripstein, Chairman of Scientists for Sakharov, Orlov and Scharansky. Pripstein termed the Academy's decision "an abandonment of principles of human rights, an abandonment of (their) scientific colleagues, and in particular, an abandonment of Andrei Sakharov." He added that Soviet dissidents believe that the original decision to suspend the exchanges had a "beneficial impact" for victims of Soviet human rights violations.

Two U.S.-based scientific organizations disagree with Pripstein however, and have publicly supported the decision to resume the bilateral

exchange agreements. The American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the Foundation of American Scientists, have both endorsed resuming scientific exchanges.

The Administration, which usually does not interfere with NAS policy, condemned the NAS decision. Richard Perle, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, stated he was "disappointed that NAS is plunging ahead" to renew the exchanges. He added that the Soviets have much more to gain from these relationships than do the Americans.

While no official announcement has been issued, it is rumored that the Soviets have refused to ratify the draft agreement on the basis that certain provisions contained in that agreement are not acceptable to them.



# Sakharov & Bonner—Disappeared

Andrei Sakharov and Yelena Bonner were last seen in Gorky on February 25 by colleagues from the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Since then, they have apparently disappeared from their exile home. Their car is no longer parked outside the apartment building and the police surveillance van is gone. High level scientists who returned from a visit to the USSR in mid-June were given no information whatsoever in response to their questions about Sakharov and Bonner. The International League of Human Rights has asked the United Nations to investigate their whereabouts.

In January, Sakharov marked his fifth year of internal exile in Gorky, where he was sent after issuing public statements in brazen opposition to the Soviets' oppressive human rights policy. He has, nevertheless, continued his outspoken support of human rights.

Bonner, until a year ago, had been permitted to travel between Gorky and Moscow and was able to communicate with the West through contacts with foreigners. Convicted of anti-Soviet slander, she was sentenced to join Sakharov in internal exile in Gorky as well.

Sakharov has been pressing Soviet authorities to allow his wife to receive medical treatment in the West, even threatening to resign from the prestigious Soviet Academy of Sciences. On June 10, the *Washington Post* reported that the authorities refused to accept Sakharov's letter of resignation. Other sources have confirmed that the official Soviet position is that a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences cannot simply resign the academy, and only the academy, can determine membership by electing or rejecting an individual.

Sakharov was reported to have started a hunger strike in mid-April, lasting into May. According to a letter received by a friend in Moscow, he was force-fed beginning on April 21.

Tatiana Yankelevich, Sakharov's stepdaughter who lives in the United States said that, while the reports of the hunger strike cannot be confirmed, "circumstantial evidence,"

indicating there may have been a hunger strike includes lack of postcards normally received two to three times a month from her mother, Yelena Bonner.

Dissident mathematician Irina Kristi, who left the Soviet Union in May, said in an interview that the Soviets might allow Sakharov to emigrate "for a price." She added that it would depend on Western public opinion, and especially on Western governments.

## President Honors Sakharov

President Reagan designated May 21 as National Andrei Sakharov Day and made a personal appeal to the Soviets to release him and other human rights activists in the USSR. The 21st was chosen because it was dissident scientist Sakharov's 64th birthday. In a letter delivered to the



Andrei Sakharov

Soviet mission by acting U.S. representative to the United Nations, Jose Sorzano, the Soviets were called upon "to end the isolation of Dr. Sakharov and his wife and to permit his wife to travel abroad for needed medical care."

UCSJ President Morey Schapira sent a telegram to Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, in which he called for the immediate release of Andrei Sakharov on the occasion of his 64th birthday. The statement read, "As a sign of a com-

mitment to human rights and peace throughout the world, I urge you to consider the immediate release from Gorky of Andrei Sakharov and his family."

In a statement here, Schapira said, "Throughout the past 15 years, Sakharov has taken a strong stand against the anti-Semitic policies of the USSR, and in doing so has placed his life in danger. The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews will not relent in its efforts on behalf of the Sakharovs until they receive the justice and freedom they deserve."

## Scientists Appeal to Ottawa Conferees

Ninety-eight members of the National Academy of Sciences, including 28 Nobel laureates, issued an appeal on behalf of Soviet colleagues who have been refused emigration and whose scientific freedom is being violated.

In their appeal to participants in the human rights experts meeting in Ottawa, the Americans urged them to seek an end to Soviet violations of international agreements. The message was transmitted to Ambassador Richard Schifter, chair of the American delegation.

Parallel appeals were submitted to the Ottawa conferees by leading scientists from Canada, Denmark, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom. In all, over 700 prominent Western scientists from nine countries, including 37 Nobel laureates, endorsed these appeals. Professor Inga Fischer-Hjalmars, chair of the International Committee of Scientists for Soviet Refuseniks which coordinated the effort, voiced the hope that this outpouring of collegial support would pave the way for the "granting of . . . human rights to [their] colleagues in the Soviet Union."

The American scientists' appeal was relayed to Ambassador Schifter by the Committee of Concerned Scientists, an independent organization of 4,500 American scientists dedicated to the protection and advancement of the human rights and scientific freedom of colleagues throughout the world.

**Miller, Continued from page 1**

When the delegation returned, he and Representative Marty Russo (D-IL) were appointed to a "working group" on human rights by Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill (D-MA), the leader of the visiting delegation. The "working group" is a joint U.S.-Soviet committee formed to deal exclusively with issues related to human rights violations. Miller and Russo's Soviet counterparts in the group are Vassily Trushin, First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, and Richard I. Kosolapov, Member of the Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Committee and Editor-in-Chief of *Kommunist*. After his return from the Soviet Union, Representative Miller joined Congressional colleagues in supporting Senate Joint Resolution 15, designating May 7, 1985, as Helsinki Human Rights Day.

Following are excerpts from Representative Miller's statement to the Soviet leadership delivered during the delegation's visit to the USSR:

"Our delegation represents the diversity of the Congress, and the pluralism of the American people itself. We hold diverse views of our own Nation, and of your Nation. However, the debates which occasionally divide us from each other illustrate the strength of our freedom, not its weakness. And, diverse though we may be, we stand united on the need to enhance human rights around the globe.

I am sure that the other members of this delegation share with me a sense of optimism as a result of the resumption of the arms control talks in Geneva, and the potential summit meeting between President Reagan and Secretary Gorbachev.

Arms control is a vital issue, but it is not the only issue. And while the question of human rights may not impinge directly on the issue of nuclear weapons, the degree to which each Nation abides by treaty obligations in the area of human rights cannot help but affect its credibility with respect to meeting other agreements. Let there be no mistake: We are in full accord that the just treatment of religious, ethnic and national minorities is an indelible, and appropriate, part of our agenda.

I am fully aware of the sensitivity of this issue, and I intend to discuss it with full respect for your leaders

and your laws. You know of our concerns; we know of your countercharges and responses. Nevertheless, we will continue to raise the Soviet record on human rights until we are convinced that it no longer presents the barrier between us which unfortunately it does today.

We have different laws and different cultures. I do not seek to impose the standard of American law upon you. But we do hold you accountable for abiding by your own law and the international law into which you have voluntarily entered.

As one whose public career has been devoted to the reduction of tensions between Nations, I must tell you in all candor that the overwhelming, impartial evidence compels me to conclude that the Soviet Union has failed, and continues to fail, to abide by these [laws and agreements].

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***"The degree to which each Nation abides by treaty obligations in the area of human rights cannot help but affect its credibility with respect to meeting other agreements."***

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As one who believes that the negotiation of a reduction in the level of nuclear weaponry is our highest priority, I must tell you that the Soviet record in the area of human rights enforcement inevitably tarnishes the credibility of your Nation in the Congress of the United States with respect to compliance with arms limitation agreements.

The plight of Soviet Jews illustrates the grounds for that concern. (They have been subjected to) a tightening of exit requirements, including limitations on who may apply for an exit permit, complicated forms, long delays and bureaucratic obfuscation. While the Soviet government alleges that the reduction of emigres is attributable to the diminishing in the number of those seeking to leave, the facts belie this claim.

Jewish Soviet citizens are suffering economic punishment, imprisonment, physical and psychological abuse, family separation, and religious intolerance because they wish to exercise not only their religious

teachings, but their legal rights as Soviet citizens.

You may claim all who wish to leave have left; we will visit, during this trip, some of those who have waited years, in some cases, for permission to emigrate.

You may claim the "refuseniks" are criminals; but their so-called "crimes" — the teaching of Hebrew, the distribution of religious tracts — are guaranteed both by Soviet law and international agreement.

You may claim that Jews in the Soviet Union are free to practice their culture and their religion; the evidence — and I have personally seen it — strongly suggests an official tolerance for, if not encouragement of, anti-Semitism.

In the Ukraine, Yakov Levin was arrested for circulating religious materials. As evidence, prosecutors cited his possession of Leon Uris' book, "Exodus." He was sentenced to 3 years in prison for anti-Soviet slander. Charges against a friend, Yakov Mesh, were dropped because Mesh "sustained life threatening injuries from a beating administered at the time of his arrest", according to a report issued by the U.S. State Department.

Last December, Iosif Berenshtein of Kiev was sentenced to four years in prison for allegedly "resisting arrest." He was placed in an isolation cell with two hard-core criminals who assaulted him with broken glass, blinding him in one eye.

Catherine Cosman, a member of the Helsinki Commission reports a terrible increase in physical abuse of prisoners of conscience since mid-1979, and particularly after 1983. Dozens of other Soviet citizens who sought compliance with the Final Act have been sent to prisons, labor camps, and psychiatric hospitals. They did not seek to destroy the Soviet state; they did not urge violence or sedition; they sought only to have their government comply with international law which Soviet officials had solemnly ratified.

Many have thus far escaped the punishment of the prison camps. They live in legal limbo, denied the right to practice their professions while standing accused of "parasitism" and indifference to public service.

Nor is emigration the only right denied Jews in the U.S.S.R. The free-

## Miller, Continued

dom to practice the Jewish faith, to study Hebrew and Jewish culture, to possess Hebrew language literature and to publish Jewish journals — all these rights are supposedly assured by Soviet law, and yet none is widely available.

Within just the last few months, there have been deeply disturbing signs of a reawakening — and official sanctioning — of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. A television documentary, broadcast in Leningrad last November and elsewhere since, hinted at a worldwide Jewish conspiracy and accused Jewish dissidents of treason.

The narrator in this film alleges that, "Deceiving Jews is a part of a global psychological war against the Community system. . . The Zionist propaganda is directed first of all against our country. Thousands of organizations, centers, conferences and committees influence public opinion in the West in a spirit of Zionism, and they slander our people and government."

In February of this year, another program was broadcast on Moscow television. This program, entitled "Conspiracy against the U.S.S.R.", equated Zionism, Nazism, and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Nor are these the only examples of growing anti-Semitism. In April, 1983, the Anti-Zionist Committee was created. That same year, the official youth newspaper Komsomolskaya Pravda declared that the meaning of Zionism is "to turn every Jew, no matter where he lives, into a traitor to the country where he was born." The newspaper Leninskaya Pravda denounced Israel as a "money-grubbers' paradise" and suggested that the desire to learn and speak Hebrew was "far from cultural, but is strictly political."

This vicious rhetoric repeats longstanding and highly offensive characterizations of members of the Jewish faith. To equate Zionism with Judaism, in itself, is inaccurate; to suggest that learning Hebrew — which is essential to the practice of Judaism — is "anti-Soviet" contradicts your own laws regarding the right of cultural minorities to learn their own languages.

To allege — as your government does — that the refuseniks represent a serious danger to the stability of

the Soviet state is a proposition so lacking in credibility that it is dismissed by every impartial observer in the world.

But even if your own allegations about the refuseniks are accurate — which we vigorously dispute — why mandate that they remain in the Soviet Union? If the free expression of their beliefs and the practice of their religion present a challenge to the State, why not grant them the only requests they are making: the right to leave; the right to be reunited with their families, the right to be repatriated to Israel?

I want to emphasize our equally strong concerns about other nationalities and religions which are denied rights due them under Soviet law and international accords.

There have been substantial reductions in the number of Germans and Armenians allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union. Siberian Pentecostals, Baptists and Christians, like Soviet Jews, have waited years for emigration permits.

The punishment of these people, and many more, illustrates that it is not Zionism which is the so-called crime, but rather the free expression and practice of religion — a right guaranteed by Soviet law.

(We urge you to) open the doors to those who desire to leave, and reduce the oppressiveness on those who must remain. At the very least, grant exit visas to those who have suffered imprisonment, those who are aged or in poor health, those who have endured years of waiting,

so that they may at long last join relatives abroad.

This delegation comes to the Soviet Union in the spirit of reconciliation. We wish to communicate to you, and to the Soviet people, our sincere desire for peace and improved relations on a wide range of issues.

Human rights is one of those issues. It is inseparably linked to all of the other issues. On this we agree and will not bend. As Abraham Lincoln declared, "Important principles may and must be inflexible." No principle is more dear to us than personal freedom.

In the past, cordiality between our countries has contributed to greater tolerance toward Soviet Jews and relaxed emigration policies. I hope that the good will exhibited by this delegation toward our hosts and the Soviet people will again contribute to modifications in the human rights policies of which I have spoken today."

## Soviets Target Gorodetsky

Military police paid a visit to refusenik Yakov Gorodetsky at his home in Leningrad on May 23 with orders for him to prepare for military muster in half an hour. Shortly thereafter Gorodetsky suffered a kidney stone attack requiring emergency medical attention. The officials warned Gorodetsky that they would return.

*Continued on page 13*



Representative George Miller meeting with refuseniks in Leningrad. In the foreground, wearing a beret, is Yakov Gorodetsky.

## Ottawa, Continued from page 1

Even before the meeting began, Western nations were given a hint of what attitude to expect from the USSR and the Eastern block. Chief Soviet delegate, Vsevolod Sofinsky, warned before leaving Moscow that he did not intend to let the session be a review of how each country treats human rights. Rather, he would try to limit discussion to respective definitions of human rights under various political systems and how each country has handled its own affairs so that others might learn from the experience.

United States, Canadian, and other Western delegates, however, did not allow the Soviets' skewed interpretation of the meeting's purpose to deter them from denouncing the flagrant and blatant human rights violations perpetrated by the Soviets.

The opening statement for the United States was delivered by Acting Secretary of State Michael Armacost. Then, in his preliminary statement, Chief U.S. delegate to the conference, Richard Schifter, attacked the Soviet Union's treatment of POCs Yuri Orlov and Anatoly Scharansky. He also singled out the prison deaths of three members of the Soviet Helsinki monitoring group. Schifter objected strenuously to human rights abuses, such as a commitment of sane individuals to psychiatric hospitals as "a bureaucratic shortcut to avoid court trials".

Soviet delegate Sofinsky, former Chief of the Information Department at the Soviet Foreign Ministry, consistently responded to explicit examples of his country's human rights violations by referring to general social conditions in the Western nations, such as high unemployment rates and housing shortages. An example he related was that maternity leave granted pregnant women in Britain is inadequate and does not match the rights accorded in the USSR or anywhere in Eastern Europe.

The Soviet representative's opening statement suggested that détente leads to greater respect for human rights and international tension leads to a clamp-down on human rights. "If [the U.S.] cooperates with [the Soviets] in international affairs, [they are] prepared to cooperate with [us] in the area of human rights", Sofinsky declared. To that proposal, U.S. delegate Schifter aptly re-

sponded: "We have some problems with the logic of this proposition. When we use the term 'human rights,' we describe the relationship between a government and its own citizens. Does it stand to reason that if foreign countries establish friendly relations with a particular government, that government, in turn, will — so to speak — reward the foreign countries by dealing kindly with its own citizens? And does it further stand to reason that if international relations are tense, the foreign countries will be punished by the government in question through the adoption of repressive measures against its own citizens?"

### Congressional Participation

Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Senator Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY), led a Congressional delegation on a one day visit to the Ottawa meeting. Accompanying him on the visit were Commission Co-Chairman, Representative Steny Hoyer (D-MD), and Commission members Senator James McClure (R-ID), and Representative John Porter (R-IL).

During the meeting with the Soviet delegation chief, the Congressional delegation raised a number of individual cases that are of concern to the American public. D'Amato told the press that the Commission views the issue of human rights as more than rhetoric. "We think that it is absolutely essential in our dealings with the Soviets that they be willing to demonstrate to us their commitment to live up to those obligations to which they are signatory. It obviously becomes difficult for us to build trust when we see rights that are systematically violated, particularly with the Soviets having been signatories to the Helsinki Accords."

The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, created in 1976, is an independent advisory agency to the United States Congress. Its purpose is to monitor and encourage compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Final Act of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe.

### Mixed Reviews

The results of the Ottawa conference, on the whole, were disappointing to human rights activists. The delegates were unable to come to the unanimous consensus necessary for issuing a concluding document.

Thus, neither conclusions nor recommendations from this experts meeting will be able to be integrated into the full-scale review conference scheduled for Vienna in 1986.

Nevertheless, a number of Western delegates considered the meeting a success in that Western and neutral delegations refused to agree to a watered-down, meaningless compromise document. Moreover, observers of the international human rights scenario should not overlook the significance of the fact that 30 of the 35 member nations were able to reach a consensus.

Undersecretary Armacost has observed that "our hopes for the Helsinki process have always been tempered by realism." The reality, as evidenced by the disappointing results of the meeting, brings into question whether there were any concrete gains achieved by Western human rights advocates at Ottawa.

This question is part of a larger one beginning to emerge in which the overall success of the Helsinki Accords will be evaluated in retrospect. The supporters of continuing U.S. participation in the CSCE point out that only through the CSCE can member nations be held accountable for violations of the Helsinki Final Act. Thus, hiding behind the excuse that its actions in the human rights realm are an internal matter becomes more difficult for the Soviets. Further, supporters believe that in the absence of the CSCE and the Helsinki Final Act creating the opportunity to hold the Soviets accountable, human rights abuses over the past ten years could have been more numerous and more severe.

On the other hand, detractors of the CSCE and its various meetings and conferences point out that the USSR and Eastern block have not and cannot be required to abide by the agreement. As such, the agreement continues to allow them a false front to point to their signing as evidence of their commitment and cooperation. Some of those involved in human rights believe the Accords have outlived their usefulness and have not resulted in any significant gains since the process was established at Helsinki.

Many will be taking a long, hard look at the Helsinki Accords as the ten year anniversary of its signing approaches.

## USSR Tour Ends Abruptly: Musicians Forcibly Expelled

A Boston-based musical group on a tour of the USSR was expelled by Soviet authorities who told them they were being "exiled back to the United States" for breaking rules and meeting with "negative persons."

The four members of the Klezmer Conservatory Band, which plays primarily Yiddish and Jewish ethnic music, arrived in Moscow on May 21 with tourist visas and an assortment of musical instruments. The group planned on meeting and performing for Soviet refuseniks. "Our purpose was to visit musicians, to give them the pleasure of [Klezmer] music," explained Hankus Netsky, 30, a member of the quartet. Soviet customs officials questioned the musicians for more than five hours and asked if they were "members of an organization hostile to the Soviet Union."

After being allowed to leave the airport, they were followed constantly. The musical group, which also included Rosalie Gerut, 30, Merrill Goldberg, 26, and Jeffrey Warschauer, 25, spent a few days in Moscow and then flew to Tblisi in the Georgian Republic. They performed in an impromptu concert together with the local "Phantom Orchestra," so called because authorities have prohibited its existence. Refusenik brothers Isai and Grigori Goldshtein, founders and leaders of the phantom group, have been trying to emigrate to Israel for the past 14 years. The performers in the Phantom Orchestra, according to the Klezmer group, "are bonded together through a deep emotional connection resulting from constant harassment, physical abuse, and in some cases imprisonment for expressing their desire to emigrate."

In Tblisi the American group also met brothers Tengehiz and Eduard Gudava, practicing Catholics who are members of a group established in Georgia to monitor Soviet compliance with the Helsinki Accords. The brothers have been imprisoned on false charges and during a recent detention and search episode involving their mother, their papers, including a letter to the Ottawa experts meeting from the Georgian Helsinki group, were confiscated.

The Klezmer group were instructed in Tblisi to stop their activities and warned that they should not continue to stay out so late. At the next stop on their itinerary, the city of Yerevan in Armenia, authorities notified them they were being sent back to the United States immediately.

They were flown back to Moscow, where officials went through their belongings, closely examined their address books, and erased cassette recordings, and then on to Stockholm before departing on a New York-bound flight on May 30. The group had originally planned on staying in the Soviet Union until June 5. They arrived home on May 31, and held a press conference at Boston's Logan Airport, where they were greeted by cheering family and friends. Netsky said the group had formed an "indelible bond" with the refuseniks. "As we breathe a sigh of relief, we cannot forget those we left behind," he stated. Netsky's plans included requesting a meeting with Cardinal Bernard Law of the Boston Archdiocese to ask him to intercede on behalf of the Gudava family.

The Klezmer orchestra also called on musicians from all over the world to join in solidarity with the Phantom orchestra for a concert planned to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Helsinki Accords.

The group was assisted by (Boston) Action for Soviet Jewry, a member council of the UCSJ.

### Emigration Statistics:

Jews leaving the USSR January through June 1985.

January .....	61
February .....	88
March .....	97
April .....	166
May .....	51
June .....	36
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>499</b>

## Gorodetsky

*Continued from page 11*

Gorodetsky first received orders on May 14 saying that his military specialty was being conscripted for twenty-five days reserve duty. The order stood despite his failing the military physical exam.

Investigating the source of the orders led Gorodetsky to military headquarters where an attache informed him that no muster was being planned for Yakov's specialty at that time. When Gorodetsky pointed out that he is an Israeli citizen; is attempting to be repatriated to Israel; has friends and relatives in Israel; and has received a number of KGB warnings, the military attache agreed it would not be in the best interest of the state to conscript him. As of this date, however, the induction order has not been rescinded.

Military induction is especially serious for two reasons: Gorodetsky would be assigned to a high security area where, theoretically, he could have access to state secrets and on those grounds be refused an exit visa; and, throughout his tour of duty, he would be cut off from any communication with the West and thus could be subjected to harsh treatment or worse.

Gorodetsky's situation calls for skilled maneuvering around the Soviet bureaucratic maze. He is caught in a catch-22 in which refusal to serve could result in a criminal case and prison sentence, while acquiescence poses potentially greater dangers. His wife Polina, has already visited the Moscow office of the Minister of Defense. In the meanwhile, Gorodetsky is contacting other military officials to ascertain who initiated the call-up, why he is receiving contradictory answers, and why, despite failing the physical exam, the authorities insist on calling him for military service.

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**COMITE DES QUINZE  
ANNUAL MEETING  
Deauville, France  
September 28-29, 1985**

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*The following article was originally published in the Christian Science Monitor in October 1983. With the Jackson-Vanik Amendment coming under considerable criticism of late, and with pressure being placed on the Administration and Congress to ease restrictions, the historical facts related below serve as a reminder of the importance of continued support for the amendment. Upholding those principles, for which the amendment was originally approved by the United States Congress and signed into law by the President, is as important today as when Senator Henry Jackson and Representative Charles Vanik first introduced the amendment in the early 1970's.*

## **Jackson-Vanik: It Has Worked Well**

*By William Korey*

Perhaps one of the finest accomplishments of the late Sen. Henry M. Jackson is the so-called Jackson-Vanik amendment. Critics argue that the amendment has worked against long-range US-Soviet accord.

The fact is Jackson-Vanik has worked to the benefit of all mankind by underscoring the right of persons to leave a nation.

Let's consider Jackson-Vanik for a moment.

On Sept. 14, 1973, the distinguished Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov sent a remarkable "open letter" to Congress urging adoption of the Jackson-Vanik legislation linking trade benefits for the USSR to ease Soviet emigration procedures.

Current critics of Jackson-Vanik, drawing upon arguments advanced by former President Nixon and Henry Kissinger, perceive the amendment as having been counterproductive by actually reducing emigration. They cite statistics showing that Jewish emigration jumped from several hundred in 1968 to 35,000 in 1973. The escalation was seen as due to Nixon's "quiet diplomacy," while the decline after 1973 was viewed as due to Jackson-Vanik's open pressure.

But the evidence is overwhelming that Jackson-Vanik made possible the emigration of large numbers of educated Jews and in no way was responsible for lower emigration figures.

The vagaries of Soviet emigration policy cannot be seen as directly or even indirectly related to the con-

gressional amendment.

- The USSR in March 1973, keenly aware of the yet-to-be-enacted Jackson-Vanik amendment — it was approved by both houses on Dec. 20, 1974 — revoked an incredible 1972 edict that had imposed exorbitant taxes upon Jews with a higher education seeking to emigrate. The amendment would refuse most-favored-nation tariff treatment and subsidized credits to communist governments that extracted more than a "nominal" tax on exit visas. Some 1450 Jews had to pay approximately \$7 million during that eight-month period. How many were kept from applying because of the high tax is not known. What is known is that tens of thousands who emigrated after March 1973 were not hindered or stopped because they could not afford to pay the ransom tax.

- Similarly, Romania this past June revoked a decree requiring huge taxes from would-be emigrants who had acquired higher education. Jackson-Vanik provisions were clearly responsible. Jewish emigration from Romania rose by 50 percent last year.

- Soviet Jewish emigration began dropping in early 1974. But this took place almost a full year before the amendment was voted upon by Congress.

- Dr. Kissinger, in testimony before the Senate Finance Committee on Dec. 3, 1974, clearly indicated that the Soviets were prepared to acquiesce with the requirements of Jackson-Vanik. If they later repudiated such assurances, it was probably due to a totally different

amendment to a different bill — the Stevenson amendment — which put a severely restrictive ceiling on credits to the USSR, thereby negating the Soviet-American understanding on emigration.

- Between 1976 and 1979, while Jackson-Vanik was in force, Soviet Jewish emigration rose annually, reaching an unprecedented 51,000 people in 1979.

- Hungary was granted most-favored-nation tariff treatment under the provisions of Jackson-Vanik in 1978. It is unconceivable that the USSR would have permitted Hungary to accept this arrangement if the Kremlin had firmly opposed the amendment.

Jackson-Vanik was the first piece of American legislation that was inspired by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights — specifically Article XIII, the right of everyone to leave any country. Particularly appropriate for a "nation of immigrants," Sakharov also considered it essential for establishing the "mutual trust" needed for detente.

For Sakharov, Jackson-Vanik constituted a "policy of principle" which, if rejected, would signify "a betrayal of the thousands of Jews and non-Jews who want to emigrate, of the hundreds in camps and mental hospitals, of the victims of the Berlin Wall." His "open letter" to the Congress a decade ago is as valid as it was then.

*William Korey is director of international policy research for B'nai B'rith International.*

## Mail,

Continued from page 1

evidence against him in a trial, just as was done with POC Mark Nepomniashchy. (ALERT, February 28, 1985). Zelichenok was arrested on June 11 and charged with anti-Soviet propaganda. His confiscated letters will surely be used as evidence against him at his trial.

## Congressional Support

U.S. Representative Barney Frank (D-MA) placed a three-way telephone call to Livshits upon being alerted to the seriousness of the situation. Livshits' cousin, Lisa Shukel of Brookline, Massachusetts was also on the line.

"We will continue to press until (the Soviets) recognize your human rights," declared Frank. "One of these days, we will meet in Israel," he added. Douglas Cahn, Frank's chief aide explained, "People who get a call from a Congressman are not so easily targets of harassment."

In early May, Representative Frank had met with an official of the Soviet Embassy in Washington to press for Livshits' emigration, and to request exit visas for two other refuseniks, whose son lives in Newton, Massachusetts.

The week before Frank's phone call, Massachusetts State Senator George Bachrach phoned Livshits to offer his support as well.

## A History of Harassment

Vladimir Livshits has been trying to leave the Soviet Union with his wife and children since 1981.

In December 1983 the family paid 1,000 rubles to renounce their Soviet citizenship and became Israeli citizens. Despite following the legal procedures, Livshits was subjected to continuous harassment by the KGB. He was denied a job in his field, economic forecasting, and had to accept menial labor. Authorities filmed an "interview" with him by emigration officials, who distorted the facts about his emigration.

Livshits has not given up his struggle, and declared to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on May 3, "We are Israeli citizens and our inborn Soviet citizenship is the only obstacle preventing us from realizing our desire to go to our motherland, Israel."

## Honorary Degrees Conferred on Refusenik

The Baltimore Hebrew College has granted an honorary doctorate to Prof. Alexander Lerner, one of the most prominent of Soviet refuseniks. In conferring the degree, Prof. Robert O. Freedman, the Dean of the college's Graduate School, spoke of Dr. Lerner's brilliant scientific achievements, and his central role in organizing and maintaining unofficial seminars of refusenik scientists in Moscow. Prof. Freedman, himself a Sovietologist and expert on Middle East affairs, is the author of numerous works on Soviet foreign policy, as well as the book *Soviet Jewry in the Decisive Decade*.

On June 6, Prof. Lerner was also awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Other recipients of honorary degrees on the same occasion include former U.S.

Ambassador to Israel, Samuel Lewis, Prime Minister of Israel, Shimon Peres, and Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford University, Herbert L. A. Hart.

Prof. Lerner, who lives in Moscow, is an expert in cybernetics and the author of over 150 publications including twelve books. He and his family first applied for an exit visa in 1971, only to be refused on the basis of his "knowing state secrets". After applying to emigrate, he was dismissed from his job and all of his academic appointments, and his two children were fired from their jobs as well. His daughter has since been allowed to leave the country. Prof. Lerner faces continual harassment, including authorities searching his home, intercepting his mail, disconnecting his phone, and threatening him with arrest.

## Federov Released in June

June 15, 1985 marked the 15th anniversary of the infamous Leningrad trial. It was also the release date for Yuri Federov, sentenced in 1970, and the only one of the 11 defendants remaining in prison.

Federov, along with a group of other disaffected Soviet citizens, was arrested and charged with treason after authorities uncovered their plan to obtain an airplane and escape from the Soviet Union. Originally sentenced to death, their charges were reduced to prison terms when world-wide attention was focused on Soviet violations of human rights.

After 15 years of "strict regime" in labor camps in Perm and Mordavia, Federov's health has deteriorated irreversibly. He has a debilitating kidney condition, a crippling calcium deficiency, and is nearly blind. In a desperate attempt to get admitted to the prison infirmary, he intentionally cut off a finger while chopping wood.

Although Federov is not Jewish, during the trial he made a personal plea for his Jewish co-defendants. Ukrainian Alexei Murzhenko, also ar-

rested and tried with the Leningrad group, was released in 1984. The punishment of these two men has been exacerbated because of their undiminished support for their Jewish friends.

Throughout the last years of his detention, Federov suffered consistent punishment for not meeting his work quota, which his poor health made impossible. He spent repeated periods in solitary confinement.

Federov emerged from the gulag beyond recognition and is described as looking older than his mother. He is staying in Strunino because he was prohibited from returning to Moscow. June 14th was Federov's 42nd birthday.



Yuri Federov



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**UNION OF COUNCILS FOR SOVIET JEWS**  
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**Inside Today's Alert**

Soviet Jews High on Congressional Delegate's Agenda . . . p. 1  
 Ottawa Conference Closes . . . . . p. 1  
 Soviet Authorities Admit to Mail Interception. . . . . p. 1  
 Newsbriefs . . . . . p. 2  
 Washington Talk . . . . . p. 4  
 Alert on Capitol Hill . . . . . p. 6  
 Action Alert from Local Councils . . . . . p. 7  
 Scientific Community Divided. . . . . p. 8  
 Sakharov and Bonner — Disappeared . . . . . p. 9  
 Scientists Appeal to Ottawa Conferees . . . . . p. 9  
 Soviets Target Gorodetsky . . . . . p. 11  
 USSR Tour Ends Abruptly:  
   Musicians Forcibly Expelled. . . . . p. 13  
 Jackson-Vanik: It Has Worked Well. . . . . p. 14  
 Honorary Degrees Conferred on Refusenik. . . . . p. 15  
 Federov Released in June. . . . . p. 15  
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**51 Jews left the Soviet Union in May**