

BASKET THREE: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

HEARING BEFORE THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE NINETY-SIXTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS Volume X

ALEKSANDR GINZBURG ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS
SITUATION IN THE U.S.S.R.

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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS: ALEKSANDR GINZBURG ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE U.S.S.R

FRIDAY, MAY 11, 1979

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE,
Washington, D.C.

The Commission met, pursuant to notice, at 9:30 a.m., in room 2318, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Dante B. Fascell, chairman, presiding.

In attendance: Commissioners Bingham, Buchanan, Dole, Fenwick, Leahy, and Stone.

Also in attendance: R. Spencer Oliver, staff director and general counsel.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN FASCELL

Chairman FASCELL. The Commission will come to order. It is with mixed emotions that I open today's hearings. On the one hand we are honored to have this opportunity to meet and speak firsthand with a remarkable man: a man who has been prominently involved in the struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union for over a decade; the administrator of the Solzhenitsyn Fund for political prisoners; a founding member of the first Helsinki Monitoring Group; a man who has made great sacrifices and endured much suffering for his efforts to help his fellow man. We rejoice that Aleksandr Ginzburg has finally been released from the inhumanity of the Soviet labor camps. We are delighted that he will shortly be reunited with his wife, mother and young sons. We wish for Mr. Ginzburg and his family a life of happiness and fulfillment. We hope that he will be able to pursue his vital and noble work as a champion for the cause of liberty and human dignity. In that endeavor, we look forward to establishing as close a working relationship with Mr. Ginzburg as the Commission already enjoys with Mrs. Lyudmila Alekseeva, the Moscow Helsinki Group's official representative abroad who is also here today. It is clear that in this case the Soviet Union's loss is our gain.

I cannot help but feel a sense of sadness however. Tomorrow marks the third anniversary of the founding of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group. Three years ago a small band of dedicated and courageous individuals in the U.S.S.R. took upon themselves the difficult task of monitoring their country's compliance with the Helsinki Final Act. For this selfless and important activity—which the Final Act itself affirms—many of the Helsinki monitors, including Alik

Ginzburg, have paid a terrible price. Seventeen members of the Helsinki Monitoring Group are today languishing in Soviet prisons, labor camps or remote Siberian exile. Although we are gratified that Mr. Ginzburg is here with us today, we profoundly regret that the Soviet Government still holds his colleagues in deplorable conditions of imprisonment. While gestures such as the recent releases are welcome, they cannot obscure the basic and tragic fact that nearly 4 years after the signing of the Helsinki accords the U.S.S.R. continues to trample upon the rights of its people.

The U.S. concern for human rights and fundamental freedoms is—and will remain—an integral aspect of our relations with all countries. A conviction held by many in the Congress and the American public is that the way in which a government honors its commitments to its own citizens is a measure of how that government will live up to its treaty obligations to other nations. As the Moscow Helsinki Group proclaimed in their very first document, "Issues of humanitarianism and free information have a direct relationship to the problem of international security." While I commend the Administration for their steadfast efforts that resulted in Mr. Ginzburg's presence here today, let us not forget those 17 incarcerated Helsinki monitors nor the thousands of men and women trapped within the Soviet Gulag for merely trying to exercise their political and religious rights.

Mr. Ginzburg, I know that my colleagues on the Commission join me in extending to you the heartiest and warmest of welcomes to this country.

Now I would like to ask the Commissioners who are here if they have some additional remarks. Senator Dole?

Commissioner DOLE. I would like to yield first to Senator Leahy.

Chairman FASCELL. Senator Leahy?

Commissioner LEAHY. I would like to say [Russian phrase]. I guess you should translate that into Russian. I'm afraid I butchered it badly enough. What I was saying was, "welcome to Vermont" to Mr. Ginzburg. We have a very distinguished colleague of his, Mr. Solzhenitsyn, already in Vermont. I'm glad that Mr. Ginzburg can be there also. I had the great honor over the weekend to spend time at the home of Dr. Olin Robison—the president of Middlebury College—who is here with us today. Cathy Cosman, Spencer Oliver and I met with Pastor Vins in the evening and then again on Monday morning and discussed with him what he and Mr. Ginzburg and others have gone through.

Obviously, I am very proud, as a Vermonter, that they are in our State and can feel the kind of freedom that we offer not only in Vermont but, of course, in any of the 50 States of the Union. I am proud and pleased that they can feel comfortable with us. At the same time I naturally share the sorrow of my fellow Commissioners that it is even necessary to have a haven for these people in our country or any other country, knowing that they have been sent out of their own country solely because they have stood up for the rights that have really been guaranteed to them when the Soviet Union signed the Helsinki accords.

This is because, of course, the Soviet Union has not lived up to those rights and has not lived up to what its signature meant, and because Mr. Ginzburg very rightly demanded those rights, he is now in exile from his own country.

I do hope that he and the others will feel comfortable in our country.

I am just saddened, as any person would be, to think that a country would deny those rights that we take for granted here and that anyone would have to leave their own country under those circumstances.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman FASCELL. Senator Dole?

Commissioner DOLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I welcome Mr. Ginzburg and others in this audience who share our concerns. Relatives of some of the activists who are still imprisoned are present here today. Mr. & Mrs. Gajauskas, members of the family of Balys Gajauskas, whose case, among many others, deserves our attention, are here as well.

Congressman Dornan on the House side has been working very hard in this area, as have others in both the House and Senate.

We have had a number of meetings and I think most of us have been impressed with the progress made in the past few years following the signing of the Helsinki accords in 1975. During meetings at Belgrade my colleagues and I made efforts to persuade the Soviets of the need for all participant nations to respect the provisions to which they had agreed to be signatory. It is my belief that the inherent need for freedom of thought, speech, and worship has been a powerful driving force throughout the history of mankind.

Men such as Aleksandr Ginzburg and many others whose very existences have been sacrificed and dedicated to the fight for a freedom that some may never live to see realized, are a strong and powerful symbol of that drive. Their courage and their resilience are testimony to the struggle that has been going on for as long as tyranny has existed and will persist as long as governments and regimes choose to ignore that there will always be men, along with Patrick Henry, who will question whether "life is so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery". This question has long been answered by those the Soviet Government calls dissidents.

It seems to me that we have a special obligation to men like Aleksandr Ginzburg if we really believe in freedom and if we really believe in the concept of human rights—as we do.

I also praise the President for his continuing efforts.

So, I just say, "welcome" to Mr. Ginzburg. We look forward to many other meetings such as this where others who should be free are here to visit with us. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman FASCELL. Now, this next young lady—I'm going to take a moment or two, because she not only puts her heart in everything she does but is also a very brilliant mind. We owe her a special debt—those of us on the Commission—because the Commission is her brainchild and her sponsorship and her efforts spurred it through the Congress and gave us the opportunity to come together in this very worthwhile work that we are engaged in. So, I am delighted to turn the floor now over to Mrs. Fenwick.

Commissioner FENWICK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your usual generosity. I know there are others you want to hear—and so do I. But how can we not welcome, so warmly, Aleksandr Ginzburg for whom we have written so many times asking for his release? Now he is with us, but we must remember also Orlov, Shcharansky, Tykhy, Rudenko, Zlotver, Mager, men known and unknown, famous and not so famous, all left behind in the prisons of that country from which Mr. Ginzburg has been exiled.

I remember in Paris Mr. Maximov, the editor of *Kontinent*, said that some of the exiles wept when they read the Helsinki accords. Now he said, "I realize that we have a bomb on our hands." What is that bomb? It is the right of the people of those prison countries to protest when the rights that were agreed to and signed by their nation are not being given to them. The bomb is the power of the human spirit and the insistence that those rights be recognized.

There is no way for us in this country to measure the courage of the people—the Helsinki Watch groups—in those prison countries. There is no way to measure their courage.

What they face is menace. I remember going to see Mr. Turchin in his little flat in Moscow. Six times he had been called in by the KGB and was told that, "Next time you may not come back home." He's here now, too.

So, we think of this parade of people who have come out, who have left their country—which they must love as we do ours—forever exiled and all those still left behind. The question is: Are we going to be with them in spirit? Are we going to exhibit the solidarity that human beings must develop if this world is going to move to some kind of respect for human beings. Mr. Ginzburg is the mark of all that courage and the symbol of it here. We look at him and we know that it is not easy to be in one of those prisons for any length of time. I think it is a mask of suffering that we see, and we must honor the courage that made him endure it.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman FASCELL. Thank you, Mrs. Fenwick. Ladies and gentlemen, our first witness today is an outstanding American. Inspired by the heroic efforts of Mr. Ginzburg and his colleagues in the Soviet Union, a new organization was formed in the United States called the Helsinki Watch. The chairman of the board is here today. That group is a private New York-based group monitoring compliance with the Helsinki accords. Mr. Bernstein is also the chairman, president, and chief executive officer of Random House; a past chairman of the Association of American Publishers; the founder of the AAP's Committee on International Freedom To Publish; a director of the International League for Human Rights; a member of the Board of Writers and Scholars International; chairman of the Fund for Free Expression; and a member of the National Advisory Committee of Amnesty International. I have undoubtedly just touched on a few. That is the reason I say very sincerely that he is an outstanding American. We are delighted to welcome him here today, Mr. Robert Bernstein, chairman of the board of the Helsinki Watch.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT BERNSTEIN

Mr. BERNSTEIN. That long list, of course, all says the same thing—

Chairman FASCELL. Yes; You are stuck with a lot of hard work.

Mr. BERNSTEIN. I want to thank you for allowing me a few minutes today to speak on behalf of the American Helsinki Watch Committee. I am particularly honored to be speaking on the same morning as Aleksandr Ginzburg, who has accomplished so much for the cause of human rights.

The Helsinki Watch shares with everyone in this room enormous relief and satisfaction that he is no longer confined in a labor camp.

However, we cannot allow our elation over his release to dim our memory of why he was imprisoned. Mr. Ginzburg eloquently espoused the principles embodied in the Helsinki Final Act and, for exercising his right to free speech, a right guaranteed by the Final Act, he was jailed.

In forcing Mr. Ginzburg to live in foreign exile, the Soviet Union continues to deny him that right.

I remember Boris Stukalyn, chairman of the State Committee of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers on Publishing, Printing, and Book Selling, proudly telling the Association of American Publishers that the Helsinki Final Act had been printed in its entirety in *Pravda* so that every Soviet citizen was aware of its content. He pointed out that no American newspaper had done the same. I did not realize at that moment how cruel a gesture it was for *Pravda* to print the act.

Principle VII includes this crucial sentence: "They [the government signing the act] confirm the right of the individual to know and act upon his rights." What a capricious injustice it is to inform people of their rights and then to harass and imprison them when they try to act upon them.

There can be no question that the systematic trial and imprisonment of Soviet citizens who participate in Helsinki Watch committees amounts to a clear warning to all Soviet citizens that it is dangerous to take Helsinki guarantees seriously.

The more than 50 prominent Americans who are members of the American Helsinki Watch Committee are drawn from a wide variety of fields. They meet their Soviet counterparts at many international meetings. Sharing more than a common interest and expertise in the professional subject at hand, they naturally wish to speak about the many concerns which are common to us all regardless of national or cultural origin; yet, they are inhibited by the knowledge that an honest exchange might endanger their Soviet colleagues, while one in which their counterparts parrot the official line is of no value at all. This is especially true if they wish to discuss the Helsinki Final Act and its meaning in the U.S.S.R.

One of the aims of our committee is to see that discussion of Helsinki practices becomes a common part of the agenda of international meetings, one in which citizens of different countries participate.

We believe the Soviet Government will eventually understand that it cannot continue to muzzle its citizens if their country is to derive maximum benefit from the information exchanges which these meetings provide.

We believe they must change their policy, not because it is good for the United States or good for the West, but because it will be good for the Soviet Union.

The release of the Helsinki monitors and other political prisoners who are now languishing in Soviet prison camps, not in exchange for spies but because they deserve their freedom, and not to be banished to the West but to speak freely in their homeland, might do as much to forward world peace as even an arms limitation agreement.

In closing, let me extend a warm welcome to Aleksandr Ginzburg, who I hope one day will be able to return to his own country to continue his important work. I hope too that I will soon have the privilege of meeting with Yuri Orlov, chairman of the Moscow Helsinki Watch,

and Mykola Rudenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Watch Group, preferably as free men on Russian soil but at the very least as free men in the West.

Thank you.

QUESTIONS AND REMARKS

Chairman FASCELL. Thank you very much. Wait a minute. Don't run off so fast.

Mr. BERNSTEIN. OK, OK.

Chairman FASCELL. I'm sure that the Commission would like to know a little bit more about your work with the Helsinki Watch. So, if you don't mind, perhaps we can have a few questions. I'll start here on my left with Mrs. Fenwick and Senator Dole.

Commissioner FENWICK. I have no real questions. I think the work you do is so unquestionably valuable. We all must be concerned that the human rights in Basket III be honored in every country that signed—and that certainly includes our own.

I am very happy to see you here. There is so much work to do. Everybody who cares must work together. I hope that your group, Mr. Bernstein, will indeed let us know of any violations of those rights that come to your attention, so that we—this Commission—can work with you here.

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Thank you.

Commissioner DOLE. I have no questions. Thank you, Mr. Bernstein. I commend your organization. I believe it is important, as you indicate is one of your aims, to discuss these issues at international meetings.

It seems to me that—we meet periodically and we travel and we try to keep abreast of what we believe are very important matters, but sometimes I wonder if there is a broad enough understanding across this country. I am certain that your efforts are very helpful in that area. Thank you.

Chairman FASCELL. Senator Leahy?

Commissioner LEAHY. I think probably the only thing that I would add, in following along with what Senator Dole just said, is that what you do is extremely important. I think it would be helpful to this Commission if you would, on an ongoing basis, keep us aware of the specific examples that you are investigating or monitoring. I make an open invitation to you to add material to us and to call to our attention those incidents that we may not otherwise be aware of. So, you have a carte blanche invitation from us to do that.

Mr. BERNSTEIN. Thank you.

Chairman FASCELL. Senator, let me just add at that moment that we certainly welcome the work of the Helsinki Watch and Mr. Bernstein. We look on them as our nongovernmental counterpart. We expect a very close relationship. Goodness knows, there is enough work for everybody in the field of human rights. We welcome all the talent and ability and interest that we can get. So, we are very anxious to work with you in every way possible and look forward to that opportunity. Mrs. Fenwick?

Commissioner FENWICK. I have one more question. I wonder if you could make a special effort to get after some of these organized groups, such as the Pen Club, the Jurists, the Psychiatric Association—

Chairman FASCELL. He is already after them.

Commissioner FENWICK. Are you after them? [Laughter.]

We had a big success at the Hawaii meeting. The English psychiatrists and the Americans were able to include on the agenda the question of the misuse of psychiatric hospitals as prisons. If you could begin to organize—which is easier and better for a citizen group than it is for a Helsinki Commission composed of Members of Congress—to urge these associations to concern themselves, it would be most useful. In a curious way it is a powerful influence when the scientists and those independent associations with whom the Soviet Government officials like to have their professionals meet, bring to the attention of the meeting the plight of members of that particular profession. I wondered if you were involved in any conscious effort of that kind.

Mr. BERNSTEIN. That is exactly what we are doing. I think the American Psychiatric Association meets next week in Chicago and on May 25, the World Psychiatric Association meets in a closed meeting in Moscow. We are talking next week with members who are going there—

Commissioner FENWICK. Very good.

Mr. BERNSTEIN [continuing]. And asking them: (a) Why is the meeting closed; and (b) to inquire as to the fate of Aleksandr Podrabinek, who wrote "Punitive Medicine" and is now in Siberia for having written a book that has been published here and which tries to call attention to the use of psychiatry in politics. That is exactly what we are doing.

Commissioner FENWICK. Good.

Mr. BERNSTEIN. We are working with citizen—not Government-sponsored international meetings—with citizen meetings—psychiatrists, political scientists, physicists—all of the groups. Scientists, of course, are way ahead of us. They have been doing a fantastic job all of their own.

Commissioner FENWICK. That is very good, because we have been told over and over at these hearings of the value of those groups—those independent worldwide groups. They are tremendously powerful. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman FASCELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Bernstein. Our next witness this morning is the official representative abroad of the Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group. She is a founding member of the Moscow group. She emigrated from the U.S.S.R. in 1977 and presently lives in West Virginia with her husband. She has been of enormous assistance to this Commission since she has been in the United States—always extremely helpful. She is here today to introduce her friend and colleague, Aleksandr Ginzburg. We are very happy to welcome and to introduce Mrs. Lyudmila Alekseeva. Welcome, Mrs. Alekseeva.

STATEMENT OF LYUDMILA ALEKSEEVA

Mrs. ALEKSEEVA. Excuse me my English pronunciation.

Chairman FASCELL. That is all right. Do you want to pull the mike a little closer to you, Mrs. Alekseeva?

Commissioner LEAHY. I might say that your English pronunciation is a lot better than my Russian pronunciation. [Laughter.]

Mrs. ALEKSEEVA. The third anniversary of the Moscow Helsinki Group is marked by an extraordinary event: five political prisoners

have been released before the end of their sentences and five more were exchanged for Soviet spies. Among those who were exchanged is Aleksandr Ginzburg, one of the founders of the Moscow Group and the representative of the Solzhenitsyn Fund for the Aid of Political Prisoners.

The members of the Moscow Helsinki Group are happy for all the released prisoners, happy for Alik's family; and happy for Alik himself. He is a very ill person and for him to have been in prison for such a long time would have meant his death.

We wish to thank members of the Helsinki Commission, the American Helsinki Group and all the supporters of political prisoners in the U.S.S.R. We thank President Carter and his Administration. It is the first time since the Soviets gained control of our country that 10 people were released from Gulag all at the same time. This event proved the effectiveness of Western public support of dissidents and of Carter's human rights policy.

But our joy is tempered by thoughts of the others still in Gulag. We are thinking of the convicted members of the Moscow Helsinki Group—about Dr. Orlov, Anatoly Shcharansky, Aleksandr Podrabinek and Vladimir Slepak—and about the members of the republic Helsinki groups—Rudenko, Tykhy, Marynovych, Matusevych, Lukyanenko, Romanyuk, Petkus, Gajauskas, Nazaryan, Aruntunyan, Kostava, Rtskhiladze and Gamsakhurdia.

We are thinking of all political prisoners, including those who are not well known in the West only because they did not happen to meet Western reporters in Moscow.

We hope that American public opinion, as well as the American Government, will not lessen its efforts in their support until the day there is a complete amnesty for all political prisoners. Thank you.

Chairman FASCELL. Thank you very much. Mr. Ginzburg has a prepared statement and he is going to deliver that in his own language. Ms. Cathy Cosman of the Commission staff, who speaks fluent Russian, will read simultaneously the English version for both the audience, ourselves up here and for the media. We hope that will be adequate. In the meantime, Mr. Ginzburg is assisted by another friend who has been here many times to assist us, Lydia Voronina. Mr. Ginzburg, we would be happy to hear from you.

STATEMENT OF ALEKSANDR GINZBURG

Mr. GINZBURG (through an interpreter). I must begin with a sad announcement. On April 5, Father Karolis Garuckas, a Catholic priest and member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group, died of cancer. His signature appears on all the Lithuanian Group documents.

In the summer of 1977, at the trial of Lithuanian Group member Viktoras Petkus, Father Karolis, who was already terminally ill, made the following statement:

We worked together, so you should put me in the dock as well. I would consider it an honor to die in the camps as have so many other servants of the church in Lithuania.

Hundreds of Lithuanians went to bury Father Karolis, priest and human rights defender. We share their grief at his death. I ask you to join me in honoring his memory with a moment of silence.

[Moment of silence.]

Mr. GINZBURG (though an interpreter). Thank you. These last 3 years have been so filled with events, that I, having spent the last 2 years in isolation, find it difficult to grasp all that has happened in this time. Camp walls have limited that information that has reached me. I am unaware of much that is known to those present here today.

In camp I did not feel cut off from my comrades in the Groups. We broke through the web of misinformation to get at the truth about our country, about the Group and about our friends. But only now have I been able to discover what the Group has done during my imprisonment. I was amazed that they had managed to accomplish so much.

However, I possess information unknown to those on the outside—information about Helsinki Groups operating in camps for political prisoners.

At the present time, three members of the Helsinki Groups are in exile. Two, Shcharansky and Petkus, are in prison; and 11 others are in the camps. All those members of the Helsinki Groups who have ended up in camp have announced their intention to retain their Group membership. They will also continue, even under these new circumstances, to inform the public of violations of the humanitarian provisions of the Final Act.

Ukrainian Group members Levko Lukyanenko and Oleksiy Tykhy were confined to the Mordovian special regimen camp with me. In our camp four others joined us in the Helsinki Group. Balys Gajauskas petitioned the Lithuanian Group to accept him as a member. Our Group in camp made a similar request to the Ukrainian Group on behalf of Father Vasily Romanyuk, a political prisoner. In addition to Gajauskas and Romanyuk, political prisoners Eduard Kuznetsov and Bogdan Rebruk joined us. And so, we had a total of seven members.

I understand that there is also a Helsinki Group in the Perm camps, but all I know about that is that Yuri Orlov, leader of the Moscow Group, is a member.

Our Mordovian camp Group prepared three documents. I hope to make these available to the Commission as soon as they arrive in the West.

The first of these documents concerns capital punishment. In it we appealed to all the signatories of the Helsinki accords to abolish the death penalty. The fact of the matter is that several people who had been sentenced to death turned up in our camp. Each spent a year on death row before having his sentence commuted to 15 years special regimen camp. It was from them that we learned the names of 20 individuals who had—unbeknownst to the public—been executed. These 20 went to their death from special investigatory prisons in three small oblasts—Bryansky, Kaluzhsky and Zhitomirsky—between 1976 and 1978. Five to six people from each of these special investigatory prisons are executed annually. Every oblast of the Soviet Union has at least one of these prisons. Larger oblasts with populations of a million or more have more than one. The number of those condemned to death is roughly proportional to the population of the oblast.

We called our second document "Combining Political Détente with Military Détente." In this document we appealed to those Helsinki signatories which still require obligatory military service to abolish it. Of course, as always, the fate of our country concerned us the most. I am certain that the security of our native land would not be endangered by abolishing conscription, but I am not certain that the

security of any of us can be assured should the U.S.S.R. retain such conscription.

Our third document concerns religious persecution in camps for political prisoners. In our camp, as well as in others in the Mordovian complex, confiscation of crosses from Christians and yarmulkas and Jewish stars from Jews has become a common occurrence. In addition, religious literature—in fact, anything of a religious nature, including letters in which relatives have copied prayers for us—is taken away.

What other new information do I possess?

I am perhaps the first who can tell you about how the KGB checked the accuracy of the Moscow Helsinki Group documents which were used as evidence against Orlov, Shcharansky, and myself. A similar check for accuracy was conducted in 1975 in the case against Sergei Kovalev. At that time, the KGB examined the reports of *The Chronicle of Current Events*, the human rights bulletin which has been published regularly for 11 years now.

These investigations, biased as they were, revealed that the human rights documents contained no distortions and only a very few minor inaccuracies—unavoidable under the circumstances. My sentence gave me the opportunity personally to check the accuracy of the Moscow Helsinki Group documents on prison conditions for political detainees. In camp I saw with my own eyes that the situation of political prisoners is even worse than that described in the supposedly anti-Soviet and slanderous documents which incriminated Orlov, Shcharansky, and myself. During the brief time that the KGB investigation lasted, prison conditions improved somewhat. Even then, however, they did not even approach what could be considered minimally humane standards.

Although the investigation showed that the information we sent to the West was accurate, our situation did not improve. For over a year the investigation was conducted on the basis of the capital charge of treason. My interrogators constantly reminded me that I faced the death penalty. I realized that this wasn't merely an empty threat when I heard one of my interrogators say, "Don't think we'll forgive you the billions the Soviet Union lost because you caused the trade agreement with the United States to fall through." He was speaking, of course, of the Jackson-Vanik amendment. Although the Moscow Helsinki Group was formed after Jackson-Vanik was adopted, the Soviet authorities clearly wanted to vent their spleen by shooting someone in retaliation.

I know that they also threatened Orlov and Shcharansky with the death penalty. Incidentally, they charged Orlov with organizing the Moscow Helsinki Group at the behest of the U.S. Congress. They also charged that Orlov managed the Group on the orders of Congress and at the personal direction of Congressman Fascell. [Laughter.]

Mr. GINZBURG. [through an interpreter]. On the third anniversary of the Moscow Helsinki Group I'm glad to announce that, despite all the arrests, the Group is actively continuing its work; that new members have joined; and that our arrests have not deterred them.

In addition to the situation of political prisoners, the documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group contain information about persecution of religious believers, on violations of the rights of Crimean Tatars and other nationalities, and on the problems of emigration and information exchange. Even after our arrests, the range of problems

investigated by the group widened. The group published documents on the situation of pensioners and the handicapped in the U.S.S.R., on the depravity of Soviet labor legislation, on the right to *habeas corpus*, and on other problems.

Thus, in spite of the persecution, the Moscow Helsinki Group did not turn into a mere self-defense society. Of course, the fate of arrested Group members did find a place in its documents.

Drawing on my previous camp experience, I dealt with the problems of political prisoners even while I was in Moscow. Therefore, it is natural for me to take this opportunity to raise the issue of political prisoners: my colleagues Orlov, Shcharansky, and Slepak, as well as other political prisoners, particularly those sentenced to long terms and those who are ill.

Recently 10 people were sprung from the Gulag. As the price of their release, however, these people were forced to give up their native country. Most of them were psychologically prepared for this step. For me, on the other hand, it was a wrenching experience. But there are no two ways about it: One must work for the release of those who remain imprisoned—even it means paying the same price.

Yuri Orlov, leader of the Moscow Helsinki Group, is a case in point. An outstanding physicist, Orlov is well known in the West. Since the days of Stalin, no scientist of his stature has been imprisoned in Soviet camps. He has been invited to work at both American and European scientific centers. Ten years of manual labor, during which he will have no opportunity to practice his profession, will kill him as a scientist. To him this prospect is surely more bitter than actual physical death.

Sergei Kovalev, a noted biologist, is one of the founders of the Soviet human rights movement. Kovalev is one of the finest people I have ever met. He was arrested in 1974. His sentence ends in 1986. Two years ago, when he was in dire need of an emergency operation, he managed to get sent to the prison hospital only after he and other political prisoners conducted a month long hunger strike. For Kovalev, release is a matter of life or death.

All of us who have been released, and our friends in the U.S.S.R., consider it a great injustice that three people convicted in the Lenin-grad hijacking trials still remain in camp. We are particularly disturbed when we think that these are the three with the longest time left to serve: Yuri Federov, Aleksey Murzhenko, and Iosif Mendelovich. In 1970, Yuri Federov was sentenced, along with Kuznetsov and Dymshitz, to a 15-year term. He suffers from severely inflamed kidneys and other illnesses brought on by life in the camp. His medical card states that he is supposed to be under the care of a urologist. The card was issued in 1977, but he has yet to see a urologist. Even hunger strikes do not get him the medical attention he so badly needs. And in his condition, such hunger strikes can mean certain death after the third day.

Oleksiy Tykhy, 52 years old, is a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Although he is a philosopher, Tykhy has had to work as a fireman since his first sentence. Arrested in 1977, Tykhy's term will not end until 1992. When I last saw him in camp, he was in extremely bad health. I am not sure that he is still alive. Unending illegal harassments and punishment—which the Moscow Helsinki Group in its documents convincingly calls torture by hunger, cold, and the

deprivation of sleep—have forced Tykhy to go on a hunger strike. While he was fasting, the prison administration put him in a punishment cell. They did not call an orderly to look after him, and there is no doctor in camp. On the 16th day of his hunger strike, Tykhy got a stomach ulcer for the first time in his life. Medical personnel in the camps do not lift a finger until a person is actually screaming from pain. Tykhy was taken to the camp hospital—which is at least 20 kilometers away—and there they performed an operation on him, but they performed it so badly that he needed a second one. It was in this way—after a second operation in the same hospital—that my friend, Yuri Galanskov, died in 1972.

Vladimir Osipov is the editor of the samizdat journal *Veche*. It took him 3 years to get the medical personnel in camp to admit that he had tuberculosis—something which even an untrained eye could spot right away. Now Osipov is in the hospital in serious condition.

Mykola Rudenko, who is the leader of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and a well-known writer, is also a war invalid. In camp he has frequently been in the hospital, but has never received complete medical treatment. The last time he was in the hospital Rudenko was told that he would be sent back to camp only a few days after a serious operation. The reason for this early transfer back to camp was that they did not want him to meet Oleksiy Tykhy in that same hospital.

The incidents I have told you about are not exceptions. Rather, they are ordinary events and typical of prison life. They are extracted from a whole mass of such incidents. Stomach ulcers, tuberculosis, hypertension, kidney and liver ailments are inevitable diseases for prisoners. I do not know any prisoner who does not suffer from at least one of these illnesses. This is the natural result of our diet, our medicine, and our punitive legislation. I want to stress that the mistreatment we find in camp is not the result of perverted actions on the part of individual guards. In fact, everything is done according to regulations and special instructions. And that is the most terrible thing of all.

I want to mention a few other people who are in the same situation and state of health as the people I have already described.

Sergei Babich is serving a 15-year sentence. This is his fourth term.

Igor Ogurtsov is serving a 20-year sentence.

Petras Paulaitis is facing a 25-year sentence.

Vladimir Dvoryansky was sentenced for refusing to give false testimony and he is very ill.

Vladimir Shelkov is an 84-year-old religious leader.

Danilo Shumuk has spent 30 years in the camps. His present term ends in 1987.

Oksana Popovich—this is her second sentence. She is very ill and is currently serving a 13-year sentence.

Yuri Shukhevich has hardly left prison since he was 14 years old.

Levko Lukyanenko is a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group whose present term ends in 1991.

Viktoras Petkus is a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group who has already been imprisoned for 18 years and who is now facing another 13-year term.

Balys Gajauskas is a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group who has spent 2 years in German concentration camps, 27 years in

Soviet camps, and who now faces another 13-year term of imprisonment.

Should one struggle to get them released? Definitely.

I must thank the members of the congressional Helsinki Commission for their concern for our fates and particularly their attention to the Solzhenitsyn Russian Social Fund which is the main task in my life. Your existence and your activity are a great boon to us. I hope you will not consider my release a signal to end your efforts.

I am ready to answer your questions. The issues about which I am most knowledgeable are the problems of, and aid for, political prisoners and the situation of religious minorities.

QUESTIONS AND REMARKS

Chairman FASCELL. Mr. Ginzburg, thank you very much. I also thank you, Ms. Cosman, for a good job. I must say, Mr. Ginzburg, as you testified and I listened to you, I got some small idea of the strength that you have and the fire that is within you. The vitality and the courage that kept you alive through your ordeal gave you the strength to continue to fight for your convictions and your beliefs. It is very clear that you are a strong man mentally. I do not know a thing about your physical condition. It is obvious that you did not get too good a treatment wherever you were.

I must say that we will welcome in the Commission the receipt of the three documents of the Mordovian Group as soon as they are finished or delivered. We would be very happy to receive those for the Commission records.

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Thank you.

Chairman FASCELL. As you know, we have received many documents from the Helsinki Group, which we have been fortunate to receive, have translated, printed, and disseminated widely to those who are interested in them.

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. During the investigation of my case, the KGB showed me your Helsinki Commission documents which were distributed at the Belgrade Conference; and I am very thankful to you for that, and I very much support your efforts in that regard.

Chairman FASCELL. I was amused to learn from Mr. Ginzburg that one of his interrogators or harassers was attributing a great deal of power to me in the Soviet Union as chairman of this Commission. I'd like Mr. Ginzburg to know that if I could only get my orders and directions into the Soviet Union and get the people to carry them out, we really would have a change. [Laughter.]

Tell Mr. Ginzburg I want to thank him very much for his testimony here today. We will now ask some questions of him. Maybe I've overlooked these terms before, but I didn't know that the Soviets had so many different kinds of categories of camps and prisons and what not. What is a special regimen camp and what is a special investigatory prison?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Camps in the Soviet Union are divided into four categories: general regimen, strengthened regimen, strict regimen, and special regimen. As a rule, political prisoners are not put into the general regimen camps where the conditions are better. This camp is for criminals—for minor criminal matters. For

more serious criminal acts there is the strengthened regimen camp. In this camp are also people whom we consider to be political prisoners; for example, people who are sentenced for being advocates of religion; for example, pastors and the colleagues of Pastor Vins. In this camp they are sent only after their first conviction. If they are sentenced again or if they are sentenced in the way I was—as an especially dangerous state criminal—they are sent right away to a strict regimen camp.

Chairman FASCELL. What category of camp was Mr. Ginzburg in?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. The next one. If people are convicted a second time for especially dangerous state crimes, they are sent to a special regimen camp, the worst category. In addition to deprivation and limitation of diet, the right to correspondence, and the right to receive packages, they are distinguished by the fact that they are prison regimens where the prisoners, during the part of the day when they are not working, are in small cells. They must live in small cells. I have arrived from such a camp.

Chairman FASCELL. Senator Dole?

Commissioner DOLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Ginzburg, it is my understanding that you suffer from heart disease and tuberculosis. Have you had an opportunity to have a good physical examination since coming to the United States?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Not yet. I so far have not had time, but I will give you a certificate after I have had such an exam. [Laughter.]

Commissioner DOLE. Well I am curious because I think you ought to take good care of yourself. You are feeling better, though; is that correct?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. I am very tense.

Commissioner DOLE. Well, shortly after you arrived in this country, you stated that the release of some of the dissidents was an attempt to deceive President Carter and the American people. I just wondered if you might elaborate on that statement.

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. OK, I'll tell you about that. I only want to say one thing. This humane act for the situation of human rights in our country in my opinion still has no effect on the general situation. It still is not an improvement in the human rights situation in the Soviet Union. I simply cannot understand people who think that it has such an effect. If one saves a drowning person, does that mean that the situation of everyone else has improved? Your struggle is, without doubt, the struggle for human rights; but in our situation this was merely a humane gesture. Some people try to present this simple humane gesture as an actual improvement in the general situation. The situation in the camps about which I am talking—the situation of Tykhy and Rudenko and other people I knew in the camps—still continues. That is going on every day. So, in that case, how can one even talk about a general improvement since that situation still continues and remains unchanged?

Commissioner DOLE. I guess what I was—it has been suggested by some that perhaps the release of you, Mr. Ginzburg, and others may have been an effort by the Soviets to soften the American attitude with reference to the so-called SALT agreement. I am not certain you have any views on that. I am not asking for a comment on SALT, but could it be a motivation on the part of the Soviets to lull the

American people or some of us in the Congress into feeling that there is a general change in an effort to rally support for any agreement with the Soviets?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Well, I have a different understanding of détente. As Solzhenitsyn said, détente can be described as asking for a handout. I see a lot of other things. However, I am not at all a specialist in regard to military matters. I do not trust the Soviet Government. As far as you are concerned, of course, you have to decide that for yourselves.

Commissioner DOLE. I understand that. I think you made the point that trust of the Soviets is the question that may decide SALT. Whether you understand the SALT agreement or not, it may be based on trusting the Soviets. That is why I was interested in your analysis or views on the question of whether or not the releases were geared to create more faith in what the Soviets might do in reference to SALT. Was it a Soviet trick or was it—you have indicated it was not a change in general attitude.

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. I simply cannot conceive of the possibility of the present regime becoming more liberal. The present government simply cannot become more liberal.

I would like to add that we are grateful for your aid in this respect and that we are fighting for human rights regardless of the regime in power. I am sure that at a certain point that the government will have to give way in this regard.

Commissioner DOLE. Finally, there has been—you mentioned in your statement—the so-called Jackson-Vanik Amendment. Again, it is a matter that will have to be resolved in the Congress of the United States. There are efforts being made—and I don't judge the efforts—to repeal that Amendment. Again, it is a question of whether or not we can have faith and trust in the Soviets to permit free emigration. Do you have any comments on the amendment itself or on the broader question of faith and trust in the hope that the Soviets will relax their emigration policy?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. I am in favor of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. I do not think its amendment or revocation would improve the emigration situation of the Soviet Union for people wanting to emigrate, but I am not a specialist on this question. I would like you to take into account that I am a person who, for the last 2 years, has received hardly any information. The situation of SALT and of amending the Jackson-Vanik Amendment—they did not tell us anything about that in camp.

Commissioner DOLE. But the point is that you have not seen any change in the general attitude of the Soviets toward dissidents.

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]: No. No, the Soviet Government has not in one iota changed its attitude toward the dissidents.

Commissioner DOLE. Thank you.

Chairman FASCELL. Senator Leahy?

Commissioner LEAHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Ginzburg, you had mentioned sending information to the West. How much information were you able to receive from the West? Were you able to receive any directly or did it all come indirectly?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. When I was under investigation—or, rather, at the end of the investigatory period, I saw in the 52 volumes—which lay on the table—of the investigatory case

against me, the documents which the American delegation had distributed at Belgrade. When I was sent to camp—during the last 8 months—we basically eked out and searched out—in other words, read the Soviet newspapers very carefully—and, from the hostile articles which appeared in the Soviet press partly about the work of your Commission, we could then understand to some degree what in fact was going on.

Commissioner LEAHY. Were you aware of the very, very strong support—international support—that there was for both you and your colleagues?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. We knew that there was strong support, but how strong it was we had no idea.

Commissioner LEAHY. You made, I think, an extremely important point in your statement. You named people there and the fact that we have given a great deal of attention to them. What happens, though, to those people whom we don't know about? This also is connected with the statement that Mrs. Alekseeva made. We bring a lot of attention to your case, to Mr. Shcharansky's case and to others. What happens to those people we don't know about? Are they worse off or better off because we have not brought attention to their cases?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. In fact, many of them—all the people about whom I spoke in my statement are mentioned and described in the Moscow Helsinki Group documents; and, as a result, I hope that you are well acquainted with those documents. Without doubt, every political prisoner is helped in a very real way by mentioning his case in the mass media, especially in such mass media which reaches the Soviet Union. People who are unknown and people who are not mentioned—they really live a lot worse. So, these people can suffer persecution, and the people who perpetrate it will not have to answer for it in any way. Although their regimen and the conditions under which they live are the same as ours, in fact they live a lot worse.

Commissioner LEAHY. Mr. Ginzburg, along with all other Members of the Congress, I serve on a dozen or more committees and commissions and so forth, but there is no Commission where I hear more heartbreaking facts than on this Commission, and there is no place where I hear more disturbing stories than on this Commission. Certainly the strength and the emotion of your own testimony this morning is typical of what we have heard during the years of the Commission. The reason I have asked the earlier question is that the people who serve on this Commission have a great deal of feeling for you and for others who are denied your rights because of your political beliefs, and what we want to do is make sure, in focusing attention on what is happening, is that we are not making a bad situation even worse.

Obviously, what we want to do in this Commission is to bring attention in such a way and focus world opinion in such a way that someday we will be able to remove the discrimination that occurs against people because of either religious or political beliefs.

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Well, your task, to a great extent, is the same as mine; and I am very grateful for the attention which you are focusing on my country. However, I would like to say that I think that such attention to my country is very essential and perhaps to some degree is also good for the spirit of America.

Commissioner LEAHY. I agree with you. How aware is the average Soviet citizen of our Commission or of the various Helsinki Monitoring Groups?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. I can best talk about that in regard to the year 1977 when I met a lot of people. Then it was especially at the beginning, before the election campaign of President Carter. Much was said in the Soviet Union about the international struggle for human rights, and they also knew a lot about your Commission.

Under my eyes there was a noticeable shift—and I am not sure what is happening now—in the work of the Voice of America. This is the basic station to which people listen in the Soviet Union. There was an actual improvement, but I am not sure what is happening now. Those few broadcasts which I listened to recently was a small extract. I was somewhat surprised, but I can't really judge from those the quality of today's present broadcasting. Then, really, our situation was improved and was eased because of the improved VOA broadcasts at that time.

Commissioner LEAHY. If I could ask just one last question, Mr. Chairman, that follows up a little bit on the question Senator Dole was asking earlier. Do you think that at the time when the United States and the Soviet Union formally sign a SALT agreement—something that will happen within the next few weeks—that the Soviet Union will release other political prisoners as part of a gesture of good will related to the signing of the SALT agreement?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. I don't know. I can't say anything about the feelings of the Soviet Government. That is not at all my specialty. Good feelings and kind feelings I never saw in that quarter at all.

Commissioner LEAHY. Do you think that whatever they do will be for what they think will be in the best interests of themselves politically and not because of any sense of human respect?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. They only act out of self-interest.

Commissioner LEAHY. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman FASCELL. Mrs. Fenwick?

Commissioner FENWICK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am interested in the question of religious freedom and the denial of it. I am puzzled by the harsh treatment that is given to one form of Baptist believers as compared to another. As I understand it, there are the recognized Baptists and—

Ms. COSMAN. Please speak louder.

Commissioner FENWICK. Oh, I'm sorry. I am interested in the question of religious freedom and the difference between the recognized Baptist group and the nonrecognized Baptist group. Why is one group recognized and what is the difference in their activities that makes another group not recognized feel it necessary to establish themselves?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. When religious groups register with Soviet authorities and declare their existence, a religious community acknowledges and agrees to obey and is obliged to obey Soviet laws on religious groups. Part of this legislation forbids the participation of children and the religious education of children in church activities. Only parents are allowed to give religious instruction to their children. But, what happens in the case of parents who simply are not equipped to give religious instruction to their children? In effect, Soviet legislation on religion violates the rights of both registered and unregistered Baptists. Those who do not want to register simply do not take on their souls that additional sin, the sin of deception.

Commissioner FENWICK. I would like to ask about the Pentecostals and the Seventh Day Adventists. They do instruct their own children and for that, as I understand it, the children may be taken away from them. Is that true?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Yes. We have many documents in the groups—in the Helsinki Groups—and we met parents who actually had been deprived of their own children. We met people who were in despair. Nevertheless, I know the Commission has in its possession a large document about the situation of the Pentecostals, which I did together with Lydia Voronina, who is sitting next to me here. There the terrible fates of these people were described by them. These people simply are stifled under the present regime.

Commissioner FENWICK. Could I ask—is the Jewish religion among those that are recognized by the state?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Formally there are only a few churches forbidden by law by the Soviet Government; for example, the Jehovah's Witnesses. The formal prohibition of other religious groups does not exist, but in effect in practice there are real prohibitions; for example, the impossibility of opening a new church and the impossibility of founding a new religious group of any denomination. That is the same for all religious groups in the Soviet Union.

Commissioner FENWICK. I know that many Catholic churches, too, have been destroyed, but what I am concerned about—you speak of churches. I was asking about the Jewish religion, which would involve temples or synagogues and whether the Jewish religion is recognized. Are they able to have even a limited number of temples or synagogues? Are they allowed to disseminate information about their religion, religious holidays and so on? Are they recognized as some of them are or are they not recognized at all?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Yes; they are acknowledged and I am sure that rabbis from the synagogue have come to America, but it is such an insignificant proportion of those things which believers of any faith should have, actually, in effect it is more ridicule than the realization of religious rights.

Commissioner FENWICK. I see.

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. That is the same of Jews, for Moslems, for Buddhists—for any religious group in the Soviet Union—the same laws exist.

Commissioner FENWICK. And the same thing holds about the children and the education of the children—religious education?

Mr. GINZBURG. [through an interpreter]. Yes; the legislation on religion is the same for all religious groups except for those religious groups such as the Jehovah's Witnesses which are totally outlawed in the Soviet Union.

Commissioner FENWICK. One final question—

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Real religious education is practically impossible in the Soviet Union. For example, there may be 10 rabbis for the entire Soviet Union and that is, of course, a ridiculous figure for such a huge country.

Commissioner FENWICK. I wondered if Mr. Ginzburg had brought this or was planning to bring this to the attention of the National and World Council of Churches.

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Yes; I will.

Commissioner FENWICK. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman FASCELL. First, let me thank Lydia Voronina and you, Mr. Ginzburg, for the fantastic work that you did together in getting the information and editing the documents that were made available to the Commission during those very difficult years and also particularly for the first report on the religious situation in the Soviet Union, which was made part of our first Belgrade document. I want to tell you that the Commission is in the process now—we are just about to publish a very important document on religious believers in the Soviet Union, which we think will shed a great deal of light heretofore not known.

Mr. Ginzburg, how did the Soviet citizens react to the work of your Group and to you personally? Were you aware of any open or silent support of your efforts among ordinary people in the Soviet Union?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. We have silent and very open support—tacit support as well as open. I have just read a collection of documents in my own defense—on which I have ordered the presses stopped, since I no longer need any defending. But I read them and cried. Closest to my heart are the voices of those—even those whom I thought would never be able to express their support, but they did. I would like to repeat that I met a lot of people, and I found support in the most varied spheres and the most varied aspects of Soviet society and Soviet life.

Chairman FASCELL. What is the Moscow Helsinki Group doing today? Are there new people joining the movement and becoming active in the whole question of human rights in the Soviet Union?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Well, I am not very well acquainted with the most recent documents of the Moscow Group. That means the documents of the last year. But one of the latest documents is about the fate of the Kiev psychiatrist, Semyon Gluzman, who has already been imprisoned for 7 years. Now they are threatening to give him a new sentence and a new term. So, this is one of the latest documents of the Group.

Yes; we do have new members of the Moscow Group and other Groups. I think—I am sure, in fact, that if other people are arrested, we will get more new members as well after their arrests.

I would like to say here one thing that I think is very important. I very often hear about dissidents as a certain group, formal or not formal, but a very tightly knit and closed group. In actual fact, dissidents, although each one of them speaks for himself, are simply those people who decided in a natural way to make public their views. Those people are not so many. They represent public opinion. You should notice that no matter how many people they put in prison and no matter how many people they exile, the number of dissidents is still the same. The people—I mean here the people who are known in the West—in number remain the same. I want to say that the number will always remain the same, because people will always be coming up to take their places—the places of those who have been arrested and exiled. This is a completely unstoppable process.

Chairman FASCELL. What effect did the establishment of Helsinki Monitoring Groups in the Ukraine, in Lithuania, in Georgia and in Armenia have on the Moscow Group?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Oh, it was the greatest support. In addition to our own problems, which we understand, there are those problems which are specific to each nation. It was difficult for us to understand all this. As soon as our group was formed, we

were simply flooded with requests to handle all kinds of problems, including the problems of the national republics. Of course, we simply could not have handled that mass of material. Here I have seen hundreds of pamphlets on these problems. One simply can not deal with the mass of problems, information and issues. We cannot even present all these problems to the international arena. If we had to do all of this, we would not have had time to eat, sleep or anything else. All we would have done is simply to tell you about all these problems and make known to you all the documents with which we were constantly being flooded.

This situation is also very similar to that of the Christian Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Believers in the Soviet Union. Simply to disseminate the reports which they receive from believers and to disseminate these reports to the press, to the Commission and to international fora—I simply would not be able to do this. Neither would Lydia Voronina or anyone else. So, when these other groups were formed and when Father Gleb Yakunin, Victor Kapitanchuk, and Varsonofy Khaibulin formed the Christian Committee, our task was eased and we could then turn our attention to other problems. There are so many problems which need discussion.

Chairman FASCELL. Were you aware of any human rights activities in other signatory countries, particularly in the Eastern Bloc?

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Yes, I knew about the movement for the defense of human rights in some countries. But my information was very limited because the radio gave us very little information say, about the Polish Self Defense Committee. There was more information about the Charter '77 movement. However, you should keep in mind that I am speaking only of the period before my arrest. About the others I simply have not yet had time to acquaint myself—to read the documents and to talk to friends. But the radio is our main source of information.

Chairman FASCELL. I was just about to ask, Mr. Ginzburg, if the radio was the main source of information and what radio particularly.

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Our main source of information are those stations which are not jammed and, thank God, we can listen to VOA. In the provinces and in some areas outside Moscow one can listen to Radio Liberty. However, they are improving their jamming techniques.

Chairman FASCELL. What is the general feeling of the people who are able to listen either to Radio Liberty or to VOA in the Soviet Union?

Mr. GINZBURG. [through an interpreter]. That is a big issue. I also plan to speak about that to the VOA people. There is disappointment and annoyance about the lack of understanding about the particular situation of the country to which that information is being broadcast, but, still, that is our main source of information since we do not have any others.

Chairman FASCELL. Well, I think it would be very important to have those discussions with VOA, because, if the thrust of the information broadcast is not relevant and is not up-to-date and is not well received, then we must learn how we can improve it. I gather that is what Mr. Ginzburg is talking about.

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. I think that is an excellent idea. Some work needs to be done in this area. It is so important that the people who work in these stations understand the situation of the countries to which they are broadcasting and understand that they are their only source of information.

Chairman FASCELL. Mr. Buchanan?

Commissioner BUCHANAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Ginzburg, someone has said, "He truly loves the law who keeps it when his government breaks it." I think there are millions of Americans who understand that you and your colleagues are truly great patriots of the Soviet Union. When people in your country or ours or any country will stand up to their government and say, "You made promises at Helsinki and you must keep them and you must live up to your commitments in our own constitution and in international agreements"—such people are the truly great citizens of a society. I think it is a great privilege for us to have you here with us, as a man who is deeply admired by millions of people in this country and throughout the world.

I hope that your signal work can indeed be continued under present circumstances. We are all grateful for your release, but we are grateful even more for what you have done with your leadership.

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Thank you very much.

Chairman FASCELL. Well, Mr. Ginzburg, I want to thank you on behalf of the Commission. If you want to say anything before we conclude here now, we would be happy to hear anything that you might want to add at this point.

Mr. GINZBURG [through an interpreter]. Yes; I would like to add that we are celebrating the anniversary today of the founding of the Moscow Helsinki Group. It is, so to speak, a Helsinki anniversary; but I am so very sorry and sad for the fate of the Russian Social Fund for the Aid of Political Prisoners. Its present leaders and directors are people who are not so well known in the West and people who are very modest, and I am not sure that they would like to be all that well known. I ask you to watch out for them, because so much depends on that and so much depends on the continuing work of the fund, so that it can continue to do its charitable work in my country.

Chairman FASCELL. Mr. Ginzburg, thank you very much for appearing here today and for giving us your views and for answering our questions so patiently. I want to thank Mr. Nicholas Petrov, who has been helping by translating English into Russian, and Ms. Cosman, who has been translating Russian into English and English into Russian, and all of you who have helped in this Commission hearing today. We look forward to continued contact with you as we both continue our work. Thank you very much. The Commission stands adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.

[Whereupon the Commission was adjourned at 11:25 a.m.]