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FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSION STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING

September 26, 1983

Chairperson:

Leo Nevas

AGENDA

SOVIET JEWRY UPDATE

Sara Frankel, Consul Consulate of Israel, New York

UNESCO, UN SUB-COMMISSION, MADRID AGREEMENT

Sidney Liskofsky

SPECIAL PROJECTS

Leo Nevas

SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM:

RESEARCH AND PUBLICITY

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The Madrid CSCE Follow-up Meeting: An Assessment

The following are excerpts from a statement issued July 15, 1983 by Ambassador Max M. Kampelman, Chairman, U.S. delegation to the Madrid Follow-up Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

The 35 states participating in the Madrid CSCE review conference, after almost three years of negotiation, are approaching agreement on a final document. This conclusion meets the Western criteria for an acceptable, balanced and substantive result. It confirms and expands upon the original Helsinki Final Act of 1975. The United States is pleased at the result and believes that the two years and ten months spent negotiating in Madrid have been fruitful and well worth the extraordinary effort.

The Madrid concluding document will add important new provisions to the Helsinki Final Act of 1975. These provisions deal with the rights of workers to organize, with <u>human rights</u>, with Helsinki monitors, <u>religious rights</u>, <u>human contacts and family reunification</u>, access to diplomatic and consular missions, information, rights of journalists and measures against terrorism.

IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW

Even as the pattern of Helsinki Final Act violations by the East continued, the United States took note of certain specific acts responding to Western concerns. The decision by Romania on its education immigration tax is an illustration.

RELIGION

The Madrid final document makes small but important gains over the Helsinki Final Act in four areas dealing with religious freedom.

By extending and strengthening Principle VII to provide that states will "take the action necessary to ensure the freedom of the individual to profess and practice, alone or in community with others, religion or belief acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience."

By specifying that states "will consult, whenever necessary, the religious faiths, institutions and organizations, which act within the constitutional framework of their respective countries."

By a provision, urged by the Vatican, requiring states to "favorably consider" registering religious communities of believers practicing or prepared to practice within their constitutional frameworks.

By language in Basket III stating that participating states will:

"further implement the relevant provisions of the Final Act so that religious faiths, institutions, organizations and their representatives can, in the field of their activity, develop contacts and meetings among themselves and exchange information.

HUMAN CONTACTS

The whole issue of human contacts has been highlighted in Madrid by the sadly unsatisfactory record of Soviet performance. Their record on reunification of families is abysmal. We responded to these violations of the Act by continuing to highlight the issue throughout the meetings. In addition, some forward movement beyond the Helsinki Final Act was achieved through six specific new provisions in the Madrid concluding document. The participating states have pledged:

- -- to "favorably deal with" and "decide upon" applications for family meetings, reunification, and marriage. The Final Act provided only that they would "consider" or "deal with applications in a positive and humanitarian spirit."
- -- that marriage and family reunification applications will be decided "within six months," the first reference to a definite time period. We believe this to be a useful improvement over the Final Act commitment to decide "as expeditiously as possible."
- -- that making or renewing applications for family reunification will not modify rights to "employment, housing, residence status, family support, access to social, economic or educational benefits."
- -- to provide the necessary forms and information on procedures and regulations followed in emigration cases. This has been a serious problem for many trying to emigrate from the East.
- -- to reduce fees charged in connection with emigration "to bring them to a moderate level in relation to the average monthly income." The reference to monthly income provides a new standard by which to judge fee levels which in some cases have been exorbitant.
- -- to inform applicants as "expeditiously as possible of the decision" on their cases and inform them of "their right to renew applications after reasonably short intervals" in cases of refusal. Both the fact that applicants must be informed of decisions and the recognition of the right to reapply are important in that many refuseniks in the USSR have been given "final refusals" and told they could not reapply.

FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS

- -- An Experts' Meeting on Human Rights, in Ottawa, lasting six weeks and commencing on May 7, 1985.
- A commemorative meeting in Helsinki, in 1985, marking the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Final Act.
 - -- A Cultural Forum, in Budapest, sometime in 1985.
- -- An Experts' Meeting on Human Contacts, in Bern, Switzerland, lasting six weeks and commencing April 16, 1986.
 - -- The third follow-up meeting of the CSCE, in Vienna, starting November 4, 1986.

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Three Years of Oppression

For the past three years, representatives of the nations which signed the 1975 Helsinki Accords have been meeting in Madrid to review each other's compliance with them. During the same three years, the Soviet Union has intensified its oppression of Soviet Jews, in direct violation of commitments made in Helsinki. The Soviet violations are too numerous to catalogue here, but the sampling which follows is all that is necessary to document the pattern.

Foremost among the Soviet violations of the rights of Soviet Jews in the past three years has been the systematic curtailment of Jewish emigration. In 1979, only four short years ago, more than 51,000 Jews were permitted to leave the Soviet Union, an average of more than 4,000 per month. In 1983, the average monthly total has plummeted to 120, a 98% decline, and the annual figure is likely to be less than 1,500. At this time, more than 2,000,000 Jews are trapped in the Soviet Union, and more than 300,000 of them have already begun the long and frustrating emigration application process. It is these 300,000, and especially the thousands of families who have been formally refused, who have borne the brunt of Soviet repression.

The events highlighted here, in a chronological fashion, represent merely the tip of a frightening iceberg. They are singled out not because they were unique, but rather because they are typical of the life of a committed Jew in the USSR today. When reviewed against the background of the Madrid Conference and the relevant language of the Helsinki Final Act, these violations raise fundamental questions about the Soviets' commitment to what has become known as the "Helsinki process."

August 1983

A THREE-YEAR CHRONOLOGY

Nov. 1980

Viktor Brailovsky, a distinguished Jewish scientist and co-founder of a samizdat publication called "Jews in the USSR," is arrested in Moscow on the eve of the Madrid Conference. He is charged with Article 190-1, which prohibits "the circulation of fabrications known to be false which defame the Soviet State and social system." The informal scientific seminars for refuseniks hosted by Brailovsky and others are disrupted.

Emigration total: 789

Dec. 1980

Hebrew teachers Eliyahu Essas, Yuli Kosharovsky, Ze'ev Shakhnovsky and Grigory Rozenshtein are all threatened. A class of Essas' is broken up by KGB agents, who confiscate Hebrew books and issue warnings to his students. Telephones of several leading refuseniks are also disconnected. Seventeen-year-old Aleksandr Landsman dies of acute leukemia after attempts to have him treated in the West fail.

Emigration total: 889

Jan. 1981

Boris and Gedi Kun of Moscow are refused permission to emigrate for the 10th time. Aleksandr Magidovich, a young Jewish activist from Tula, is sentenced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ years for violating Article 190-1.

Emigration total: 850

Feb. 1981

The apartment of Moscow Jewish activist Aron Gurevich is searched. Six leading activists, including Essas, Kosharovsky, and Vladimir Prestin, are called in by the KGB in connection with the investigation of Brailovsky. In Kiev, activist Vladimir Kislik is placed under close surveillance, and all mail to him is stopped.

Emigration total: 1,407

Mar. 1981

More KGB pressure is directed against Kosharovsky and Hebrew teacher Pavel Abramovich. Kosharovsky completes 10 years of living as a refusenik - his most recent refusal was based on work he was engaged in 13 years earlier.

Apr. 1981

Criminal charges are filed against Kiev activists Vladimir Kislik and Kim Fridman. Scores of long-term refuseniks, including Lev Blitshtein, Evgeny Yakir, Grigory Rozenshtein, and Emmanuel Smeliansky, are refused again.

Emigration total: 1,155

May 1981

Plans for a Jewish picnic in the woods outside of Moscow are disrupted by the KGB. In Leningrad, a Jewish seminar is raided, and activist Evgeny Lein is arrested. Kislik is sentenced to 3 years and Fridman to one year. Aleksandr Yakir, son of long-term refuseniks Evgeny and Rimma Yakir, is drafted, and Stanislav Zubko is arrested. In Kishinev, a march protesting OVIR (Emigration Bureau) policy results in the arrests of Vladimir Tsukerman and Osip Lokshin.

Emigration total: 1,141

June 1981

Prisoner of Conscience Boris Kalendariov is released from labor camp, but is also once again refused permission to emigrate. A file is opened against Boris Chernobilsky of Moscow. Viktor Brailovsky is sentenced to five years of internal exile.

Emigration total: 866

July 1981

Zubko and Chernobilsky are sentenced to 4 years and one year of detention, respectively.

Emigration total: 779

Aug. 1981

In Leningrad, Hebrew teacher Roald Zelichonok is threatened and Evgeny Lein is sentenced. In Kiev, Jewish leader Lev Elbert is singled out for a personal attack in a local paper and accused of being a contact for a "Zionist emissaries who infiltrate the USSR to spread ideological sabotage."

Sept. 1981

The KGB conducts a series of raids in Kharkov, arresting Aleksandr Paritsky, a distinguished scientist and co-founder of an informal "university" for children of refuseniks. Lokshin and Tsukerman are brought to trial and receive 3-year sentences.

Emigration total: 405

Oct. 1981

Five Jews hoping to lay wreaths to mark the anniversary of a massacre of Jews at Babi Yar are detained. In Moscow, the KGB raids the homes of Kosharovsky, Abramovich, Natasha Khassina, and Leonid Tesmenitsky. In Leningrad, Zelichonok's phone is disconnected.

Emigration total: 368

Nov. 1981

80 Moscow Jews involved in teaching informal classes are threatened by the KGB in an attempt to discourage potential students. The KGB also conducts a series of raids of Jewish homes in Odessa, and an essay by Paritsky's young daughter is used to convict him. He receives a 3-year sentence.

Emigration total: 363

Dec. 1981

OVIR imposes a new restriction on some applicants for visas, demanding that they produce a certificate proving they are not liable for military conscription. In Tbilisi, new threats are directed against brothers Isai and Grigory Goldshtein. In Leningrad, the KGB scares some children and parents away from a Chanukah party hosted by refusenik Evgeny Matskin.

Emigration total: 434

Annual emigration total for 1981: 9,447 (compared to 21,471 in 1980 and 51,320 in 1979, a drop of 82% in two years).

Jan. 1982

Grigory Vasserman of Leningrad is beaten up and left semi-conscious in the street on his way home from a Hebrew tutorial, but no one is apprehended. Refuseniks claim that postal authorities are not delivering new invitations. Prisoner of Conscience Anatoly Shcharansky spends another birthday apart from his wife, Avital.

Emigration total: 290

Feb. 1982

A number of Soviet Jewish scientists, including Mikhail Fuks Rabinovich, Semion Katz, Yuri Medvedkov, Olga Medvedkova, Viktor Kipnis, Valery Soyfer and Aleksandr Paritsky, are arbitrarily stripped of their scientific degrees. Activists including Kosharovsky and Yehudit Ratner Bialy are warned to stop their activities. In Novosibirsk, KGB threats are directed against Feliks Kochubievsky, who has expressed interest in founding a USSR-Israel Friendship Society.

Emigration total: 283

Mar. 1982

The KGB attempts to block plans for Purim celebrations. One celebration is disrupted when Aron Gurevich's apartment in Moscow is raided.

Emigration total: 289

Apr. 1982

Young refusenik Mikhail Tsyvin is detained for holding up a banner in Red Square asking authorities to let him go to Israel. The KGB launches a new drive against Moscow's religious Jews, raiding homes and calling Grigory Kantorovich and others in for questioning. The mother of refusenik Alla Smeliansky issues an appeal from Israel, asking the Soviets to permit her daughter and daughter's family to join her there.

May 1982

In Moscow, Pavel Abramovich is forcibly taken from a friend's home, interrogated for several hours, and told that if he continues to teach, he "could have an accident and break his legs." He decides to curtail his summer teaching. He also joins with Kosharovsky and Khassina in an appeal to the KGB to return Jewish materials previously confiscated. Former Prisoner Of Conscience Ida Nudel, still denied permission to join her sister in Israel, is denied a residency permit for Moscow. Activists Lev Shefer and Vladimir Yelchin receive prison sentences. Also, invalids Vladimir and Izolda Tufeld are again refused visas to join their son in Israel. Both Tufelds are seriously ill and bedridden.

Emigration total: 205

June 1982

Lev Elbert is told he may have to wait 10 more years for a visa.

Emigration total: 183

July 1982

Refusenik scientists continue to be dismissed from their professional posts; the latest is Venyamin Ganielin, a researcher at the Moscow Research Institute of Antibiotics. Polina Paritsky, wife of Prisoner Of Conscience Aleksandr Paritsky, reports that Aleksandr has been asked to publicly retract his views or face additional punishment.

Emigration total: 186

Aug. 1982

Evgeny Lein, released from prison, is warned against renewing Jewish activities. Dr. Edward Nadgorny, a distinguished and brilliant physicist with 25+ years of service at the Academy of Science's Solid State Physics Institute (which he co-founded), is demoted after applying to emigrate. His salary is slashed, he is denied access to research facilities and forbidden to publish. When he suffers a heart attack shortly thereafter, he is refused care in the Institute's medical facility. His wife is also fired from her job.

Sep. 1982

Feliks Kochubievsky is arrested in Novosibirsk. Activists Boris Kanyevsky, Ilya Geltser, and Valery Senderov, who conducted a study of discrimination against Jews at Moscow University, are arrested. Prisoner of Conscience Anatoly Shcharansky, completely isolated from his family, begins a hunger strike in prison on Yom Kippur. Sixty-nine-year-old distinguished scientist and long-term refusenik Aleksandr Lerner, alone since his wife's death in July 1981, agrees to cut off all contact with the West under threat of arrest by the KGB.

Emigration total: 246

Oct. 1982 AMERICAN EWISH

The Leningrad OVIR advises emigration applicants to resign from their jobs before applying (perhaps to avoid criticism of Helsinki violations based on earlier firings). Prisoner of Conscience Aleksandr Paritsky, refusing to recant his "crimes," is placed in solitary confinement and denied winter clothes. Jewish activist Yuri Tarnopolsky, frustrated by repeated refusals, begins a hunger strike. In Moscow, Inna Speranskaya's apartment is raided and she and her friend Iosif Begun are threatened.

Emigration total: 168

Nov. 1982

Hebrew teacher Iosif Begun is arrested for the third time. In Odessa, the KGB raids Ida Nepomniashchy's flat, and attempts to provoke a fight. Long-term refusenik Marat Osnis is refused again, this time because of "the general international situation" since his secrecy classification a decade earlier is no longer a valid excuse. Mikhail Kremen's flat is also raided, and postcards of Israel are among the materials confiscated.

Emigration total: 137

Dec. 1982

Five refuseniks are questioned in Odessa. Several leading refuseniks, including Khassina, Viktor Fulmakht, and Yakov Alpert, recieve "final refusals." Former Prisoner of Conscience Simon Shnirman is drafted again, and Evgeny Lein is threatened with "parasitism." Kochubievsky receives a 2½ year sentence. After wandering from town to town, Ida Nudel finally receives permission to settle in the obscure Moldavian city of Bendery, far from any friends. Another former Prisoner of Conscience, Vladimir Slepak, returns to Moscow to resume the quest to emigrate he began in 1970.

Emigration total: 176

Annual total for 1982: 2,688 (95% decline since 1979.)

Jan. 1983

Prisoner of Conscience Anatoly Shcharansky, seriously ill, ends his hunger strike. Simon Shnirman is arrested again. More "final refusals" are issued: recipients include Leningrad activists Iosif Radomyslsky and Grigory Vasserman. 87-year-old Ovsey Broitman, all alone in the USSR after the death of his wife, is still refused permission to join his son in Israel.

Emigration total: 81

Feb. 1983

The KGB calls in a number of refusenik scientists who signed a letter to the President of Israel. Natasha Khassina is threatened again, and Shnirman receives a 3-year sentence.

Emigration total: 125

Mar. 1983

Yuri Tarnopolsky is arrested in Kharkov. Soviet interference with mail and telephone communications between Soviet Jews and their friends in the West continues.

Emigration total: 101

Apr. 1983

Lev Elbert is called up by the military reserve. The Soviets begin to publicize a new "Anti-Zionist Committee," and a major new anti-Semitic media campaign links Zionism with Nazism, and attacks several Jewish activists by name.

Emigration total: 114

May 1983

Lev Elbert is charged and sentenced to one year. In Moscow, refuseniks learn that invitations now must be renewed every six months, a virtually impossible task because of Soviet interference with mail from Israel.

June 1983

The Anti-Zionist Committee declares that almost all Soviet Jews who wanted to leave have left, a statement denounced by the U.S. State Department as "patently false." Activist Leonid Volvovsky's apartment in Gorky is searched, and Odessa activists Yakov Mesh and Valery Pevzner are questioned. Gennady Khassin's mother dies in Israel, but his request for a visitor's visa to go to her funeral is denied. Yuri Tarnopolsky receives a 3-year sentence.

Emigration total: 102

July 1983

Lev Elbert is accused of smuggling hashish into the labor camp and is briefly placed in isolation. Iosif Begun, still awaiting trial, is also accused of breach of discipline in prison. Four Moscow Jews praying in a private apartment are interrupted and jailed for 15 days by the KGB.



SUMMARY

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

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

EMIGRATION AMERICAN JEWISH

This report notes that emigration fell from 51,320 in 1979 to 21,471, 9,447, and 2,688 in 1980, 1981, and 1982, respectively. In the first seven months of 1983, only 804 Jews left the USSR. Nearly 20,000 Jews have applied to emigrate and been refused more than once.

HARASSMENT

This report also illustrates a consistent pattern of harassment and intimidation of Soviet Jews by Soviet authorities. Jews seeking visas have been placed under surveillance, fired from their jobs, threatened with arrest, and on occasion tried and sentenced to terms in the Soviet gulag. The Soviet Union has also systematically interfered with postal and telephone communications between Soviet Jews and their friends in the West, thereby depriving them of a vital lifeline.

INFORMATION EXCHANGE

The Helsinki Final Act also addresses the question of "improvement of the circulation of, access to, and exchange of information." Nevertheless, since the Madrid Conference convened three years ago, it has continued to be virtually impossible for Soviet Jews to publish, circulate or receive Jewish religious, literary, or historical material. The Soviets will not allow any such material to be published within their territory, and rarely allow materials published abroad into the country.

JEWISH CULTURE

In addition, in the past three years, the Soviet Union has continued to prohibit the use and instruction of the Hebrew language. The USSR tolerates no Jewish choral groups, theatre groups, or cultural assemblages. Jewish holiday observances have also been frequently prohibited or prevented, and the Soviets will not allow Jewish weddings, funerals and other ceremonies accompanying major life-cycle events. There are no Jewish schools, camps, youth groups, or social organizations, there are few synagogues, and Jewish scholarly activity is virtually non-existent. Futhermore, there is no central Jewish organizing body, and consequently no training for the Jewish rabbis, functionaries and communal leaders necessary to Judaism's survival in the USSR.

DISCRIMINATION

In Soviet universities and other institutions, discrimination against Jews increased noticeably while discussions were continuing in Madrid. Jews now face discrimination in Soviet education at all levels, and it is virtually impossible for distinguished Jewish scientists, artists, and other professionals to pursue their careers.

ANTI-SEMITISM

The pattern of discrimination against Soviet Jews in the past three years has been accompanied by a centrally coordinated anti-Semitic campaign in the Soviet media. The recent formation of the so-called "anti-Zionist Committee" is merely the most recent manifestation of this unfortunate trend.

In conclusion, the current situation facing the Jews of the Soviet Union is grim, and it is not likely to improve until Soviet practice conforms with Soviet commitments made at Helsinki and Madrid. When that happens, the Helsinki process will begin to have meaning for Soviet Jews.

SOVIET JEWISH PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE ARRESTED SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE MADRID REVIEW CONFERENCE

POC	ARRESTED	CHARGE	SENTENCE
Viktor Brailovsky	Nov. 1980	defaming the Soviet State	5 yrs.
Aleksandr Magidovich	Jan. 1981	defaming the Soviet State	2½ yrs.
Vladimir Kislik	Mar. 1981	malicious hooliganism	3 yrs.
Kim Fridman	Mar. 1981	parasitism	l yr.
Evgeny Lein	May 1981	resisting a representative of authority	2 yrs.
Stanislav Zubko	May 1981	illegal possession of arms and drugs	4 yrs.
Vladimir Tsukerman	May 1981	defaming the Soviet State	3 yrs.
Osip Lokshin	May 1981	defaming the Soviet State	3 yrs.
Boris Chernobilsky	July 1981	resisting a representative of authority	1 yr.
Aleksandr Paritsky	Aug. 1981	defaming the Soviet State	3 yrs.
Lev Shefer	Sept. 1981	anti-Soviet agitation	5 yrs.
Vladimir Yelchin	Sept. 1981	anti-Soviet agitation	5 yrs.
Boris Kanyevsky	June 1982	defaming the Soviet State	5 yrs.
Valery Senderov*	June 1982	anti-Soviet agitation	12 yrs.
Feliks Kochubievsky	Sept. 1982	defaming the Soviet State	2½ yrs.
Iosif Begun	Nov. 1982	anti-Soviet agitation	3rd trial pending
Simon Shnirman	Jan. 1983	draft evasion (2nd time)	3 yrs.
Yuri Tarnopolsky	Mar. 1983	defaming the Soviet State	3 yrs.
Aleksandr Panaryev	Apr. 1983	draft evasion	1 yr.
Lev Elbert	May 1983	draft evasion	1 yr.

^{*}non-Jew engaged in Jewish activity

OTHER SOVIET JEWISH POC'S STILL SERVING SENTENCES

Yuri Federov*	June 1970	treason; anti-Soviet agitation	15 yrs.
Alexei Murzhenko*	June 1970	treason; anti-Soviet agitation	14 yrs.
Anatoly Shcharansky	Mar. 1977	treason; anti-Soviet agitation	13 yrs.
Igor Guberman	Aug. 1979	illegal acquisition or marketing of icons	5 yrs:
Valery Pilnikov	May 1980	malicious hooliganism	5 yrs.

ARCHIVES

*non-Jews engaged in Jewish activities

