

ACTION FOR SOVIET JEWRY

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ACTION FOR SOVIET JEWRY

PROPOSED POLICY STATEMENT ON CAMBRIDGE - EREVAN SISTER CITY PROGRAM

**I. BASIC POSITION**

The purpose of a sister city program is to promote mutual understanding and trust by means of exchanges between communities. The goals of such a program are consistent with those of the Helsinki Accords, ratified in 1975 by the United States and 34 other signatories, including the Soviet Union, which provide an overall framework for cooperation and exchange between countries to foster the free flow of information and ideas as well as freedom of movement.

It is the position of Action for Soviet Jewry that exchanges between the U.S. and the USSR conform to internationally accepted standards such as those specified in the Helsinki Accords or other applicable agreements. We, therefore, ask that any sister city agreement entered into by the city of Cambridge include the following conditions:

**-No discrimination as to participants**

**-No censorship of content**

**-No interference with communications**

These conditions are described more completely in Section II of this policy statement. However, in addition to stating the appropriate conditions for an exchange, it is also necessary to insure their observance. The Soviet Union's record of non-compliance with even the most modest provisions of the Helsinki Accords provides ample evidence of the need to put teeth into the free exchange provisions of any sister city agreement. <sup>①</sup>\* Action for Soviet Jewry, therefore, recommends that guarantees of the kind outlined in Section III of this statement be built into the agreement between the cities of Cambridge and Erevan.

To ignore these issues would mean ignoring the very source of mistrust which the sister city program was designed to address. Worse yet, signing an agreement which does not guarantee minimal conditions for free exchange would mean that the citizens of Cambridge would, in effect, be adopting Soviet standards of human rights in the conduct of their own affairs. In the past, similar attitudes of "business as usual" with countries like the Soviet Union have done considerable damage to the cause of human rights.

In declaring its position on this matter, Action for Soviet Jewry is not trying to undermine the possibility of sister city exchange. We are not, for instance, insisting upon the elimination of Soviet human rights abuses as

\* Footnotes correspond to Roman numeral appendices following policy statement.

a precondition for the Cambridge - Erevan program. However, Action for Soviet Jewry will oppose any agreement which does not specify appropriate conditions for free exchange or which lacks the teeth to implement them. We consider these conditions essential if the sister city program is to fulfil its promise of promoting mutual understanding.

## II. CONDITIONS FOR FREE EXCHANGE

Since the primary objective of the sister city program is to foster mutual understanding, it is essential that the agreement between the two cities provide for a free exchange of ideas. Free exchange, however, entails two major requirements:

**-The content of exchanges cannot be restricted**

**-Access to exchanges cannot be restricted**

Because the Soviet Union routinely disregards these issues in the conduct of international exchange, we must anticipate specific ways in which such problems may arise in the Cambridge - Erevan program.

### A. CONDITIONS RELATING TO THE CONTENT OF EXCHANGES

If this program is to be of value in helping us learn about each other, it must be open with respect to content. Any reasonable topic which is of interest to American or Soviet citizens, particularly as they relate to each other, is a legitimate subject for exchange, and restrictions, whether explicit or merely tacit, have no place in such a program.

Sister city exchanges can help achieve understanding by offering Americans and Soviets an opportunity to deal with those issues which are most divisive. Unfortunately, a disturbing tendency toward self-censorship has been exhibited in previous exchanges with the Soviet Union.Ⓜ To make certain that this does not occur in the Cambridge - Erevan program, it is important that we formulate conditions relating to the three most problematic content issues:

#### 1. CULTURAL ISSUES

Cultural Exchanges are of particular importance because they are likely to make up the greatest part of any sister city program. One of the advantages in selecting Erevan as a sister city is, in fact, cultural ties with the Armenian community in Cambridge and the surrounding area. Armenia, however, is also the home of a significant Jewish minority, and it is exchanges with Jewish content which are most likely to pose a problem.

It is a fact that the Soviet Union systematically suppresses most aspects of Jewish culture, well beyond the oppression which other indigenous cultural groups experience in the USSR. Severe restrictions are placed not

only on Jewish religion, but on Jewish music, art, history and even the Hebrew language itself. Genuine expressions of Jewish culture are condemned as "Zionism", while token elements of Yiddish culture, a small and almost extinct component of contemporary Jewish life, are occasionally offered in its place.

Provision must, therefore, be included within the sister city agreement guaranteeing that restrictions will not be placed on Jewish cultural exchange. Provision for free cultural exchange should also allow for Armenian cultural expression which may or may not conform to views sanctioned by Soviet authorities.

## 2. HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES

In large part, American mistrust of the Soviet Union relates directly to the issue of human rights. We are unlikely to reduce the level of misunderstanding between American and Soviet citizens unless we allow for exchange on this issue. In the context of a sister city program, however, there are several areas which appear to be of particular concern.

Of obvious importance are cases of human rights violations from the participating cities themselves. One of the most relevant issues to raise in this regard is that of separated families. A number of families in and around the Cambridge area are forcibly separated from relatives in the Soviet Union. There are also families in Erevan who are unable to join their relatives in the West.Ⓜ

A second issue is the question of minority rights and cultural suppression. Suppression of Jewish culture in the guise of "anti-Zionism" is well documented.Ⓜ Teaching Hebrew is forbidden and religious teaching is so restricted as to be effectively outlawed. Books on Jewish subjects are routinely confiscated. Many who have persisted in attempting to study their own culture have been imprisoned.

While expressions of Armenian culture do not often face systematic repression, dissenting views exist in this area as well. A particularly visible instance of the conflict between official and dissenting stands on culture was the attempt in 1978 to change the national language in Armenian-SSR from Armenian to Russian.

A third area of concern is the situation of those who speak out on behalf of human rights. In 1977, the ill-fated Armenian Helsinki Watch Group was established to monitor violations of the Helsinki Accords. This group was soon destroyed by the authorities, although individuals have continued to defend civil and human rights in Armenia at great personal cost.Ⓜ

## 3. PEACE ISSUES

Issues of peace and disarmament are ultimately the primary reason for wanting to create a sister city program. In addition to the general importance of the human rights linkage in contributing to the elimination of mistrust, there are several other areas of specific concern to any peace-oriented activity.

The first of these is the need to defend the right of all people to speak out for peace. The fact of the matter is that in the Soviet Union, only those with government sanction are allowed to do so. Members of the "unofficial" peace movement face persecution for speaking out and are dependent on organizations and individuals in the West to defend them. Despite the efforts of groups such as Amnesty International, many have been imprisoned or forcibly confined in psychiatric institutions.Ⓔ If the sister city program is to include forums which focus on issues of peace, members of the unofficial peace movement must be allowed to participate. Forums which rely only on the proxies of Soviet authorities are incapable of providing truly meaningful exchange on these issues.

Another peace-related issue is the **punitive use of the military draft in the Soviet Union**. This is particularly apparent with respect to Jewish families who have applied to leave the Soviet Union. In a number of recent cases, Soviet authorities have drafted teenage sons despite the obvious security risk posed by soldiers who have disavowed any loyalty to the USSR. The reason for this practice is simply to prevent the family from emigrating. Once an individual is released from military service, the authorities deny permission to emigrate on the grounds that ex-soldiers are in possession of state secrets. A particularly critical case is that of Evgeny Palanker, a young Jew from Erevan.Ⓕ Soviet authorities are currently trying to draft Evgeny despite the fact that military doctors have certified that he is an epileptic and unfit for service.

A final area of concern directly relates to the promotion of peace in the sister city program. It should be obvious, therefore, that **any area of exchange which could have direct military application has no place in such a program**. This issue is particularly relevant in the case of Cambridge because of the density of scientific research and high-technology establishments located here. Proposed exchanges, such as those of university professors and researchers, should be scrutinized to insure that sensitive disciplines are excluded. This restriction should be mentioned within the sister city agreement.

## **B. CONDITIONS RELATING TO FREE ACCESS**

Previous scientific and cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union have been marked by instances of discrimination and restricted access. Communications with Soviet citizens are often disrupted on a systematic basis. To insure that citizen exchanges, such as the Cambridge - Erevan program, do not fall victim to these problems, the following conditions must be made:

### **1. FREE PARTICIPATION IN EXCHANGES**

An absolute condition for any sister city agreement is that individuals cannot be excluded from an exchange nor prevented from organizing an exchange for political, ethnic, racial, or religious reasons.

This implies that lack of official accreditation cannot be accepted as a reason for preventing participation. Soviet officials have repeatedly used this ploy to prevent the participation of Jewish refusenik scientists in international conferences held in the Soviet Union. This has been done despite formal invitations extended to these individuals from the scientific bodies involved. Similarly, members of the unofficial peace movement have been ejected from peace conferences despite invitations from Western participants.

A particular concern of Action for Soviet Jewry is that only "good" Jews will be allowed to participate in exchanges focusing on Jewish culture. We believe this kind of tokenism has been extremely destructive to Jewish interests when it has occurred in the past. All Jews, including refuseniks, should be allowed to participate in and even organize such exchanges.

## **2. ACCESS TO EVENTS AND PERFORMANCES**

The only legitimate requirement for access to concerts, meetings, lectures, and other events related to the sister city program should be interest. All such events must be open to the public and must be adequately publicized. If capacity constraints force restrictions on attendance, these restrictions cannot be made on any kind of discriminatory basis. Policies for the distribution of tickets, for instance, cannot result in the de facto exclusion of political undesirables. In the past, ticket distribution has been used as a way of granting favors to party officials and their families. In all cases, every effort must be made to meet the actual demand for a particular event. Past methods of restricting exposure to events the authorities have ambivalent feelings towards have included scheduling a hall far too small to meet realistic needs, packing the hall with workers so that no room would be left for others, and refusing to allow repeat performances.

## **3. ACCESS TO INDIVIDUALS**

This area is possibly the most important with respect to sister city programs. Since a major purpose of the sister city program is to create a framework for person-to-person contact and the development of friendships, absolute respect for the integrity of travel and communication rights is required.

Any sister city agreement must stipulate non-interference with personal contacts - whether in person, by mail, or by telephone - as an absolute condition for the existence of the program. While such contacts often take place without any interference from Soviet authorities, serious violations have occurred on a systematic and regular basis. Action for Soviet Jewry has direct knowledge of innumerable incidents of this kind. Interception of mail and disruption of phone calls are common when trying to contact Soviet Jews. More disturbing, however, are the numerous instances of interference with meetings between American tourists and Soviet Jews and human rights activists. While such meetings violate no Soviet laws, the authorities have often tried to discourage them. Sometimes this is done by "informal" intimidation of tourists trying to meet with Jewish families. Typical tactics include being

followed in an obvious manner or having the phone in the hotel room ring late at night. On rare occasions, tourists have even been beaten. More "formal" methods include being warned from having such meetings by an Intourist official. Occasionally, this warning is accompanied by a threat to the effect that the tourists's safety can no longer be guaranteed. Occasionally, tourists will actually be arrested as they try to meet with someone. One incident involving tourists from the Cambridge-Somerville area took place in Erevan. These individuals were questioned after meeting with a Jewish families and were then expelled from the country. (9)

**III. IMPLEMENTATION**

Past experience has shown that good intentions are an inadequate basis upon which to found formal exchanges with the Soviet Union. To insure that the basic objectives of the exchange are achieved, some hard and fast rules need to be established. Action for Soviet Jewry considers the following guidelines to be a minimally acceptable set of standards:

**A. EVERYTHING MUST BE IN WRITING**

All points discussed above as conditions for an agreement must be explicitly included within the written document agreed to by the city of Cambridge and the city of Erevan. Full guidelines for implementing those points must be included.

**B. MAKE CONTINUATION OF THE PROGRAM CONDITIONAL ON COMPLIANCE**

Unfortunately, putting these conditions in writing will not guarantee compliance. Past experience with international scientific conferences in the Soviet Union has shown that free access clauses contained in conference guidelines or the by-laws of participating scientific bodies are usually ignored. Most often, Soviet officials have thwarted these guidelines by avoiding any confrontation prior to the conference. At the last minute, however, the invited refusenik simply does not appear. Only when Western organizers have been prepared to cancel the meeting have these cases been resolved. In only one recent case has this kind of confrontation been unnecessary; although considerable pressure was required beforehand.

The lesson to be learned is not that free access is impossible, but that insuring free access requires an iron-clad framework which makes repeated confrontations of this kind unnecessary. Only when Soviet officials know that failure to comply with freedom of content and non-discrimination clauses will result in the cancellation of the program are problems likely to be avoided.

Action for Soviet Jewry will, therefore, oppose any sister city agreement which does not make the following stipulations:

- An automatic cancellation clause must be included within the agreement. It can be activated whenever violations of freedom of content and non-discrimination provisions cannot be resolved.
- A procedure for filing violation complaints must be established.
- An arbitration procedure for resolving complaints must be established. An explicit time limit must be given for re-establishment of compliance.
- In the event that violations cannot be resolved, an automatic procedure for termination of the program must be activated. This procedure must be established in writing as part of the sister city agreement's termination clause.

#### **C. SET UP A PERMANENT COMPLIANCE REVIEW COMMITTEE**

Because the implications of guideline violations are so serious, it is likely that considerable controversy will surround the definition of what exactly constitutes a violation in practice. Once a program of this size is created, it will possess considerable momentum of its own. Often the tendency will be to avoid situations likely to result in violations by pre-selecting the types of exchanges proposed by the city of Cambridge. It is also possible that those violations which do occur may be overlooked from time to time. This kind of self-censorship on the part of Cambridge participants is unacceptable.

To avoid this possibility, Action for Soviet Jewry believes that the City Council should empower a separate committee to monitor compliance with the free exchange provisions of the sister city agreement. It is important that this committee be part of the process used to supervise the program and should have the power to at least initiate termination proceedings in the event of unresolved violations.

Membership of this committee should be determined on the basis of a genuine interest in the human rights issues involved and should be drawn from organizations such as Amnesty International and Action for Soviet Jewry, as well as from members of the Armenian community.

#### **D. PUBLICIZE ALL GUIDELINES AND RULES GOVERNING EXCHANGES**

To insure that the full potential of the program is utilized, procedures for initiating exchanges and guidelines governing their operation should receive on-going publicity. This must be true in Erevan as well as in Cambridge.

### **IV. UNITED STATES - SOVIET EXCHANGE IN PERSPECTIVE**

A good rule of thumb to use in undertaking any good work is ... "at the very least, do no harm." Unfortunately, there is a potential for harm in the

conduct of exchanges such as the Cambridge - Erevan sister city program. If we fail to adhere to accepted standards of free exchange and non-discrimination, the program will be reduced to a shallow public relations event. It will enhance the legitimacy of Soviet authorities, while demonstrating to them that they have a free hand to continue abusing human rights. We do not consider this an abstract theory. Specific individuals will suffer who may not have otherwise suffered - and we will share in the responsibility.

There is no way of knowing whether the guidelines proposed here would actually have a beneficial effect if implemented. What we do know, however, is that they are unlikely to hurt anyone. More importantly for the goals of the program, they appear to be the only way to achieve truly meaningful exchange. Only by addressing our differences openly can we hope to achieve real understanding with the Soviet people.

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

- I. Violations of the Helsinki Accords 1986
- II. Yuri Orlov: Exchange Programs and American Self Censorship
- III. Jewish Refuseniks
- IV. Repression of Jewish Culture
- V. Human Rights Abuse in Armenia
  - 1) The Case of Father Garnik Tsarukyan
  - 2) Armenian Prisoners of Conscience in the USSR
- VI. Independent Peace Activism
  - 1) Update on the Group to Establish Trust Between the USSR and the USA
  - 2) Background on the Group to Establish Trust Between the USSR and the USA
- VII. Punitive Use of the Military Draft
  - 1) The Case of Evgeny Palanker
  - 2) Analysis of the Use of the Military Draft to Persecute Refuseniks
- VIII. Interference With Postal Communications
- IX. Harassment of American Tourists in the USSR
  - 1) Harassment 1987
  - 2) Articles on the Expulsion of Boston/Cambridge Area Musicians from Yerevan

V I O L A T I O N S   O F   T H E  
H E L S I N K I   A C C O R D S   1 9 8 6

The following is the introduction to a report of the International Helsinki Human Rights Federation dated November 1986 by Catherine Fitzpatrick of U.S. Helsinki Watch. The report documents violations of the Helsinki Accords (1975) in the areas of: human rights, freedom of expression, contact with foreigners, freedom of movement, peace activism, workers rights, political prisoners, freedom of religion, and minority rights. The complete text is available from Action For Soviet Jewry (893-2331) or U.S. Helsinki Watch(212-840-9460).

INTRODUCTION

The accession of Mikhail Gorbachev as Soviet General Secretary in March 1985 created expectation both within the USSR and the West of economic reforms and possible changes in the closed nature of Soviet society. In November 1985, hopes were raised by agreements on exchanges and several human rights gestures made at the Summit in Geneva. That optimism waned in July 1986 when American correspondent Nicholas Daniloff was detained in Moscow on charges of espionage. His release, along with that of several dissidents in the fall of 1986 renewed the hopes generated in Geneva. But Western observers are now only further convinced that human rights remains just a bargaining chip for the Soviet Union -- a component of "package deals" where a few political prisoners are added into spy exchanges, or a few divided families are reunited at the time of summits or Helsinki review conferences or arms talks.

The human rights gestures made by the Soviet Union in 1985 and 1986 gained wide publicity that may have obscured the government's continued and systematic violation of international human rights accords. They were, however, a testimony to the efficacy of persistent lobbying by concerned citizens and governments in the West and the effect of public opinion. In October 1985, shortly before the Geneva summit, Yelena Bonner, wife of exiled physicist Andrei Sakharov and member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, finally obtained permission for temporary medical leave abroad. In February 1986, Jewish leader and Moscow Helsinki Group member Anatoly Shcharansky, who had spent a total of nine years in prison and

labor camp, was released to the West at the time of a dramatic East-West exchange of spies. In June, after the close of the Bern Review Conference on Human Contacts, some 200 members of divided families were granted exit visas to the West. In the summer of 1986, seven members of the independent peace movement, two of whom had been serving labor camp sentences, were issued exit visas. As of this writing, it appears certain that Yury Orlov will be released from Siberian exile in connection with the releases of Nicholas Daniloff and Soviet physicist Gennady Zakharov. Several victims of psychiatric abuse have been released this year from maximum-security facilities, and one was permitted recently to leave for the West. In a few unprecedented cases, persons re-sentenced under a new Criminal Code article that extends punishment had their sentences quashed.

Human rights organizations rejoiced at the end of suffering for these individuals. Frustrated, as Western governments are, with the Soviet Union's lack of compliance with the Helsinki accords, groups such as the International Helsinki Federation are often forced to focus on the symbolic cases that represent the many who are unknown, or on the individual humanitarian case that may be resolved in conjunction with important East-West meetings. But we cannot measure human rights progress in terms of the resolution of individual cases, because the reasons that caused these individuals to be incarcerated still remain. Anatoly Shcharansky, for example, fought for the right of Jews to emigrate from the Soviet Union. But his own release came at a time when Jewish emigration was at the lowest it has been in a decade. The Jewish emigration figure as of August 1986 -- 505 -- indicates that this year's total is likely to be under 1,000,

less than last year, although it is known that thousands of Jews wish to leave. Although Mrs. Sakharov successfully underwent a heart bypass operation in the U.S. and spent six months with her family, she has returned to the same stark isolation in Gorky, where KGB teams film her and Andrei Sakharov constantly. Yury Orlov, chairman of the Moscow Helsinki Group, is to be released, but it is highly unlikely that the kind of human rights commission he envisioned operating in the Soviet Union will be permitted. And 35 other men and women from Helsinki Groups remain confined, including: Anatoly Marchenko, at this writing in the second month of a hunger strike; Tatyana Osipova, who has been separated from her husband Ivan Kovalyov, also imprisoned, for five years; Dr. Anatoly Koryagin, who exposed the abuse of psychiatry; Viktoras Petkus, a founder of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group; and Mykola Horbal, Ukrainian Helsinki monitor and poet repeatedly sentenced to labor camp.

The KGB is now going to some long-term, well-known political prisoners such as Tatyana Osipova, and poet Irina Ratushinskaya, and offering them release in exchange for confession or a statement that they will discontinue their public activities. Nevertheless, they have refused to buy their freedom by compromising their consciences.

Many veteran refuseniks wait in vain for permission to emigrate, including even cases of medical emergency such as Inna Meiman, the wife of Moscow Helsinki group member Naum Meiman, who is dying of cancer.

Although the leaders of the independent peace movement have been allowed to leave, others left behind have been rounded up, and protest against the Chernobyl disaster silenced. A peace activist who demonstrated for Daniloff's release was promptly

put in psychiatric detention.

Gorbachev has impressed many with his public relations skills, and the dramatic releases of dissidents are aimed at the gallery. He has indeed rejuvenated the Soviet leadership and created possibilities for changes -- at least for the elite, within certain limits. Intriguing signs of a cultural "thaw" include a shake-up at the Union of Cinematographers, which has led to the showing of films long banned; bold new plays in Moscow dealing with formerly taboo subjects such as Jewish refuseniks and religious believers; the possibility that Dr. Zhivago may finally be published in Boris Pasternak's homeland, along with controversial works by other authors that have remained unpublished. Economists are writing interesting new analyses and proposals to solve the crises in the Soviet Union, that would have been unthinkable even a year ago. A campaign for more openness in the press has led to unprecedented investigative reporting, an increase in publication of citizens' complaints; frank criticism of corruption and excessive privileges among Party members, and a far more thorough assessment of the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster than had been expected in the West.

But the public relations campaign has also had its ominous side. Soviet officials have enticed defectors to return home and renounce their disloyalty, and increasing numbers of dissenters, particularly religious believers, have been pressured to confess and recant their former "anti-Soviet" views over television and in the newspapers. The Soviet press portrays Myroslav Medvid, the unfortunate Soviet sailor who twice jumped ship in New Orleans and was returned to Soviet custody by U.S. immigration officials, as alive and happy in the Soviet Union, but there is no way to

confirm this independently.

Clearly, the line has been drawn. The writers, scholars and artists, who are not part of the Gorbachev elite are still vulnerable to arrest -- as the fates of authors Feliks Svetov and Lev Timofeyev and art collector Georgy Mikhailov illustrate. While a trickle has begun from the Soviet labor camps with the release of several prominent long-term dissidents and a number of lesser known activists, those who are emerging report that conditions are the worst they have been in a decade, with increased deaths, beatings and torture, exhausting labor that has led to an increase in work-related accidents, lack of medical care and denial of visits and letters for years at a time. Harsh new legislation that was put in place even before Gorbachev's accession to power has made it possible to increase punishment for political prisoners, to further restrict contacts with foreigners, and to arrest those who merely possess forbidden literature. The anti-alcoholism campaign and the tightening of workers' discipline have brought on a number of rights abuses: a Moscow activist, for example, received two years of labor camp for two days' absence from work.

Moscow intellectuals may well be asking themselves -- why take the route of dissent? Opportunities are now becoming available for increased freedom of expression within official limits -- why risk jailing for going beyond the bounds? Tragically, under Gorbachev, a vast split is taking place in Soviet society between the general public and the elite, who are being promised more freedom and a better life in exchange for conformism, and the dissenters, who are being increasingly marginalized in society or, more frequently, banished to the camps in the East, where they are far from the eyes of Moscow's

elite or visiting foreigners.

And it remains to be seen whether the cultural opportunities in the capital will spread to the other Soviet republics, where nationalist unrest and dismay at encroaching Russification continue. There have not been even symbolic releases from labor camp of activists from the minority rights and self-determination movements in the Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, the Baltic republics or the Crimea, nor have there been any amnesties of imprisoned leaders of the large, unregistered religious communities in the Soviet provinces.

Regrettably, because the focus of human rights discussions is so often narrowed to lists of cases, the fundamental problem of Soviet human rights abuse is perpetuated; for every case resolved, the Soviets have created new cases to fill up our future lists. Then desperate relatives and concerned activists must scramble at each East-West parley or state visit to drum up the necessary publicity for their prisoners.

The voluminous testimony of this report vividly illustrates the human misery that results from the Soviet government's failure to live up to its promises under the Helsinki accords. While we welcome the recent humanitarian gestures and are grateful for an end to the suffering of those released, we are fearful that new people may take their place in the prisons and labor camps. Unless the Soviet Union begins to tolerate the kind of dissent in which these individuals were engaged, we cannot be assured of meaningful compliance with the Helsinki accords.

Catherine A. Fitzpatrick  
Research Director, U.S. Helsinki Watch  
September 29, 1986

Y U R I O R L O V :

E X C H A N G E P R O G R A M S A N D  
A M E R I C A N S E L F C E N S O R S H I P

FROM A SPEECH TO

the N A T I O N A L A C A D E M Y o f S C I E N C E S  
October 15, 1986

. . . Now let's go to some more concrete issues. Let's speak of scientific contacts. You have to keep in mind that the Soviet side is far more interested in these contacts than you are. In that sense you are operating from a position of strength. And since there are moral problems connected with these exchanges and there are also security problems, you shouldn't forget that you are, in fact, in a position of strength, because these issues are linked to the exchanges.

For example, when you are negotiating an agreement with the Soviets about who will participate in these exchanges, and you obtain an agreement on a particular list of exchangees, you should not permit the Soviet side to veto any certain individual that has been agreed upon. The Soviets should not have the right to disapprove of a participant who has already been approved by both sides.

Excuse me if I seem to be reading a lecture, or lecturing you in some way, but since you have asked me for my opinion, I thought I would give it. Afterall, you will be making the decisions, but I feel that I can say what I think as well.

You should not have Soviet censorship in your own heads. Don't play their game. When you're negotiating with the Soviets and talking about mutual contacts, on your side the people engaged in the negotiations are scientists and people close to scientists. But on their side there are people who are operating strictly for political reasons, they are diplomats in a sense. They're diplomats even if they are hiding behind the names of scientists or operating behind scientists and using their prestige, they are, nonetheless, diplomats. And that's why you have to think through, very carefully, each part of the agreement that you make; perhaps you should even be calling in lawyers.

I am sure that those (Soviet participants in the exchanges) that you have invited include such people as Andrei Dimetrivich Sakharov and I know you have deliberately included him. Sakharov is a specialist in astrophysics and physics and other

topics, as you know. And as you also know, Anatoliy Koryagin is a psychiatrist who opposed the misuse of psychiatry for political reasons. Anatoliy Koryagin was able to investigate the unknown side of Soviet psychiatry. He is a specialist in that regard. He would be an interesting person for you to hear at conferences. And there is another, a mathematician, Naum Meiman, who is well-known both for his science and for his human rights activities. He worked in the Institute of Theoretical and Experimental Physics for a long time and then when he decided to leave the country, he lost his position. You should include these kinds of people.

Sakharov has never been tried or sentenced. Meiman has never been tried or sentenced. Koryagin was tried and sentenced precisely for engaging in his scientific research, for exposing the abuse of psychiatry, for promoting himself and being the scientist that he is, investigating a certain field. And then there are many refusenik scientists. Yacov Alpert for example. And others. I will give you a list of these names later, we don't have to go into it now. I think you have to be very firm about always including these people on your list of exchangees. It's always good for them. No matter what the arrangements are, you always help them . . .

. . . With regard to the cases of persecuted scientists in the Soviet Union, if you leave someone out or miss an opportunity to mention a name, then the person who you have forgotten to mention will immediately feel the results of that in their own situation. You must look at each case individually and concretely to know what to do. You can preserve your exchanges as long as you have a list of those people, the persecuted scientists, and insist that they be included in your exchanges. And remain firm to the end. I think that is a good message. . .

. . . So from the very beginning, what I'm saying is that only one thing is required from your side: firmness. But that's the other side of the question, how do they feel as people, personally as scientists. There you have different kinds of people, different opinions. Some, I know, for example are very much in favor of adherence to a kind of imperialist ideology. Here I can cite the words of one scientist I know. "Yea, it's the Mafia. But look what a strong country, government we have. And they say, for the time being, I would be for that Mafia, because it's strong." But then there are many completely different types--those who would like Russia to be a civilized European-style country. And of course our historical and cultural background requires that we become that, a civilized European nation.

\* Yuri Orlov lived in Yerevan between 1956 and 1972, and has been a Corresponding member of the Armenian Academy of Science since 1968.

Appendix III

J E W I S H   R E F U S E N I K S

7   K N O W N   R E F U S E N I K   F A M I L I E S  
I N   Y E R E V A N

the Baealian family  
the Fainerman family  
the Khitrova family  
the Palanker family  
the Shmuter family  
the Teter family  
the Zurabyan family

\*\*NOTE\*\*

Over 130 refusenik families have relatives or close friends in the Boston/Cambridge area. A complete list is in preparation.

REFUSENIK FAMILIES FROM YEREVAN, ARMENIAN-SSR      8 RECORDS      ACTION FOR SOVIET JEWRY      FEBRUARY 10, 1987

Record I.D. 4044

BAEALIAN                      GRIGORY                      ASHOTOVICH                      ALBANIA 9, APT. 66                      YEREVAN  
ARMENIAN-SSR                      USSR

Last Address Update: 2/21/86    Phone1:                      Phone2:                      First Invitation:                      First Applied:                      First Refusal:  
Most recent refusal:

Religious Observance?                      Israeli Citizen?                      Mail Contact?                      Visitors?

HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS:                      Number in Household: 2                      Children in Household:                      Birthdate:                      Sex:m    married  
self                      BAEALIAN                      GRIGORY                      ASHOTOVICH

Original Occupation: ENG

wife                      BAEALIAN                      FELITSIA                      Birthdate:                      Sex:f    married

Original Occupation:

Latest Update of Household Information: 2/21/86                      Background Activity File Available?                      File Name:  
Recent Events File Available?                      File Name:                      Support Activity File Available?                      File Name:

Latest Update of Text Files Information: 2/21/86  
RELATIVES INSIDE USSR:                      Relative's Record I.D.

RELATIVES OUTSIDE USSR:                      Emigration Date:

Home Phone:                      Work Phone:                      Phone:  
CONTACTS OUTSIDE USSR:



Record I.D. 1441

KHITROVA

GALINA

KOMITAS N. 1, APT. 122

YEREVAN  
ARMENIAN-SSR

375033  
USSR

Last Address Update: Refused  
Phonel: INSUFFICIENT KINSHIP  
Phone2: First Invitation: First Applied: First Refusal: 11/01/77  
Most recent refusal: 8/01/78

Religious Observance? Israeli Citizen? Mail Contact? Visitors?

General Comment: Also Refused for SECRECY OF RELATIVE (Father). Galina was tennis champ at Yerevan Univ. in '78. Physics student - don't know if obtained degree. Mother & father work together as physicists at Yerevan Academy of Science.

HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS: Number in Household: 4 Children in Household:  
self KHITROVA GALINA BORISOVNA Birthdate: 1/01/59 Sex:f single

Original Occupation: SCI Student Physics

father KHAIKIN BORIS Birthdate: 1/01/33 Sex:m married

Original Occupation: SCI Physicist

mother KHAIKIN VALENTINA Birthdate: 1/01/33 Sex:f married

Original Occupation: SCI Physicist

mother-in-law Birthdate: Sex:f

Original Occupation:

Latest Update of Household Information: Background Activity File Available? File Name:  
Recent Events File Available? File Name: Support Activity File Available? File Name:  
Latest Update of Text Files Information:  
RELATIVES INSIDE USSR: Relative's Record I.D.

RELATIVES OUTSIDE USSR:uncle Emigration Date:

Home Phone: NY U.S.A.  
CONTACTS OUTSIDE USSR: Work Phone: Phone:

Record I.D. 2312

PALANKER VILI SHELEVICH PROSPECT OKTEMBERYAN 36, APT. 195 YEREVAN 375018  
ARMENIAN-SSR USSR

Alternative Address: Previous Address:  
Son, Dmitry's mother-in-law's (Erina's) address: PLATA NUTSUBIDZEH 2 ALMA ATA  
MIKRORAYON, KVARTAL 1, KORP. 1, APT. 63; TBLISI, GEORGIAN-SSR  
Last Address Update: Phone1: 583-309 Phone2:  
Refused First Invitation: 1/01/80 First Applied: First Refusal: 1/01/81  
Culture/History (Jewish) Hebrew Study Most recent refusal:  
Religious Observance? Yes Israeli Citizen? Yes Mail Contact? Yes Visitors? Yes

Speaks English Hebrew  
General Comment1: Became Israeli citizens, 11/84. Both sons are shomer shabbos. Erina is son, Dmitry's mother-in-law. Not totally certain that Dmitry is a chemist. Dmitry married woman from Tblisi in '85.  
General Comment2: Family moved from Alma Ata thinking it easier to get permission in Yerevan. 7/86: Son, Evgeny Palanker, being pursued by draft despite medical exemption - epileptic.

HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS: Number in Household: 5 Children in Household: 2  
self PALANKER VILI SHELEVICH Birthdate: 1/01/35 Sex:m married

Original Occupation: SCI Chemist Metallurgy

wife PALANKER EVGENIA IOSIFOVNA Birthdate: 1/01/39 Sex:f married

Original Occupation: ENG Computer Specialist

son PALANKER DMITRI/DANIEL VILIEVICH Birthdate: 1/01/60 Sex:m married

Original Occupation: SCI Chemist

daughter-in-law PALANKER IRINA KONSTANTINOVNA Birthdate: 1/01/60 Sex:f married

Original Occupation:

grandson PALANKER NATAN DMITRIEVICH Birthdate: 11/15/85 Sex:m single

Original Occupation:

mother-in-law LAZARIDE ERINA SEMIONOVNA Birthdate: 1/01/39 Sex:f

Original Occupation:

son PALANKER EVGENY VILIEVICH Birthdate: 1/01/66 Sex:m single

Original Occupation:

mother DOMANOVSKAYA ELIZAVETA FROLOVNA Birthdate: 1/01/10 Sex:f

Original Occupation:

Latest Update of Household Information: Background Activity File Available? File Name:
Recent Events File Available? File Name: Support Activity File Available? File Name:
Latest Update of Text Files Information:
RELATIVES INSIDE USSR: Relative's Record I.D.

RELATIVES OUTSIDE USSR:sister-in-law VALYA MARDER Emigration Date:
BAR YEHUDA 11-2 BAT YAM ISRAEL
Home Phone: Work Phone:

RELATIVES OUTSIDE USSR: ANNA SHTERN Emigration Date:
MIFRATS SHLOMO 31-13, KIRIAT SHARET HOLON ISRAEL
Home Phone: Work Phone:

CONTACTS OUTSIDE USSR: HELENE KENVIN 5 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NY 10023, U.S.A. Phone: (212)873-9886

CONTACTS OUTSIDE USSR: ALEXANDRA PAVLOVA ALEF MAGAZINE, ISRAEL Phone: 03-621-682

CONTACTS OUTSIDE USSR: ZOYA KILSHEIN MERKAZ KLITA, OSHIOT 2-13, REHOVOT, ISRAEL Phone:

Record I.D. 4043

SHMUTER

SAMSON

YEREVAN  
ARMENIAN-SSR

USSR

Last Address Update: 2/21/86 Phone1:

Phone2:

First Invitation:

First Applied:

First Refusal:

Most recent refusal:

Religious Observance?

Israeli Citizen?

Mail Contact?

Visitors?

HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS:

Number in Household:

Children in Household:

self SHMUTER SAMSON Birthdate: Sex:m

Original Occupation:

Latest Update of Household Information: 2/21/86

Background Activity File Available?

File Name:

Recent Events File Available? File Name:

Support Activity File Available?

File Name:

Latest Update of Text Files Information: 2/21/86

RELATIVES INSIDE USSR:

Relative's Record I.D.

RELATIVES OUTSIDE USSR:

Emigration Date:

Home Phone:

Work Phone:

CONTACTS OUTSIDE USSR:

Phone:

Record I.D. 3135

TETER                      VADIM                      PAVLOVICH                      KALININA 5, APT.8                      YEREVAN                      375006  
ARMEIAN-SSR                      USSR

Last Address Update:              Phone1: 422-155              general                      Phone2:  
Refused                      First Invitation:              First Applied:              First Refusal: 1/01/80  
Culture/History (Jewish)              Hebrew Study                      Most recent refusal: 1/01/82  
Religious Observance? Yes              Israeli Citizen? Yes              Mail Contact? Yes              Visitors? Yes  
Speaks Hebrew                      Yiddish  
General Comment: Both children are students at music conservatory. Wife, Gayaneh, speaks Hebrew.

HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS:              Number in Household: 6              Children in Household: 2  
self                      TETER                      VADIM                      PAVLOVICH                      Birthdate: 1/01/39 Sex:m              married  
Original Occupation: ENG                      Technician

wife                      ORGANESIAN                      GAYANEH                      VAERAMOVNA                      Birthdate: 1/01/47 Sex:f              married  
Original Occupation: ART Music Teacher                      Piano

daughter                      TETER                      ANAIT/HANNAH                      VADIMOVNA                      Birthdate: 1/01/69 Sex:f              single  
Original Occupation: ART Musician                      Student

son                      TETER                      PAVEL                      VADIMOVICH                      Birthdate: 2/06/71 Sex:m              single  
Original Occupation: ART Musician                      STUDENT

mother                      TETER                      RAKHIL                      LEIROVNA                      Birthdate: 1/01/13 Sex:f  
Original Occupation: Pensioner

sister                      TETER                      LILIA                      PAVLOVNA                      Birthdate: 1/01/38 Sex:f  
Original Occupation:

Latest Update of Household Information:

Background Activity File Available?

File Name:

Recent Events File Available? File Name:

Support Activity File Available?

File Name:

Latest Update of Text Files Information:

RELATIVES INSIDE USSR:

Relative's Record I.D.

RELATIVES OUTSIDE USSR:

LAIB ZITAMIRSKY

Emigration Date:

SHAY AGNON 46-18

NAHARIA

ISRAEL

Home Phone:

Work Phone:

CONTACTS OUTSIDE USSR: HELENE KENVIN

5 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, NY 10023, U.S.A.

Phone: (212)873-9886

CONTACTS OUTSIDE USSR: WINTER

617 WINTER STREET, FRAMINGHAM, MA 01701, U.S.A.

Phone:

Record I.D. 1032

ZURABYAN-GOLDMAN

MARINA

ISAAKOVNA

TAMANYAN 3, APT. 50; YEREVAN 375009,

ARMENIAN-SSR

USSR

## Alternative Address:

MARKORIANA 6, APT. 609/ YEREVAN 375009 ARMENIAN-SSR

TAMANYAN 3, APT. 40; YEREVAN 375009, ARMENIAN-SSR

Last Address Update:

Phone1: 344-368

Phone2:

Refused NO PARENTAL CONSENT First Invitation: First Applied: 1/01/77 First Refusal: 1/01/77

Most recent refusal:

Religious Observance?

Israeli Citizen?

Mail Contact?

Visitors? Yes

Speaks English

General Comment: Marina is Iosif's 2nd marriage. Iosif has son by first marriage in USSR. Marina's father disguised Jewishness by changing last name & listing nationality as Armenian. Mother is Ukrainian. Both against Marina's emigrating.

## HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS:

Number in Household: 4

Children in Household: 1

self

ZURABYAN-GOLDMAN

MARINA

ISAAKOVNA

Birthdate: 12/06/48 Sex:f married

## Original Occupation:

daughter

GOLDMAN

CHANA

IOSIFOVNA

Birthdate: 5/12/79 Sex:f single

## Original Occupation:

Latest Update of Household Information:

Background Activity File Available?

File Name:

Recent Events File Available? File Name:

Support Activity File Available?

File Name:

Latest Update of Text Files Information:

RELATIVES INSIDE USSR: parents

Relative's Record I.D.

RELATIVES OUTSIDE USSR:husband

IOSIF IL'ICH GOLDMAN

Emigration Date:

3201 33RD PLACE, NW

WASHINGTON

D. 20008

U.S.A.

C.

Home Phone: (202)362-4942

Work Phone:

CONTACTS OUTSIDE USSR: HELENE KENVIN

Phone:

## R E P R E S S I O N   O F   J E W I S H   C U L T U R E

C U L T U R A L   G E N O C I D E

The following document, signed by 125 Jewish Refuseniks, was sent to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR in February 1981. The conditions described within continue to be an accurate description of the daily lives of many Soviet Jews.

TRANSLATED FROM RUSSIAN AT ITS conference in Berlin in 1976, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the Communist parties of other countries of the continent, the nations that four decades ago had witnessed the unprecedented Holocaust that destroyed one-third of the Jewish nation, called for the "strict and complete implementation by all the states of the provisions on national minorities included in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference."

The USSR is a multi-national state that has numerous achievements in this field without, however, solving all the problems involved. Nevertheless, the position of the Jews among the other national minorities is a very special one:

A. THE JEWS are practically deprived of the possibility to study and use their national language. Yiddish, spoken at the beginning of the century by the majority of the Jews in Russia, is hardly used now. The number of people who know Yiddish well is negligible, as during most of the post-war period, Yiddish was not taught in any Soviet school, and no Yiddish textbooks were published for study by individuals. Only last year was the study of Yiddish resumed in several schools in the city of Birobidzhan, the capital of the "Jewish Autonomous District" in the Far Eastern part of the USSR.

This, however, can not in any way be considered a sufficient measure if only because this district's Jewish population constitutes only 0.5 per cent of the whole Jewish population of the USSR.

The position of Hebrew the language of our religious, literary and historical heritage, which has been resurrected in the present century, is even worse — Hebrew is practically banned in the Soviet Union. No Hebrew publications have been released in the USSR, and neither are those purchased overseas for sale to the public in the USSR.

The authorities refuse to legalize the private teaching of Hebrew and often interfere with it, subjecting both teachers and students to repression. We can cite, for example, a striking example of discrimination against the Hebrew language: the Hebrew publication of the Israel Communist Party, *Zu Haderech*, is not on sale in the USSR, while the Yiddish publication of the same party, *Der Veg*, is widely sold there.

Jews residing in the USSR are, as a result, threatened by complete linguistic assimilation. Only 14 per cent of them, in place of the 18 per cent in 1970 and 21 per cent in 1959, have declared their national language to be their mother tongue. This is a lower percentage than that of any other national minority in the USSR.

B. SOVIET Jews are practically cut off from their national history. Not one book on Jewish history, except for a series of studies dealing with the ancient period, has been published in the USSR since 1930. Books on Jewish history published overseas are not sold in the USSR, and they are often confiscated from foreign tourists wishing to bring them into the USSR. Not one scientific monograph dealing with the Nazi genocide of the Jews and with Jewish resistance against Nazism, including the revolt in the Warsaw Ghetto.

Despite the fact that Jews had settled on the territory that is now the USSR more than 2,000 years ago and although the largest Jewish community in the world had lived on that territory at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, there is not one museum dealing with Jewish history, culture or ethnography, and no existing Soviet museum has a special section dealing with these subjects. Not even one paragraph devoted to Jews has been included in school textbooks, even those on ancient history.

C. THE SITUATION of Jewish culture in the USSR has somewhat improved lately. Two state-supported Yiddish drama groups have been formed. The sole Yiddish publication, *Sovietish Heimland*, started publishing summaries and sometimes even translations of some of its articles in Russian. Works of fiction on Jewish subjects have again been published in central literary magazines after a 10 years' absence, and the number of gramophone records of Jewish songs released in the USSR has increased to a certain extent.

In spite of these positive developments, no sufficient conditions for the preservation, study, propagation and development of Jewish culture have been created in the USSR.

Jewish folklore, both literary and musical, is hardly ever collected. It is not studied, and it is not published. Not one collection of Jewish folktales, parables or anecdotes has been published in the post-war years.

The literary and philosophical heritage of the Jewish people is, disproportionately, poorly represented in modern Soviet publications. Not one scientific monograph on Jewish history, literature or philosophy has been published.

Masterpieces of Jewish art and Jewish handicrafts created over the centuries by Jews of the Baltic states, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Moldavia are disappearing without a trace or gathering dust in the storage rooms of Soviet museums, without being studied by anyone or ever displayed anywhere. Unique ethnic groups within the Jewish population are subjected to cultural discrimination although they have been living in certain territories as long as the "native" population.

National Jewish culture has not been included as an organic part of the official cultural framework of the USSR. The most important channel of popularizing cultural values, television, has never been made available for presenting the culture of the Jewish people to the general public.

The world-famous dance ensemble lead by I. Moiseev never thought it appropriate to include one Jewish dance in their programme representing the creations of all the nations of the world. The cultural contacts and the relations between Jews and many Soviet nations over many centuries have never been studied, while the direct or the indirect participation of the Jewish people in the development of the national cultures of Soviet nations is ignored in the publications on these subjects.

Cultural exchanges with other countries do not exist. Soviet media, with the exception of *Sovietish Heimland* which is unavailable both to non-Jews and to the majority of the Jews because of the language barrier takes no notice of anything concerning the cultural life of Jews living abroad.

The wealth of present-day Jewish literature hardly ever reaches the Jewish reader in the Soviet Union. Apart from rare exceptions — two small collections of works by Israeli writers published in the early '60s — even the works of such world-renown writers as the Nobel Prize winners Shai Agnon and Isaac Bashevis Singer are unavailable to Soviet Jews. Many of them do not even realize that Jewish literature exists.

No tours of Jewish singers and drama groups from foreign countries, including the socialist ones, are ever organized in the Soviet Union. None of the Jewish periodicals published overseas, including the Communist Jewish press, are sold in the USSR, except the already mentioned paper of the Israeli Communist Party.

Attempts by Soviet Jews to restore certain elements of Jewish culture were not, unfortunately, supported by the appropriate Soviet authorities.

Thus, for example, the forming of a Jewish amateur drama group in Moscow, which planned to stage a performance on the occasion of the Jewish festival of Hanukka met with repression by the KGB.

As a result, Soviet Jews are often seen by the non-Jews surrounding them, and by themselves as well, as a nation without any significant culture and without a history.

D. THE JEWS as a nation are deprived in the USSR of any kind of representation, be it cultural, political or religious, that would have formulated and defended their interests and that would have guaranteed their contacts with Jewish communities in other countries of the world.

Jewish religious congregations in various cities are not connected by an organizational basis, i.e. they do not constitute a religious federation headed by a chief rabbi, as has been the case not only in Western countries, but also in the countries of Eastern Europe.

Since the end of the '40s no links representing such "non-indigenous" and dispersed throughout the USSR peoples as the Jews are have existed in the structure of the CPSU, the legislative and executive organs of Soviet regime, the state bodies and the public organizations dealing with culture. The so-called "Jewish Autonomous District" cannot and should not fulfil such functions: this district does not represent Soviet Jewry either historically (the first Jewish settlements appeared there only half a century ago) or demographically (Jews make up 7 to 8 per cent of the population of the district and only 0.5 per cent of the total Jewish population of the country), and the Jewish masses have never expressed a desire to move to these completely alien-to-them lands.

The fact that the KGB is almost the sole state organization that has a special section dealing with the whole range of the national problems of Soviet Jews is a sinister and paradoxical symbol of the national status of Soviet Jewry.

As a result of the above-mentioned causes, Soviet Jewry is not represented in any of the international Jewish organizations such as, for example, the World Jewish Congress, which includes the Jewish organizations of a number of socialist states, or the World Hebrew Union, *Brit Ivrit Olamit*.

E. DEPRIVED of their own organizations that would represent and protect their interests, Soviet Jews often find themselves helpless when facing anti-Semitism.

The international conference of Communist and Labour parties held in 1969 was called "to launch the widest possible movement of protest against... racial and national discrimination, Zionism and anti-Semitism."

The bomb explosion near the Paris synagogue in October 1980 and the events that followed it in France and West Germany reminded the world once again of the gravity of the threat presented by anti-Semitism, of the relevance of the struggle against it, the struggle in which the Communist parties of Europe are taking an active part.

What was the contribution of the Soviet Union to this struggle? An anti-Zionist campaign unprecedented in scale, was launched in the Soviet Union.

The catalogue of the Central Soviet library, the V.I. Lenin Library, lists under the heading "The Struggle Against Nationalist ideology" 44 anti-Zionist books and booklets in Russian, Ukrainian, as well as English, French and other languages. Almost all of them were published in the USSR in the years 1969-1980. About one-third of all the publications in that section of the catalogue is devoted to criticism of Zionism.

It is hard to understand why the debunking of the nationalist ideology of a people who make up 0.3 per cent of the world population and 0.7 per cent of that of the USSR has become a dominating tendency in the struggle of the CPSU against nationalism within the USSR and overseas.

How much attention is devoted to anti-Semitism, which led in the 20th century first to the death of 150,000 to 300,000 Jews at the hands of the Black Hundreds, the White Guards and other pogromists in the Ukraine, Moldavia and Russia, and then to the murder of six million Jews, the victims of Nazism?

The same section of the library catalogue includes three publications dealing with the subjects of "Zionism and Anti-Semitism" and two booklets dealing with criticism of anti-Semitism as such: one of them was published 50 years ago in Byelorussian and the other 15 years ago in Ukrainian.

Even had no problem of anti-Semitism existed in the USSR, such massive propaganda directed against Jewish nationalism could cause a "reanimation" of Judeophobia without a balanced unmasking of anti-Jewish prejudices and theories.

Anti-Semitic tendencies and prejudices have never really disappeared in the USSR, as they most probably did not disappear in many other countries. Insults addressed to Jews; rumours that go back to the Middle Ages about the use of Christian blood by the Jews and rumours that originated in the Soviet Union during the period of the "Doctors' Plot" about Jewish doctors mutilating non-Jewish babies in maternity clinics and mutilating non-Jewish patients in hospitals; clashes almost leading to pogroms; desecration of Jewish cemeteries; anti-Semitic graffiti on walls, on apartment doors on memorials to the fallen — all expressed to a varying extent the "anti-Semitism from below."

At other levels Jews encounter anti-Semitic publications — including an article of that kind printed in the children's newspaper *Pionerskaya Pravda* — that are most often presented as part of the same struggle against Zionism.

Jews also meet with discrimination in finding employment and in advancement at work and in their studies — according to official statistics, while the number of students in Soviet universities and technical colleges increased by 3 per cent from 1970-71 to 1974-75, the number of Jews decreased by 18 per cent; it is significant that the reduction is most sizable in the highest and most eminent levels of the education system: the number of students in technical colleges decreased by 11 per cent; the number in universities by 28 per cent and the number of Jewish post-graduates has decreased by 43 per cent from 1970 to 1975; at the beginning of the 1976-77 academic year, the number of Jews in technical colleges was reduced by another 6 per cent and in the universities by 12 per cent.

F. HAVING TURNED into a nation without a language, without a culture and history, feeling helpless when facing the anti-Semitic prejudices of the population, the "anti-Zionist" propaganda of the mass media and the discriminatory practices of the various state organizations, Soviet Jews are doomed to national extinction.

Forced cultural assimilation, often taking place in hostile national surroundings, deforms the self-awareness and the self-respect of tens of thousands of Jews. Mixed marriages, a quite natural phenomenon in the conditions of common settlement of numerous nations, are turned into an instrument of official change of one's national belonging.

According to sociological studies conducted at the end of the '60s and published in the Soviet press, 80-90 per cent of the children from marriages between Jews and Russians are registered in their documents as Russians (in the USSR the passports and other documents of the citizens contain records of their nationality). Is such an asymmetry in the results of mixed marriages possible in normal conditions of the life of a nation? Hastened assimilation and a low birth-rate (which is also partly connected with the psychological state of the nation) have resulted in a rapid decrease in the number of Jews residing in the USSR.

According to the census, at the beginning of 1979, there were 1,811,000 in the USSR while there were 2,151,000 Jews living there in 1970 and 2,268,000 in 1959. Even without taking into account the emigration (that amounted to less than 200,000 in the period from 1959 to January 1979), the Jewish population of the country decreased by more than 12 per cent during the last 20 years. Against the background of the increase in the population of the prevalent national majorities residing in the USSR, the demographic decline in the Jewish population is, in fact, unprecedented.

G. THE SITUATION of the Jews in the USSR is especially aggravated by the political factor, the extremely hostile relations between the USSR and Israel on the political level. Regardless of their attitude towards politics and the social system of the Israeli state, Jews demonstrate a natural desire for mutual contacts with their historic homeland, restored after 2,000 years of dispersion; they are interested in everything that takes place in the country.

However, since diplomatic relations between the two countries were broken off in 1967, connections in the fields of culture, science and education have also been severed. There has never been a Soviet-Israeli Friendship Society in the USSR although such a society has been active in Israel during all these years.

The Soviet mass media describe the life of the Jewish state in an exclusively negative manner and ignore any kinds of success achieved by Israelis in science, technology or agriculture. All this causes great distress to the Jews and, at the same time, provides additional grounds for anti-Semitism.

Contrary to other East European countries that also broke off diplomatic relations with Israel, the Soviet Union has also stopped any kind of tourist traffic between the two countries. As a result, hundreds and thousands of families are deprived of the possibility of remaining Soviet citizens and meeting with their relatives and friends living in Israel.

AS A RESULT of the above-mentioned circumstances, and not seeing any favourable prospects for themselves or for their people in the USSR, many Soviet Jews decided to take a difficult and crucial step: to emigrate from the USSR to Israel or to other countries that have large and vigorous Jewish communities.

Dear delegates and guests of the Congress, in 1976 the Communist parties of Europe called for a struggle "for the ratification and strict observance by all the European states of the international covenants on human rights proposed by the UN." It is common knowledge that the right to leave one's country of residence is included in the category of elementary human rights. It was recorded, in particular, in the International Charter on Civil and Political Rights, which had been ratified by the USSR and had become incorporated in Soviet law.

To what degree is this right being observed in practice? Soviet Jews have been compelled to fight for many years for its realization and many of them (including more than 70 persons during the last 10 years) have paid in prisons, exile and labour camps for their persistent demands to be able to repatriate to Israel. However, since the beginning of the '70s, Jews started emigrating from the country, both as the result of the struggle of Soviet Jews themselves and as a result of the support given by the world public to this struggle.

This process has never been an easy one. The submission of an application for emigration lead to a significant deterioration in the applicant's social status. The terms for considering such applications have always been arbitrary, and negative answers have often been given without legal grounds, or without any explanation at all, and there has never been a way of appealing against them legally.

Tens of families who have applied for emigration five to ten years ago, and whose members have not had any access to classified projects for more than 10 years, are still being kept in the USSR for "secrecy" reasons.

The receipt of an exit visa to go to Israel has always led to the automatic deprivation of one's Soviet citizenship and the right to a pension in compensation for years of honest work in the Soviet Union. After leaving the USSR, Jews are deprived of the possibility of going back if for some reason they did not succeed in settling overseas. They are compelled to sever, forever, personal connections formed over the years, without having the normal possibility of maintaining them.

Yet, at the beginning of 1980, the number of emigrants has reached 250,000, i.e. every tenth Jew has left the Soviet Union; tens of thousands of families starting planning their lives in connection with the prospect of emigrating. People gave up work they loved, changed their professions, became unemployed — all in order to avoid difficulties in emigrating. Families were broken up because of various circumstances, parents left before their children did, children left their parents behind — and all this was done on the assumption that they will be reunited in future in Israel or in one of the Western countries.

Emigration tendencies became more and more popular from 1976-79 (some 36,000 emigrated in 1978 and 53,000 in 1979), but after that the process was suddenly forced to slow down considerably. The number of emigration permits issued per month was reduced five-to-six fold during the last year.

OFFICIAL institutions considering the applications of persons wishing to emigrate started using on a very wide scale, absurd explanations for refusing to grant emigration permits, which were completely contradictory to the above-mentioned international covenant: "insufficient degree of kinship," "classified nature of the relatives' work" and simply "inexpediency of emigration." According to incomplete data, the "army of refuseniks" makes up about 40,000 people. The gravity of their situation is made even more difficult by the fact that being deprived of any legal rights in connection with this question, these people can find themselves in this situation for many years, because the terms of validity of refusals to applications for emigration are not fixed.

New restrictions are introduced all the time in order to hinder emigration. In the Ukraine, Moldavia and in Leningrad, applications for emigration are accepted only from persons who have received invitations from "direct" relatives (even brothers and sisters are not included in this category in the Ukraine). In addition, hundreds of cases have been reported of persons being unable to receive the invitations sent to them, numerous times, by their relatives in Israel.

A special situation has now become apparent in Moscow. Most of the persons who applied for emigration in Moscow have not been receiving replies to their applications for the last year and a half, or even two years. Suddenly, on the eve of the CPSU congress, many of them received exit visas. Unfortunately, these long-awaited positive changes are taking place in Moscow only, the city where the party congress is due to open, and if we evaluate many of the circumstances, these changes appear to be only temporary.

THE PRESENT situation of Soviet Jews can be described as follows: on one hand, there is the whole range of factors that have a crippling effect on their national and individual fates and compel them to emigrate, which continue to exist in full force; on the other hand, it is becoming practically impossible to emigrate.

Summing up, we can declare that the Jews of the USSR are facing the threat of a national catastrophe.

It is still possible to prevent it.

**Moscow: (Signed)**

Minkin, Isay; Rozenshtein, Aleksander; Spector, V.Z.; Gut, Boris; Sorkin, Vladimir; Dubyanakaya, Elena; Drugova, Etya; Reznikov, Gennady; Kremmen, Mikhail; Balashinskaya, Marta; Chernobytsky, Boris; Ratner, Yudif; Lorentzon, Aleksey; Elkina, Berta; Dubin, Victor; Tesmenetsky, Leonid; Makar-Limanov, Leonid; Khasina, Natalia; Khasin, Gennady; Driyauva, Tamara; Reitman, Mark; Vasilevskaya, Nataliya; Vasilevsky, Anatoly; Rysin, Aleksandr; Lubenskaya, Ludmila; Reznitsky, Aleksandr; Khrakovskaya, Nataliya; Aronov, Valery; Fleishhaker, Maria; Geffer, Valery; Levitansky, Gennady; Levitanskaya, Anna; Abramovich, Pavel; Prestin, Vladimir; Berenfeld, Mark; Gurevich, Evgeny; Vinogradov, Igor; Begun, Yosif; Slobodkin, G.N.; Umanskaya, E.L.; Brichov, M.L.; Bernshtein, I.N.; Nekludova, E.A.; Fulmakht, Victor; Rozina, V.B.; Rozina, F.I.; Vail, V.E.; Sapiro, I.L.; Victorov, M.A.; Solomadin, A.A.; Batovrin, S.Yu.; Batovrin, N.Yu.; Potekhina, L.L.; Kushnirov, D.A.; Strongina, I.B.; Vinokurov, A.V.; Vinokurova, M.Z.; Grossman, Oksana Davidovna; Borshchevskaya, A.Z.; Radin, A.L.; Ryzhak, S.S.; Gurevich, Aron; Levitsky, Grigory; Slobodkin, Grigory; Shchegolev, L.V.; Nekrasov, M.Yu.; Zubri, G.L.; Feldshtein, E.A.; Popov, O.A.; Klots, B.E.; Englin, A.L.; Kuperman, A.F.; Rabinovich, V.L.; Toker, G.I.; Sirotenko, E.L.; Smolyanskaya, A.L.; Lomonosov, M.V.; Azarkh, Samuil; Bakhmutsky, M.A.; Ioffe, O.V.; Yakobson, M.A.; Shchegoleva, I.V.; Yakobson, A.L.; Magarik, V.A.; Magarik, A.V.; Shipov, A.A.; Rudich, M.E.; Lishnitsker, A.I.; Neiman, M.I.; Rodny, Yu.M.; Altshul, I.Ya.; Rodny, M.I.; Yuzefovich, L.Yu.; Gluzman, E.I.; Dorina, R.D.; Dorina, S.E.; Shvartsman, A.M.; Korinets, L.; Korinets, S.; Grossman, Dina; Roitburd, Tsilya; Koshurovsky, Yuly; Essas, Ilya; Kvartina, Anna; Shtern, Yury; Shtern, Elena.

**Leningrad:**

Zelichenok, R.I.; Kunik, Z.B.; Karolin, Yu.V.; Levin, Z.Sh.; Genusov, A.A.; Furman, L.M.; Radomyslsky, I.B.; Taratuta, Aba; Kaganovich, G.M.; Geishis, M.I.; Geishis, F.I.; Lutskaya, E.E.; Yuzefpolskaya, S.Yu.

**Kishniev:**

Vainshtein, Leonid; Vodovoz, David; Lokshin, Osip; Leiderman, Grigory; Munblit, Aron.

**Gorky:**

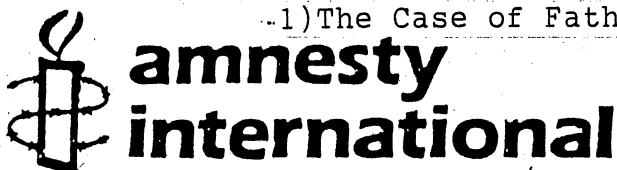
Volvovskaya, I.A.

## Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry

210 West 91 Street  
New York, N.Y. 10024  
(212) 799-8900

1118 Avenue J  
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11230  
(212) 253-3800

1) The Case of Father Garnik Tsarukyan



SPECIAL APPEAL NO 6 1984

1 August 1984

SUBJECT: The forcible confinement to psychiatric hospital of FATHER GARNIK TSARUKYAN

AI CONCERN: AI is concerned that Father Tsarukyan is confined for political rather than medical reasons, and regards him as a prisoner of conscience.

BACKGROUND: Father Tsarukyan, a priest of the Armenian Gregorian Church, has been confined to Erevan psychiatric hospital against his will since 2 March 1984. Reports dated 24 March say that he has been barred visits from friends and relatives. Father Tsarukyan was confined shortly after he lost his job for alleging corruption among the church hierarchy at an assembly in February 1984. According to friends and relatives, he has shown no symptoms of mental illness in the past. Nor is there evidence from his case history to suggest that he represents a 'danger' to himself or to others. AI believes he is confined for exercising his right to freedom of expression in a non-violent way.

Garnik Tsarukyan was born in Greece in 1934, one of the Armenian diaspora which fled persecution in the Ottoman Empire between 1894 and 1922. In 1943 his family returned to Soviet Armenia, and Tsarukyan graduated from the Echmiadzin seminary as a priest in 1954. He has a long history of conflict with the authorities, centring on his religious beliefs. In 1955 he was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment for his refusal to do military service on religious grounds. In 1961 he was dismissed from his job after he criticised the behaviour of church leaders. He applied to emigrate, but had his passport confiscated and in 1963 was given one year's imprisonment for "parasitism". During the 1970's Father Tsarukyan spoke out against the destruction of Armenian religious and cultural monuments, and associated himself with the unofficial Armenian Helsinki monitoring group, a human rights committee set up in 1977. The group stopped its activity after its leading members had been arrested and imprisoned.

RECOMMENDED ACTIONS: Please send courteous letters to the authorities listed below throughout the period recommended for action. Express concern that Father Tsarukyan is confined in the absence of any evidence that he is mentally ill, or 'socially dangerous', and urge his immediate, unconditional release. Express special concern at the reports that he has been illegally deprived of visits.

To the Director of the Hospital  
SSSR

Arm. SSR  
g. Erevan  
ul. G.Ovsepyana 20  
Oblastnaya psikhbolnitsa  
Nachalniku

To the Erevan Department of Health  
SSSR

Arm. SSR  
g. Erevan  
Gorodskoy otdel zdravookhraneniya  
Upolnomochennomu

To the Procurator of Erevan  
SSSR

Arm. SSR  
g. Erevan  
Gorodskaya Prokuratura  
Prokuroru

To the First Secretary of the  
Communist Party of the Armenian SSR  
SSSR

Arm. SSR  
g. Erevan  
Pervomu Sekretaryu TsK KPartii Arm. SSR  
K.S. DEMIRCHYAN

EXTERNAL

AI Index: EUR 46/15/86  
Distr: SC/CO/GR/PG

March 1986

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Amnesty International  
International Secretariat  
1 Easton Street  
London WC1X 8DJ  
United KingdomUSSR: THE CASE OF FATHER GARNIK TSARUKYAN

(Imprisoned archdeacon of the Armenian Gregorian Church)

Father Garnik Tsarukyan, an archdeacon of the Armenian Gregorian Church, has been confined against his will to Yerevan psychiatric hospital since 1984. The information available to Amnesty International shows unequivocally that he is forcibly confined not for medical reasons, but for the non-violent exercise of his right to freedom of expression. Amnesty International has therefore adopted him as a prisoner of conscience.

Garnik Tsarukyan was arrested in February 1984 during the Feast of St. Sarkis, after he had made a speech in Echmiadzin Cathedral in which he accused church leaders of collaborating with the Committee for State Security (KGB). On 2 March 1984 Tsarukyan was moved from police custody and placed against his will in Section Eight of Yerevan psychiatric hospital, where he remained confined in March 1986.

Amnesty International does not know if Father Tsarukyan was confined without charges, or if he was charged with a criminal offence but ruled unfit to stand trial and committed to a psychiatric hospital under the criminal procedure. At the end of March 1984 it was reported that he had been denied visits from friends and relatives, but since then Amnesty International has received no reports about the conditions of his confinement, or about what drug treatment, if any, is being given to him.

Soviet law prescribes forcible psychiatric confinement only for individuals who are shown to be both mentally ill and an evident danger to themselves or to others. From eye-witness accounts, there is no evidence that Father Tsarukyan was physically dangerous at the time of his arrest. Nor did he have a history of mental illness, according to reports from friends and relatives. Amnesty International is concerned that Garnik Tsarukyan's compulsory confinement is not justified on medical grounds, but is being used to punish him for expressing views that were politically unacceptable to the authorities.

USSR Coordination Group  
7 Revere Street  
Jamaica Plain, MA. 02130  
(617) 524-6623

## 2) ARMENIAN PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE IN THE USSR

### 1. Background

In 1915, the Turks drove the Armenians out of western Armenia, killing 1.5 million people in the process. Armenia then formed an alliance with tsarist Russia as the only possible way out of this predicament. Under tsarist Russia, Armenia became "Yerevan district". During the Russian Revolution, Armenia separated from Russia and on May 28, 1918 was declared an independent republic. The National Dashnak Party, in power at that time, had a program similar to that of the Russian Social Revolutionaries. At the end of WWI, the new Soviet Russian government signed a treaty with Turkey (which had been a German ally) and Germany, granting the Armenian cities of Kars and Ardahan to Turkey. The Dashnak government signed the Batum agreement with Turkey, which permitted Armenia to retain status as an independent state for two more years. In Nov., 1920, Red Army troops occupied Armenia and forced the Dashnak government to resign. Armenia then became part of the Soviet Union. Western Armenia remained in the possession of Turkey, while Armenia was again divided by the Soviets, with part of its territory given to the neighboring state Abzerbaidzhan. At present 40% of Soviet Armenians live outside their homeland. They cannot return home as there is no space for them. 80% of Soviet Abzerbaidzhan is Armenian but the Armenian population is governed by an Abzerbaidzhani administration. There is extreme tension between the Armenian and Abzerbaidzhan populations. Armenians are particularly concerned regarding the Soviet Union's failure to negotiate with Turkey for the return of western Armenia. The "national-patriotic" movement within Armenia, which seeks to address these issues, is regarded as "anti-Soviet" by government authorities and has been driven underground. Most Armenia prisoners of conscience are members of this "nationalist" movement.

## 2. Emergence of the Armenian Dissident Movement

The Union of Armenian Youth appeared in 1963 and remained active until 1966. In 1965 this group held mass demonstrations on the 50th anniversary of the death of 1.5 million Armenians at the hands of the Turks. 100,000 people marched on April 24 in Yerevan and Moscow. Police beat demonstrators and broke up

the demonstration. In 1965, E. Ovannisyan wrote on behalf of the Armenian community to the Central Committee of the Communist Party formulating a proposal that the Batum agreement be annulled and that the Armenians be permitted to resettle in their own homeland. In 1966, the National Unification Party was founded in Yerevan on the platform designed by Ovannisyan, organized by the artist Aykanuz Khachatryan and the students Stepan Zatikyan and Shagen Arutyunyan. The NUP published a newspaper, the Beacon, and a journal, In the Name of the Homeland. In 1968, the founders of the NUP were arrested. The party remained active, and its leadership suffered further arrests, including that of Paruyr Ayrikyan, a writer of popular songs, and a student at Yerevan Polytechnical Institute. he and 5 other students were charged with "anti-Soviet agitation". Ayrikyan served 4 yrs. in a strict regime camp, was released, sentenced again to 7 years, and, at the end of his term, was sentenced yet again, to an additional 3 yrs. in camp. While in camp, he has continued his work with the NUP. By 1975, at least 80 NUP members had been tried and sentenced for their peaceful political activities. The NUP has continued to publish samizdat articles and to appeal to Armenians, and others, in the west, for support in their efforts to create an independent Armenia. In 1974(Aug. 4) Ayrikyan and other prisoners conducted a fast to appeal to the UN for an investigation of Soviet crimes against the people of Armenia.

In 1977 a human rights group, the Armenian Helsinki Watch Group, was founded to monitor violations of civil and human rights in Armenia. Eduard Arutyunyan became the leader of the group. Other members included: Samvel Osyan, Robert Nazaryan, and Shagen Arutyunyan. The group followed the goals set forth in the Helsinki accords and added one more: to strive for Armenian membership in the U.N. A report of the Armenian Helsinki Watch group was sent to the Helsinki conference in April, 1977 summarizing Soviet repression of the Armenian language and culture, enumerating violations of the human rights of prisoners, and providing lists of people who had been

removed from their jobs for ideological reasons. The report also included lists of people who had been denied the right to emigrate. Nazaryan Shagen Arutyunyan were arrested in 1977, Osyan left the group, deeming their work hopeless, and Eduard Arutyunyan announced to the public that the Armenian Helsinki Watch group had been destroyed. Nevertheless, human rights activism continued. In 1978 a new constitution was drafted for Armenia. Public protests succeeded in preventing the expected change of the national language from Armenian to Russian.

### 3. Human Rights Activism in the 1980s

Underground activities continued under the guidelines of the NUP. On May 14, 1980 Alexandr Manucharyan was arrested on charges of participating in an underground organization. Others convicted for nationalist activities at this time included: Marzpet Arutyunyan, Vartan Arutyunyan, Ishkan Mkrtchyan, Samvel Yegiazaryan, and Oganeg Agababyan. Arrests and trials of human rights and other activists in Armenia have continued. While those arrested in the '60s and '70s were primarily students, those arrested today seem to be older, and to be members of the intelligensia, or others with relatively high-ranking positions. The primary demand of these activists remains the same: independence for Armenia, and a guarantee of basic civil and human rights to her people.

Armenian prisoners presently adopted by Amnesty International include:

Paruyr Ayrikyan, Azat Arshakyan, Marzpet Arutyunyan, Vartan Arutyunyan, Sirvard Avagyan, Georgy Homizuri, Alexander Manucharyan, Ashot Navarsardyan, Rafael Oganyan, & Rafael Papayan. Amnesty International regards these people as prisoners of conscience, in that they all are detained solely for their political beliefs and ethnic origin. A.I. is also concerned regarding the recent death of Helsinki monitor Eduard Arutyunyan 8 days after being released from detention.

## INDEPENDENT PEACE ACTIVISM

1) UPDATE ON THE GROUP TO ESTABLISH TRUST  
BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA

NEW YORK CITY TRIBUNE

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1986

## Peace Group in Soviet Union Runs Into Heavy Pressure From Kremlin

BY BOHDAN FARYMA  
*New York City Tribune Staff*

Evidence has surfaced indicating that the KGB is undertaking an intensive campaign to disband an independent peace group in the Soviet Union, the Second World Press (SWP) reports.

Last Wednesday, Alexander Zaitsev, a member of the Group for the Establishment of Trust between the East and the West (the Trust Group), was arrested and consigned to a psychiatric hospital in Moscow for his activities with the group, according to SWP, an international news service monitoring human rights abuses in the Soviet Union.

Zaitsev had previously been detained Sept. 2 while participating in a Moscow seminar organized by the independent peace group.

On Nov. 29, Anatoly Cherkasov, another Trust Group member, was arrested in a Moscow subway station and also put into a mental hospital.

Cherkasov had traveled to the Soviet capital with a letter from Kuibyshev peace activists urging Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan to come to an agreement concerning the jamming of Western broadcasts to the Soviet Union.

Cherkasov, confined three times in the past to mental institutions for his dissident activities, resides in Kuibyshev, 550 miles southeast of Moscow.



CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY  
**ANATOLY CHERKASOV** was put into a mental hospital for supporting the activities of an unofficial peace group.

Three days before, on Nov. 26, peace activist Sergei Svetushkin, a graduate of the Moscow Institute of Foreign Affairs, was arrested and charged with "parasitism." Svetushkin has not been able to find a job because of his record as a dissident.

On Nov. 27, the historian Andrei Krivov, also a Trust Group member, was arrested and put in jail for 15 days.

### An Attempt to Demonstrate

To defend their colleagues, Trust Group activists tried to organize a demonstration on Dec. 1 for the release of

all "prisoners of peace" in the Soviet Union.

However, the KGB was able to prevent the protest action by putting most of the group's members under house arrest. Only two women — the wife of the imprisoned Krivov, Irina, and Natalia Akulenok — showed up at the main entrance to Moscow's Gorky Park, the site of the rally.

In another case, Nina Kovalenko, an artist from Moscow and also a Trust Group member, was sent to a psychiatric hospital Sept. 27 — the day she was arrested for trying to demonstrate for the release of Nicholas Daniloff, the American journalist then detained by Soviet authorities and accused of espionage.

Kovalenko had successfully staged a demonstration for Daniloff on Sept. 20.

In addition to imprisoning members of the Trust Group, the Soviet authorities have resorted to expelling those peace activists they may deem less vulnerable to persecution. On Nov. 24, the family of Trust Group member Gutman Levitan was told to leave the Soviet Union within 3 days.

Established in May 1982, the Trust Group believes that stable peace in the world is possible only as a result of broad personal contacts, including cultural and information exchange between the Soviet Union and the West, without restriction from governments.

During the group's 4 years of existence, most of its activists have been subjected to persecution and harassments, from summonses to appear in court to short-term jailings and incarceration in mental hospitals.

## 2) B A C K G R O U N D O N T H E G R O U P T O E S T A B L I S H T R U S T B E T W E E N T H E U S S R A N D T H E U S A

"We do not wish to accuse either side of unwillingness to further peace, and far less, of any aggressive intent in the future. We are convinced of their sincere striving for peace and the prevention of nuclear war. However, the search for paths to disarmament is a complex one. We all share equal responsibility for the future."

Group to Establish  
Trust Between the  
USSR and the USA

since it was formed. The arrest of these eight people took place against a background of almost continuous official harassment of many of the Group's members and supporters. Amnesty International possesses copies of more than 30 appeals put out by the Group, containing over 80 proposals for the preservation of international peace. It also has detailed information about the practical activities of the Group. In none of this material is there any evidence to suggest that the Group's members used or advocated the use of violence in support of their aims, nor is this suggested by the criminal charges brought against the eight individuals who have to date been prosecuted.

### Introduction

In June 1982 the formation of an unofficial "Group to Establish Trust Between the USSR and the USA" was announced at a press conference in Moscow to which both Soviet and foreign journalists were invited. The group launched itself with an "Appeal to the Governments and Public of the USSR and the USA" containing five proposals for multi-lateral disarmament and international cultural exchanges. Its stated aim was to create a climate of international trust in which multi-lateral disarmament could be secured. In later months the group proposed to further its aim through a program of seminars and cultural exchanges between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Group was represented at the conference by eleven Soviet citizens from Moscow and the surrounding region. They were Sergei Batovrin, Viktor Blok, Boris Kalyuzhny, Gennady Krochik, Sergei Rosenoer, Igor Sobkov, Yury Khornopoulo, Ludmila and Mickail Ostrovsky and Maria and Vladimir Fleishgakker; apart from Batovrin, who is an artist, the members of the group were mostly professional scientists and mathematicians.

On the day of its formation the Group submitted a request to the Moscow City Soviet of Workers' Deputies for permission to register as an official organization. Despite the constitutionality of its activity, eight individuals are known to have been prosecuted for their association with the group

### Support for the Group

The original Appeal invited Soviet citizens and peace groups abroad to collect and share new proposals for the furtherance of peace. It was signed by an additional 74 individual supporters from the Moscow region and the Ukrainian and Latvian republics. In the summer of 1982, appeals were issued by similar groups set up in the Ukrainian city of Odessa and in Novosibirsk in central Siberia. The statement put out by the Odessian groups was signed by seven people and contained three proposals. In July 1982 the Novosibirsk group issued an "Appeal to the Governments and Peoples of East and West" in which it urged greater scientific collaboration in working for peace. A later statement put out by the Novosibirsk groups was also signed by seven people. Sergei Batovrin estimated that by November 1982 the Group to Establish Trust's Founding Appeal had been signed by 900 Soviet citizens from twelve different cities, including cities in Siberia, Estonia, Latvia and the Ukraine.

At the time of preparing this leaflet it is not known if the Group continues formally to be active. Nor is it possible to estimate with any accuracy the current number of its supporters since the Group stopped keeping membership records after KGB officials confiscated early lists in July 1982.

In January 1983, however, Sergei Batovrin reported that groups similar to the Moscow one were continuing to function in Odessa, Novosibirsk and Leningrad. In an interview given after his emigration in May 1983 Batovrin said the Moscow Group to Establish Trust had a current membership of 16.

## Harassment

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From its first days, members and supporters of the Group to Establish Trust have been subjected to persistent official harassment. Within one week of its formation, eight members of the Group—Sergei Rosenoer, Viktor Blok, Boris Kalyuzhny, Maria and Vladimir Fleishgakker, Sergei Batovrin, Ludmila and Mikhail Ostrovsky—had received official warnings from the Moscow City Procuracy that their activities were illegal.

On 12 June 1982 Gennady Krochik and Boris Kalyuzhny were detained by police as they left the flat of Sergei Rosenoer and questioned for four hours. According to Gennady Krochik's account of their interview they were told by Colonel Andrei Mikhailov of the Department of Internal Affairs that their group was "anarchic" and that the foreign radio stations were using its appeal to "discredit Soviet peace initiatives." They were accused of having allied with "refuseniks, parasites and criminals" and were urged to join the official Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace (an officially sponsored body which supports Soviet government initiatives in the sphere of foreign policy; its membership numbers over 40 million).

On 12 June Sergei Rosenoer and Sergei Batovrin proposed to man a 24 hour telephone link to gather proposals for creating international trust; they were confined to their homes by police and their telephones were disconnected. Sergei Batovrin remained confined to his home under police guard for more than one month, until 15 July.

On 16 July two members of the group, Dr. Yury Khronopoulo and Dr. Yury Medvedkov were arrested in Moscow on a questionable charge of

"petty hooliganism" and given an administrative sentence of 15 days' imprisonment by the Lenin District Court.

In a *samizdat* compilation dated 10 August 1982 the Group estimated that its members had spent a total of 90 days confined to their homes under police guard, and had been subjected to 35 official warnings to stop their activities. Between June 1982 and September 1983 Viktor Blok, Gennady Krochik, Dr. Yury Khronopoulo, Valery Godyak, Oleg Radzinsky and Sergei Rosenoer are known to have been dismissed from their jobs after having been visited at their places of work by KGB officials who urged them to leave the Group. On 16 September 1983 Rosenoer was arrested and given an administrative sentence of 10 days' imprisonment. Vladimir Fleishgakker was arrested at his home on 27 September and sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment on charges which have not yet been specified.

## Arrest and Imprisonment

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On 14 July 1982 Aleksandr Shatravka and Vladimir Mishchenko were arrested in the Tyumen region of southwest Siberia where they were employed tapping pine-tar at the forestry works in the settlement of Vanyegan. On 13 July they had circulated the "Appeal to the Governments and Public of the USSR and the USA" among the workers at the lumber factory and had collected 15 signatures. Shatravka was on his way to Moscow, where he reportedly intended to await the arrival of the international "Peace March 1982" on 21 July, when he was detained. His suitcase was searched at the station and a copy of the Appeal was confiscated, after which he and Mishchenko were arrested. The two men were charged with "circulating anti-Soviet slander" and were sent to the regional psychiatric hospital in Tobolsk. In November 1982 they were transferred to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow to undergo further examination. Both were ruled responsible for their actions and fit to

stand trial and were sent back to Tyumen region.

Shatravka and Mishchenko were tried in April 1983. The basis of the charge against the two men was that they had circulated the Appeal of the Group to Establish Trust. In addition, Shatravka was accused of having painted slogans saying "Freedom to Soviet defenders of Human Rights!" and "the USSR is the prison of the people" on the outside walls of a hut in the taiga where he had lived in 1980. He was acquitted of a second charge of "forging a document." Aleksandr Shatravka was sentenced to three years' imprisonment; Vladimir Mishchenko received a one year sentence.

Little information is available on Vladimir Mishchenko, who comes from Nalchik in Stavropol region. He was released from prison in August 1983 after completing his sentence. Aleksandr Shatravka is serving his sentence in a corrective labor colony for criminal prisoners, but the exact address of the colony is not yet known. In August 1983 it was reported that he had declared a hunger strike, which he intended to continue until the closure of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Madrid, in protest against his imprisonment.

The day before the same "Peace March 1982" to which Shatravka was en route when he was arrested, Oleg Radzinsky was stopped on a Moscow street and taken for questioning. He was informed that criminal proceedings had been started against him on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," but was released shortly afterwards. Radzinsky, 26 years old, was one of the first signatories to the Appeal publicized by the Group to Establish Trust on 4 June 1982. On 14 June an anonymous telephone caller reportedly told him to withdraw his name. He refused and on the following day, he formally joined the Group. The next day he was dismissed from his job as an evening class teacher at the Institute of Pedagogic Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. On 26 October Radzinsky was arrested and taken to Lefortovo investigation prison. In November, like Shatravka and Mishchenko, he was transferred to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry and made to undergo psychiatric examination. He was ruled

responsible for his actions and fit to stand trial.

According to Soviet law a person who has been charged may be kept in custody without trial for a maximum of nine months, and then only with the special sanction of the Procurator General of the USSR. On 15 October 1983, more than 11 months after his arrest, a Moscow court sentenced Oleg Radzinsky to one year's imprisonment, to be followed by five years' internal exile. Radzinsky is reported to suffer from chronic asthma, a stomach ulcer, cholecystitis, and a spinal disability which makes it difficult for him to sit up.

Vadim Yankov, a mathematician from Dolgoprudny in Moscow region, was also one of the first signatories to the Appeal in June 1982. He was arrested on 9 August 1982 in Moscow on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and placed in Lefortovo investigation prison to await trial. The basis of the criminal charges against Vadim Yankov were reported to have been an article he wrote in November 1981 and circulated in *samizdat* the following year in which he called on Soviet workers to follow the example set by Polish workers in forming an independent trade union, and his support of the Group to Establish Trust. On 20 January 1983 a court in Moscow convicted him under Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and sentenced him to four years' imprisonment to be followed by three years' internal exile. He is serving the first part of his sentence in a strict regime corrective labor colony for political prisoners in Mordovia region.

On 6 January 1983 in Latvia KGB officials are reported to have searched more than 50 private homes. Lydia Doronina, a Baptist, was arrested in Ogre and charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." A number of statements put out by the Group to Establish Trust and documents on violations of human rights compiled by the unofficial Moscow Helsinki monitoring group were confiscated from her home. Between 2 and 15 August 1983 her case was heard by the Latvian Supreme Court in Riga, and she was sentenced to five years' imprisonment to be followed by three years' internal exile. Doronina, who is 57 years old, is reported to have required regular medical treatment for tuberculosis and to have suffered from

since 1978 has campaigned for improved conditions for the disabled in the USSR. Vorona, now 30 years old, is a religious believer from Novosibirsk and is reported to be officially registered as an invalid though his exact disability is not known. Little is known about the investigation of Vorona's case. Evidently he was sent for psychiatric examination and ruled not responsible for his actions; in September 1983 it was reported that he had been forcibly confined to Dnepropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital in the Ukraine for an indefinite period.

## Help

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Amnesty International is concerned that Soviet citizens who are members of or express support for the Group to Establish Trust continue to be harassed, imprisoned, put in mental hospitals, or deprived of their freedom for peacefully exercising their rights of expression and association.

Please voice your concern for these imprisoned or detained peace activists. Send courteous appeals for their release to:

Yuri Zhukov  
Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee  
129010 I-10 Moskva  
ul. Pushkinskaya 15a  
Soyvetski Komitet Zashchity Mira  
Predsedatelyu Y. Zhukovu  
USSR  
and  
A. Rekunkov  
Procurator-General of the USSR  
Moskva  
Prospekt Mira 36  
Prokuratura SSSR  
Generalnomu Prokuroru  
A. Rekunkovu  
USSR

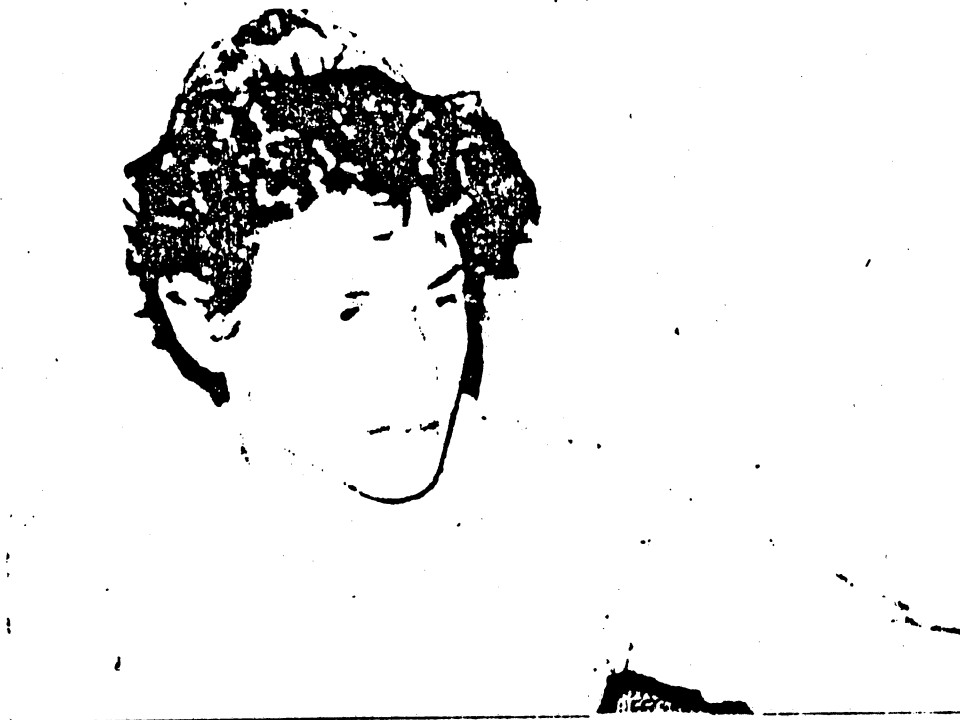
Please send copies of your correspondence to the Soviet Embassy.

Embassy of the USSR  
Chancery: 1125-16th St. NW  
Washington, DC 20036

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P U N I T I V E   U S E   O F  
T H E   M I L I T A R Y   D R A F T

1) T H E   C A S E   O F   E V G E N Y   P A L A N K E R



We have just received word that nineteen-year-old Evgeny Palanker's medical exemption from military service has been revoked and that he is about to be drafted.

The fragile condition of Evgeny's health gives rise to fear that he will not survive a tour of duty in the Soviet army.

In April, 1985, Evgeny was granted a medical exemption from army service. Less than two months later, this exemption was revoked and he was summoned once again to appear before the military medical commission. Evgeny's father Vili was told by a Soviet official, "We told you to keep quiet and you didn't." Vili understood this to mean that the revocation of Evgeny's medical exemption was "punishment" for the family's May, 1985 meetings with four American musicians who subsequently were deported from the USSR. At about this time, a Soviet official whom Vili asked for assistance replied that the Palankers were "too well known" for him to do anything.

In July, 1985, Evgeny again received an exemption. This was revoked the following October, after Evgeny was examined in Moscow. In April, 1986, Dr. Zograbyan, the finest neurosurgeon in Armenia, recommended immediate hospitalization. In June, Evgeny was admitted to the military hospital in Tbilisi.

We have just learned that all medical certificates have been rejected and Evgeny faces imminent induction into the Soviet army.

### Evgeny's Medical History

In 1972, when Evgeny was five years old, he fell from the family's third floor apartment and hit his head on the stone floor below. He was so seriously injured that it was thought that he would die. His gradual recovery was considered a miracle. However, as a result of this accident, his health was permanently impaired and he required hospitalization many times: in 1974, twice in 1978, in 1982, 1983, and 1984. Since the accident, he has been under the constant supervision of neurologists and has taken daily medication. Because of his medical condition, he was educated largely at home. In recent years, his condition has worsened. During the academic year 1985-86, he has been on leave of absence from the university because of his health problems.

In lay language, Evgeny suffers from constant and severe headaches, deteriorating eyesight, and recurrent loss of consciousness. He has a traumatic [i.e. caused by the head injury] epileptic condition with symptoms similar to that of a stroke victim. He is not fit for military service and his call-up is clearly punitive in nature.

The Palankers have appealed to us for help. We have been reliably informed that letters would be most effective if sent to:

Marshal Sergei Sokolov  
Minister of Defense  
ul. Kirova 37  
Moscow 103160, RUSSIA, USSR

Ask whether the Red Army is so desperate that sick children must be drafted.

Air mail letters are 44 cents. Don't forget to mention that Evgeny Palanker is from Erevan. **WRITE TODAY!**

- Do whatever else you can to publicize Evgeny's plight.
- Enlist the support of Western politicians and religious leaders.

Do not forget our friends the Palankers when they need us the most.

## 2) ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF THE MILITARY DRAFT

### TO PERSECUTE REFUSENIKS

Throughout the history of Russia and continuing through the history of the Soviet Union the laws regulating the draft have been manipulated to persecute Jewish refuseniks. Soviet Jews who have expressed a desire to emigrate are persecuted and often imprisoned by inappropriate applications of the draft laws. The means employed by Soviet civil and criminal authorities to use draft laws as a form of punishment against Soviet Jews include the following:

#### A. THE DRAFTING OF RESERVISTS IN ORDER TO EXPOSE THEM TO STATE SECRETS, THUS PREVENTING THEM FROM EMIGRATING

The drafting of refusenik reservists (ages 27-50) into the military is used against cultural activists to delay emigration. After serving in the army the government may claim that that person possesses "state secrets" and thereby prevent them from emigrating.

#### B. THE DRAFTING OF PHYSICALLY UNFIT INDIVIDUALS DESERVING OF MEDICAL EXEMPTIONS

Individuals eligible for draft are first examined for general fitness. Those who are declared unfit receive medical exemptions from the military. According to one source Soviet procedure requires that the certificates underlying a medical exemption be reconfirmed annually. Recently there has been a trend to rescind the exemptions of refuseniks, thereby subjecting those who are unfit for military service.

#### C. THE DRAFTING OF REFUSENIKS WHO ARE ISRAELI CITIZENS AND THEREFORE, ARE NOT ELIGIBLE FOR THE SOVIET DRAFT

In order to establish that someone has illegally evaded the draft, it must be shown that an individual has done so intentionally or negligently. Those refuseniks who have become Israeli citizens believe that conscription is not applicable to them. Therefore, an intentional evasion did not occur.

#### D. THE INDUCTION OF DRAFT-AGE REFUSENIKS FOR THE PURPOSE OF EXPOSING THEM TO STATE SECRETS, THUS PREVENTING THEM AND THEIR FAMILIES FROM EMIGRATING

Inducting draft-age refuseniks (ages 18-26) into the military is used against cultural activists to delay emigration. After serving in the army the government may claim that a person possesses "state secrets" and thereby prevent him from emigrating.

E. THE UNJUSTIFIED REJECTION OF REFUSENIKS FROM HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, THEREBY SUBJECTING THEM TO THE DRAFT

Article 35(a) of the USSR Law on Universal Military Service provides that draft deferments for continuation of education are granted to students. Therefore, persons eligible for an educational deferment are not evading the draft. Furthermore, discrimination against and unsubstantiated rejection of Jewish students from higher educational institutions leave them unjustifiably susceptible to the draft, as they are no longer eligible for an educational deferment.

Article 34 of the USSR Constitution states:

Citizens of the USSR are equal before the law, without distinction of origin, social or property status, race or nationality, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, type and nature of occupation, domicile or other status. The equal rights of citizens of the USSR are guaranteed in all fields of economic, political, social and cultural life.

Article 36 of the USSR Constitution states:

Citizens of the USSR of different races and nationalities have equal rights.... Any direct or indirect limitation of the rights of citizens or establishment of direct or indirect privileges on grounds of race or nationality, any advocacy or racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt are punishable by law.

Article 45 of the USSR Constitution states:

Citizens of the USSR have the right to education.

F. THE REFUSAL TO GRANT MILITARY DEFERMENTS TO REFUSENIKS STUDENTS

Blatant discrimination exists against refuseniks when they are denied the opportunity to complete their education prior to their military service.

CONCLUSION

Many refuseniks are now forced to serve in the military and risk being denied permission to emigrate in order to avoid imprisonment. This analysis illustrates the Soviet government's insidious use of draft laws as yet another means of repression against Soviet Jews. The world community must consider the "entrapment" of these individuals by the misuse of draft laws as a violation of their human rights and should call for the immediate release of these courageous refuseniks.

NOTE:

The cases used to document this memorandum are:

Lev Elbert, Yakov Gorodetsky, Boris Lifshitz, Evgeny Palanker, Betzalel Shalolashvilli, Simon Shnirman, Misha Taratuta, Boris Vainerman, and Alexander Yakir.

The complete 10 page document is available from the Soviet Jewry Legal Advocacy Center (893-2331)

I N T E R F E R E N C E   W I T H   P O S T A L  
C O M M U N I C A T I O N S

The following text is taken from a Committee of Concerned Scientists report dated December 1986. The problems faced by Refusenik scientists discussed in the report are typical of problems encountered by Refuseniks in general.

Mail and Telephone Communication

As stated above, the treatment accorded scholars who have applied to emigrate has resulted in diminution of their contacts with their professional counterparts. Interference with the delivery of the mail sent to them from abroad compounds their isolation and violates the intent of the participating States "...of further developing contacts among governmental institutions and associations and non-governmental associations...and individuals [Basket III 1(h)]. Targeted individuals either do not receive or receive only sporadically personal letters, professional correspondence and scholarly journals sent from abroad. The Ministry of Post of the Soviet Union effectively interferes with the remaining ties these selected people have with the outside world, including their colleagues in the West.

In 1984, the Universal Postal Union, acting upon the resolution of the U.S. delegation at the Hamburg congress, passed new regulations, one of which stated that when delivery of mail is "specified" to an individual, then that individual's signature must be obtained and appear on a return receipt. Another resolution adopted at that Congress provided that all participating countries list reasons for the seizure of any packages and describe the offending items.

Kenneth Birman, a computer scientist at Cornell University, mailed a package of preprints dealing with computerized analysis of electrocardiograms to Viktor Brailovsky of Moscow in August 1984. The package was registered with a return receipt requested. The pink receipt card was returned to Birman with a signature. But another scientist who visited Brailovsky in May 1985 learned that Birman's package had never been received. Birman then had a tracer put on the package only to learn in November 1985 that the Ministry of Post in the USSR claimed that the case was closed.

Matthew Greenstone, a research entomologist with the Department of Agriculture, has been corresponding with six refusenik biologists. The response to his letters sent monthly with the return receipt requested, has been poor. Of 31 pieces of mail sent, only five receipts have been returned. Two pieces of mail were returned unopened: one because of a technicality having to do with the return receipt, the other with no explanation at all. This last piece of mail was sent to David Goldfarb, a molecular geneticist who was fi-

nally granted permission to leave the Soviet Union in 1986 after a major international campaign.

Refusenik astrophysicist Yakov Al'pert has an American colleague who would like to correspond with him. However, over the last year, that colleague has tried on a number of occasions to write Prof. Al'pert and send him reprints and even a copy of a review of Al'pert's own book. Letters sent with the return receipt requested never arrived at their destination. In frustration, the scientist wrote, "I am not asking the Soviets to free Dr. Al'pert (although that would be nice), but just to let me talk to him in a manner consistent with their laws and regulations."

In addition to reduced mail contacts, refusenik scientists regularly find that their telephone service has been interrupted punitively. This past summer, refusenik physician Iosif Irlin went on a hunger strike to protest the continued refusal of his exit visa. As his colleagues around the world learned the news, they tried to telephone him with messages of support. Not only did his telephone cease functioning, but he also did not receive telegrams of support sent to him. (n.b. Iosif Irlin arrived in Israel on November 30, 1986)

Geneticist Valery Soyfer wrote in a letter dated November 28, 1985, that his family had received no mail for two years. An earlier letter reported that their telephone had been disconnected during 1985, further compounding their isolation.

As of June 1986, cyberneticist Viktor Brailovsky and Irina Brailovsky were receiving no mail. This nondelivery of mail encompasses, among other items, issues of the Notices of the American Mathematical Society, a subscription to which was first entered in Irina's name in November 1984.

Mathematician Mark Freidlin received only one copy of the Annals of Probability last year, even though he is one of its editors.

Another harassment that refusenik and dissident scholars suffer is interference with their collegial periodical mail, which violates the intention "to facilitate the improvement of the dissemination on their territory of...printed publications, periodical and non-periodical, from the other participating States." [Basket III, 2 (ii)] For the most part, those with subscriptions to technical and professional journals receive issues sporadically if at all.

Scientific societies, understandably frustrated over nondelivery, then stop sending mailings to those scientists, isolating them further from their colleagues abroad. For example, this March, the American Physical Society (APS) discontinued sending mailings to Nobel laureate Andrei Sakharov because they learned that he was not receiving his mail.

Members of the APS try to maintain a constant flow of mail into the Soviet Union to oppressed colleagues and to keep track of the responses received. The society reports as follows:

- "A. No correspondence [received] either way:  
Gregory Supin and Alexander Lerner
- B. Members write to the following but receive no response:  
Marks Kovner, Mark Lvovsky, Joself Dyadkin, Boris Dashevsky,  
L. Ozersky, Mikhail Kholmyansky, Vitaly Yourick, Leonid  
Shabashev, Mikhail Reizer, Mikhail Marinov, Yuri Golfand,  
Oscar Mendeleev.
- C. A member writes to Boris Laikhtman, but gets no response. However, he has learned that Laikhtman receives the Bulletin of the APS, but not Physics Today, which is not delivered." (Letter dated June 24, 1985, of Julian Heickin, Committee on the International Freedom of Scientists of the American Physical Society.)

Abram Kagan of Leningrad, in whose name subscriptions to several scientific journals have been entered, reported in July 1984 that the last issue he had received of Physics Today was the 50th Anniversary issued which was dated November 1981. He also stated that he received Science and Scientific American only sporadically.

H A R A S S M E N T   O F   A M E R I C A N   T O U R I S T S  
I N   T H E   U S S R

1) H A R A S S M E N T   1987

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JANUARY 25, 1987 P. 7

## ***Officers Interrogate Americans Visiting Residents in Odessa***

**By FELICITY BARRINGER**

*Special to The New York Times*

MOSCOW, Jan. 24 — American tourists visiting Soviet homes in Odessa have been questioned three times in the last three weeks by the police, Western diplomats said this week.

The diplomats said that while the Soviet authorities had for years questioned some tourists who make visits to Soviet homes that are not previously cleared with the Government, the recent rash of incidents was unusual.

It also suggested that even under the more open administration of Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the authorities remain suspicious about unsupervised personal contacts between Western visitors and Soviet citizens.

The most recent incident occurred Tuesday, when a visit by a group of four Americans to a home in Odessa was interrupted by the police. Officers questioned the Americans on the spot, and later resumed the questioning at their hotel while recording the sessions with a video camera, according to a source familiar with the incident.

The tourists involved apparently left Moscow on Thursday and could not be reached for comment.

Western diplomats say incidents of harassment are not uncommon. They usually involve Westerners who meet with dissidents.

But they were puzzled by the use of a video camera. In one case, a man involved in the questioning identified himself as a reporter for the Government press agency Tass.

The interrogation in all three Odessa cases began with innocuous questions about how the tourists had liked their visit, what they had seen and where they had been, according to a person familiar with the incidents. Then the questioners asked about the tourists' Soviet contacts, how they had met, and whether they had exchanged anything.

In every case, the interrogators hinted that the Soviet citizens involved might face trouble with the authorities.

The first two incidents, earlier this month, each involved two American tourists.

# U.S. musicians get taste of Soviet ire

By Rita McWilliams  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Merryl Goldberg and three other Boston area musicians set out in May for the Soviet Union to explore the roots of the music they play — Yiddish folk music called Klezmer.

But Soviet officials cut their trip short by several days after the group met with fellow musicians who are Soviet dissidents, they said.

Miss Goldberg said one of the dissidents, Tenghiz Gudava, has been arrested since the visit and charged with anti-Soviet slander.

Other musicians they played with in Tbilisi, the capital of Soviet Georgia, were Isai Goldshtein and his brother, Grigory, who founded the Georgian Helsinki Monitoring Group to monitor compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki accords, in which the Soviet Union promised to expand personal liberties for its citizens.

The Goldshteins were searched and questioned by Soviet authorities after the visit, Miss Goldberg said. They told her of Mr. Gudava's arrest.

The Boston musicians, who were expelled from the Soviet Union May 29 for meeting with "negative people" and returning to their hotel after midnight, will perform with other musicians today at the Rayburn House Office Building to call attention to the plight of human-rights activists in the Soviet Union on the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki accords.

The event is being co-sponsored by the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, Boston Action for Soviet Jewry and the Washington Committee for Soviet Jewry.

Rep. Steny Hoyer, D-Md., a co-chairman of the Commission on

Security and Cooperation in Europe — also called the Helsinki Commission — is expected to read a statement insisting that the Soviet Union comply with the human-rights provisions of the accords.

House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. is planning to attend, as are a number of other members of Congress, according to the Helsinki Commission.

Miss Goldberg, 26, who lives in Somerville, Mass., said she traveled to the Soviet Union because the kind of music her group — The Klezmer Conservatory Band — plays has its roots in Eastern Europe, especially Russia and Poland.

The musicians had been reading about musical groups in those countries, learned of The Phantoms, a band of Soviet refuseniks — those who have been denied exit visas — and decided to try to find them.

They succeeded, Miss Goldberg said, in Tbilisi. She said Klezmer music has been suppressed in the Soviet Union because of its connection with Judaism.

During their visit, they played Klezmer, which Miss Goldberg, a saxophone player, said the Soviet musicians had never heard. The Phantoms played classical and folk music. She said one of their favorite songs was "Jingle Bells" and another was "Somewhere Over the Rainbow."

"It's funny because now we won't ever really hear that song quite in the same way again," Miss Goldberg said. She said a recording of the Phantoms' music will be played today at the concert.

Miss Goldberg said members of her group were followed by a KGB officer during their trip but were never told they had an 11 p.m. curfew.

"They just make up the rules as they go along. They decided to interrupt our trip," she said, even though the KGB agent, whom they nicknamed "Kevin," told her on a plane trip to Moscow that her group was harmless.

"He said it was ridiculous," Miss Goldberg said. "They perceived us as more of a threat than we were, but soon found out we were harmless. He said, 'We know you are not terrorists. We know you are good musicians, but you are meeting with negative people.'"

She said the KGB agent told her during a plane trip from Armenia to Moscow that he loved the "Blues Brothers," a movie made in the United States that he said he confiscated from the Soviet black market. They also talked about taxes and nuclear disarmament, and she said the agent agreed that citizens in both countries want disarmament but that distrust between the two governments makes that impossible.

The agent questioned the musicians for five hours upon their arrival in Moscow on May 20, she said. Later, when they saw him on an airplane, they greeted each other. "We said, 'Hi, how are you?' He said, 'Fine, how are you?' We said, 'Fine.' He said, 'I hope so.' It was like a Fellini spy story. It was very movie-like."

# Phila. native evicted by Soviets

By Michael E. Ruane  
Inquirer Staff Writer

The Soviet official in Tbilisi, in Soviet Georgia, told Hankus Netsky that he and the three other members of his Yiddish folk band had been associating with "negative persons." This was their last warning.

The next day in Yerevan, in Soviet Armenia, another official told the Mount Airy native and his friends that for disobeying the rules they were being "exiled" back to the United States. Immediately.

Thus did the brief tour of the Soviet Union by American members of Boston's Klezmer Conservatory Band come to an abrupt and unscheduled end.

Netsky, 30, the Central High graduate and founder of the folk band, yesterday gave the details of the Soviet expulsion, after arriving from Sweden, where he and the others were flown from Moscow on Wednesday.

It was the end of a trip that began May 21 with a six-hour wait in the Moscow airport and authorities asking the four if they were "members of an organization hostile to the Soviet Union."

Netsky, in a telephone interview

from John F. Kennedy Airport in New York City, said, "We were definitely looked upon as if we were coming with a mission that was against the Soviet Union."

The group was being assisted by Boston's Action For Soviet Jewry and did plan to meet and perform for numerous Soviet "refuseniks," Netsky said, but he answered "no" to the hostile group question.

"We are all musicians," Netsky said. "We play Yiddish music. We are very interested in the Soviet Union." Accompanying Netsky were musicians Merryl Goldberg, Jeff Warschauer and Rosalie Gerug. All four now live in the Boston area.

The Klezmer Conservatory Band is based in Boston but has a strong local following and performs often in the Philadelphia area. The group left for the Soviet Union the day after performing at the Germantown Jewish Center.

The band plays klezmer music, an upbeat Yiddish folk music brought to the United States at the turn of the century by Eastern European Jews. The word *klezmer* comes from the Hebrew *klei zemer*, meaning instruments of song.

Netsky said the group had planned

to stay in the Soviet Union until June 5. They had stayed several days in Moscow and then traveled to Tbilisi and Yerevan.

He said they met with numerous refuseniks — Soviet Jews who have been refused permission to emigrate to Israel — as well as oppressed Catholics and other dissidents.

He mentioned the plights of Catholic musicians Tenghiz and Eduard Gudava, in whose Tbilisi apartment they performed Sunday with the Phantom Orchestra, a collection of dissident musicians, and that of the family of refusenik Isai Goldstein, who founded the orchestra.

Netsky said they and others have suffered harassment, physical abuse and sometimes unfair imprisonment at the hands of authorities.

Netsky said that when the officials decided to expel the four Americans, they first wanted to put them on the first flight out of Yerevan — a flight to Beirut. Instead, they were flown to Moscow, where Netsky said officials went through belongings, erased tape recordings and examined address books.

"It was wild," Netsky said of the whole episode. "It was an adventure."

## US/WORLD

5/31 Boston Globe

### Soviets expel four Boston musicians

MOSCOW — A band of Yiddish-style musicians from Boston has been expelled from the Soviet Union after meeting and holding an impromptu concert with human rights activists in Soviet Georgia. The US Embassy said yesterday that the four-member band left Moscow Wednesday without seeing US Embassy staff. He said they were not given any reason for the expulsion, and US officials were waiting for information from the Soviet Foreign Ministry. The spokesman said the expulsion appeared to be linked to the meeting with the Georgian dissidents, but gave no further details. He would not identify the four people expelled. But Eduard Gudava, 30, a member of a group set up in the southern Soviet Republic of Georgia to monitor the Helsinki Act, said by telephone that the four belonged to a group called the Boston Klezmer Conservatory Band. Gudava named one as "Ned" Hankus Netsky and the others simply as Rosalie, Jeff and Meryl. He said they were in the Soviet Union as tourists. (Reuter)

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Comm. from Action for Soviet Jewry, Inc., transmitting a proposed policy statement on the Cambridge-Erevan Sister City Program, dated December, 1986.

In City Council,

March , 1987