

**A Report from
the
International
Helsinki Federation
for Human Rights**

THE MOSCOW HELSINKI GROUP

— TEN YEARS —

**THEIR VISION
THEIR ACHIEVEMENT
THE PRICE THEY PAID**

MAY 12, 1976 — MAY 12, 1986

International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights
Rummelhardtgasse 2/18
A-1090 Vienna
AUSTRIA

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HUMAN RIGHTS**

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The IHF is a non-governmental organization that seeks to promote compliance of the signatory states with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. The IHF represents national Helsinki Human Rights Committees in Austria, Canada, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States. Its International Secretariat is in Vienna.

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I. INTRODUCTION

For many people in Europe and North America, the word "Helsinki" has come to symbolize hope for human rights and peace. But few are aware of the fact that these aspirations were first expressed by a small band of Russian intellectuals in Moscow who founded the Moscow Helsinki Group ten years ago, on May 12, 1976. This report provides a brief overview of the citizens' Helsinki movement in the USSR, its founding and the aftermath. It is a reminder of the terrible price that the Helsinki monitors have paid for their work. It is also a tribute to their success in making the Helsinki accords a moral force for freedom and peace.

In 1975, 35 nations of the East and West met in Helsinki, Finland, to sign the Final Act on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Generally known as the Helsinki accords, the document is the only international agreement that attempts to link trade and security with a country's respect for human rights. Yet at the time of its signing, Western leaders had little expectation of internal change in the Soviet bloc and discounted the possibilities contained in the human rights language of the accords. It was the founders of the Moscow Helsinki Group who first took seriously the solemn human rights pledges made in Helsinki. The idea of Helsinki monitoring is credited to them.

As part of its Helsinki obligations, the Soviet government published the complete text of the Helsinki accords in its main newspapers Pravda and Izvestia, as well as in all the major regional papers of the USSR. This was an unprecedented act in the USSR, where previously such agreements had only been published in small quantities for specialists.

The Soviet Union viewed the Helsinki Final Act as a diplomatic victory, the first East-West agreement that recognized the post-World War II boundaries of Europe. But citizens throughout the USSR, reading the newspapers on August 2, 1975, were stunned to see that their government was making known to its own public commitments on human rights and humanitarian issues that it had assumed in a world forum.

Like many of his colleagues in the scientific, artistic and academic worlds, Yury Orlov, then 51 and a physicist in Moscow, had been active since Krushchev's revelations at the 20th Party Congress in 1956. He was seeking to establish a dialogue with the Soviet government -- to make the oppressive rulers of the USSR listen to the legitimate complaints of its citizen-victims and submit to oversight from the public. That the totalitarian Soviet government was not interested in such a dialogue, preferring to put behind bars its potential interlocuters, had been demonstrated by the persecution of outspoken critics in the 1960s and the trial of writers Sinyavsky and Daniel in 1967. Soviet human rights also appealed to the United Nations but their letters went unanswered.

Then came the Helsinki accords, in which they saw a new opportunity to enlist the support of Western governments and international public opinion in confronting the Soviet government with its abuse of human rights. Orlov believed that other nations participating in the Helsinki agreement could play a mediating role between oppressors and victims. His vision was a grand one -- a movement involving citizens in all the signatory countries who would pressure their governments to abide by their pledges and bring about a new era of cooperation in the spirit of Helsinki.

II. FOUNDING OF THE MOSCOW HELSINKI GROUP

On May 12, 1976, Yury Orlov announced the formation of a new human rights group at a press conference called by Nobel Prize Laureate Andrei Sakharov, a prominent physicist and civil rights

Although Dr. Sakharov did not join the Helsinki group, he gave it his enthusiastic approval and his wife, Yelena Bonner, became one of eleven founding members. Yury Orlov was unanimously chosen as chairman of the group. It was he who formulated the purpose and modus operandi of the Helsinki monitors.

The new committee called itself the Public Group to Assist the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords in the USSR. This unwieldy title, eventually shortened in the West to "Moscow Helsinki Group," had been chosen with great care to stress the group's non-confrontational stance vis-a-vis the Soviet government. It emphasized their role as members of the public in assisting the government to implement the agreement. After all, the accords had affirmed the "right of the individual to know and act upon his rights and duties." Members of the Moscow Helsinki Group saw their efforts as legitimized by this phrase.

YURI ORLOV



1984

III. PURPOSE

In its founding statement, the Moscow Helsinki Group explained its purpose:

In their activity, the members of the Group proceed from the conviction that humanitarian problems and the problems of the free flow of information have a direct relationship to the problems of international security. We intended to inform the governments that signed the Final Act in Helsinki, as well as the publics of those countries, of cases of direct violation of the humanitarian articles of the Final Act in the Soviet Union.1/

The notion that the abuse of citizens within a closed society has something to do with international security is not a concept easily grasped in the open societies of the West, where it often seems as if peace can be attained merely by reducing armaments. Yury Orlov believed that peace requires democratic control over the foreign adventures and domestic tyranny of governments. The Moscow Helsinki monitors emphasized the importance of a free public sector in overseeing the actions of governments.

The men and women in the Soviet Helsinki movement have spent the past decade trying to bring these points home to Westerners. Although their bitter experiences and tragic sacrifices have gone largely unnoticed, their accomplishments continue to bear fruit. During the six years that the group and its affiliates -- despite the loss of more than half of their members to imprisonment and exile -- maintained their activities, Western governments and citizens came to realize their responsibility to assist oppressed citizens in other countries. They began to see that their own security depended on it.

Thus, a main goal of the Moscow Helsinki Group was to inform the Western public about Soviet human rights abuse. Their hope was that an international outcry would persuade the Soviet government to mitigate its repression. The notion that "publicity is the best weapon" has always been an axiom of Soviet human rights activists in the non-violent campaign to call governments to account.

Years of fruitless appeals to Soviet officials -- of sitting in the waiting rooms of Soviet agencies and writing petitions to the authorities that were inevitably ignored -- had convinced Soviet human rights activists of the need to publish information on their own and to take their case to the outside world. Their samizdat (literally, "self-published" material) passed from hand to hand, in particular the bulletin Chronicle of Current Events, established in April 1968, which became the voice of the civil rights movement. They held press conferences for Western news correspondents at which samizdat publications were released. These publications found their way to the West and also back into the Soviet Union via Western broadcasts over stations such as Voice of America, the BBC and Radio Liberty.

The Moscow Helsinki Group, in its initial declaration, stated that its purpose was to promote compliance with the humanitarian articles of the Helsinki accords, namely Principle VII on respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and other principles dealing with cooperation in humanitarian and other fields. The group announced that it would accept written complaints from Soviet citizens concerning violations of the accords, and that it would check out and summarize such information and submit it to the other participating states.

Group members would also collect information themselves about alleged human rights abuses, conduct investigations, and send their findings to the Helsinki signatories. The Moscow Helsinki Group called for the formation of an international commission for on-site verification of allegations of human rights abuse -- a dream that was never realized.

The Moscow Helsinki Group put forth no political platform and subscribed to no specific beliefs. It merely sought to gather information from the many different groups and individuals in the Soviet Union whose rights had been violated. It did not select its causes. As Ludmilla Alexeyeva, founding member of the Moscow Helsinki Group, writes in *The Helsinki Movement*:

The content of the MHG's documents were not determined by the prejudices of its members, but by the type of material that came in; we just fulfilled the function of registering it and checking the authenticity of the information passed to us. Thus, a very substantial part of the documents of the Group concerns reports of religious persecution, although almost all the Group members are not religious believers.^{2/}

Thanks to Western radio broadcasts, word spread quickly that a group of informed, conscientious professionals with contacts to the Western press was receiving appeals ignored by official Soviet agencies and trying to bring some relief to the suffering. Yury Orlov's two-room apartment in southwest Moscow became a clearinghouse to which a stream of individuals and group representatives brought their petitions. As Alexeyeva writes, khodoki (following an ancient tradition of "messengers") appeared in Moscow, representing religious or ethnic groups seeking redress from the government's discrimination.^{3/} The urban intellectuals of the Moscow Helsinki Group were brought into contact with the industrial working class and peasantry; the

grievances they received came from all over the Soviet Union, particularly from various religious groups whose members were mainly from the working classes. The monitors worked tirelessly to sort and assess these records and compile them in their reports.

IV. DOCUMENTS AND WORK METHODS

In its six years of activity, the Moscow Helsinki Group prepared a total of 195 formal reports on a wide variety of human rights issues. In addition, it released numerous statements, letters and appeals. In later years, the group's documents and appeals increasingly focussed on the arrests of its own members; in some cases, members who signed appeals on behalf of their colleagues were later tried and sentenced on the basis of these very appeals.

The first six reports issued by the Moscow Helsinki Group were painstakingly copied using carbon-paper and typewriters. Thirty-five copies were sent by registered mail to the foreign embassies of the countries that signed the Helsinki accords and to Soviet leader Brezhnev's office. A return receipt for the six documents was received from Brezhnev's office only; the rest of the envelopes never reached their destinations. The Moscow Group began to seek other ways to distribute their material, through people with access to the ambassadors of the Helsinki signatory countries and through foreign reporters in Moscow.^{4/}

One of the chief purposes of the Moscow Helsinki Group was to provide documentation of human rights abuse for the Helsinki review meetings that were held periodically under the accords, first in Belgrade in 1977 and then in Madrid, beginning in November 1980. Working at great personal risk, the group provided 26 documents for the Belgrade Conference. By the time of the Madrid Conference, it had completed 138 reports -- despite the arrests of group members both before and after the conferences. Its documents were termed "anti-Soviet slander" by

Soviet courts and served as the evidence to jail the authors, even though no Soviet court ever demonstrated that the documents were deliberately falsified or that the information in them was incorrect and hence constituted "slander."

One of the greatest triumphs of the group was its impact on the Helsinki Review Conferences in Belgrade and Madrid.

Alexeyeva writes about the Belgrade Conference:

AITÜ was the first international meeting on a governmental level in which the Soviet Union was accused of human rights violations. The form in which this question was raised was also unprecedented: materials from independent social action associations (such as the Helsinki groups), containing complaints by Soviet citizens about their government, were used. It was a great victory for human rights activists and the first step by Western democratic governments toward meeting halfway the forces for liberalization within the Soviet Union.^{5/}

Alexeyeva has divided the documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group into ten categories of subject matter which correspond to sections of the Helsinki Final Act:

- (1) Equal rights and the right of ethnic groups to determine their own destinies;
- (2) Freedom to choose one's place of residence;
- (3) Freedom to leave and reenter one's country;
- (4) Freedom of conscience;
- (5) The right to know one's rights and to act in accordance with them;
- (6) Inadmissibility of cruelty and degradation of the human dignity of political prisoners;
- (7) Freedom of information and contacts between people;
- (8) The right to a fair trial;
- (9) Socioeconomic rights affirmed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and by international covenants on civil and political rights; and

- (10) Proposals of the Moscow Helsinki Group to the Belgrade and Madrid conferences on improving monitoring of compliance with the humanitarian articles of the accords.6/

The above categories include the mistreatment of political prisoners; the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes; the persecution of Baptists, Adventists, Catholics, and others; the plight of the Crimean Tatar nation, deported from its homeland in the Crimea; the poor socio-economic conditions of workers which forced them to seek permission to emigrate in order to support their families; divided Jewish families seeking reunification; and many other violations.

Cumulatively, these documents reveal the diversity of the Soviet people and their desire for freedom, as well as the all-encompassing repression of the Soviet state. Writing about the work of the Moscow Helsinki Group, Valery Chalidze, veteran human rights activist in exile, commented:

The Group's very first documents established that the individuals involved in this civic activity were capable and qualified to evaluate information, in accordance with internationally-established human rights principles, presented them by fellow citizens. The documents -- devoid of emotionalism, exaggeration or propaganda -- clearly illustrate the Group's meticulous adherence to verified facts. These serious, impassive -- and therefore deeply tragic -- documents also give testimony to what goes on behind the backs of Soviet propagandists who diligently try to convince the world that the Soviet Union strictly implements the Helsinki accords.

The reader unfamiliar with the activity of the human rights movement in the Soviet Union may be surprised at the Group's ability to evaluate information on legal cases and to compile sober discussions of official legal practices, given the virtual absence of lawyers among their ranks. We must recall, however, that the Helsinki Groups are composed for the most part of faithful and experienced veterans of the movement in defense of human rights in the Soviet Union. Ten years of avid concern for human rights issues established a tradition of dispassionate objectivity in evaluating individual cases, Soviet law, and international human rights norms

in general. It is precisely this quality of professionalism which led public opinion to trust Group documents -- a trust that had evolved gradually on the basis of documents from the early stages of the human rights movement.Z/

Some of the group's documents were based on appeals submitted to them by victims of human rights abuse, occasionally by mail or telephone but mainly through written statements, delivered in person. The group also used official documents such as indictments, sentences or other court papers, and evaluations issued by employers. In some cases, it was even able to obtain or reconstruct secret, unpublished administrative instructions issued by Soviet officials. Much of the oppression in the Soviet Union is carried out through such administrative instructions, rather than through the criminal code and the courts.

Often, Moscow Helsinki Group members had to go into the field to collect data themselves or to interview victims of human rights abuse and their families. Ludmilla Alexeyeva describes how she travelled to Lithuania to check reports about religious persecution which had been received in Moscow. Seven boys in their senior year had been expelled from a high school in Vilnius for attending church services and visiting the home of prominent Catholic activist Fr. Viktoras Petkus. Knowing that Soviet law made education compulsory, and that it was difficult to expel students even for extreme behavior, Alexeyeva reasoned that a political motivation must lie behind their sudden expulsion:

Accompanied by Tomas Venclova Åa member of the Lithuanian Helsinki GroupÜ, I was received by L. Rimkus, the Minister of Education for the Lithuanian SSR. I told the Minister that I was a member of the Moscow Group to Promote the Observance of the Helsinki Accords in the USSR and I was interested in the expulsion of the seven students from the Vilnius school. Evidently, the Minister did not listen to foreign radio broadcasts and had not heard of our Group ... The Minister stressed

that everything in this case had been according to law, meaning that there was a record of the meeting of the school pedagogical council which has the right to decide such requests from the regional branch of popular education. The official report must describe the actions for which they want to expel a student and to report the results of the council vote.

We went to the school and Aandū were met by Mr. Dobinas, director of the educational division. When I asked to see this official record, Dobinas claimed that it was not at the school. The secretary had taken them home to copy. Although the expulsion had occurred a month ago, the secretary still had the record at home. Dobinas called in four teachers who gave confused and contradictory explanations.

Then we met the expelled students and fellow classmates, who said that Dobinas had called these seven students in for questioning at the request of KGB Senior Lieutenant Verbitsky and militia Captain Semyonov. These two men asked if they attended church, if they listened to Radio Vatican broadcasts and why they visited Viktoras Petkus. Captain Semyonov cursed the boys; Lieutenant Verbitsky was polite. But both men threatened that unless the boys gave criminal evidence against Petkus, they would not be admitted to any institute of higher education. One student, Bogushes, was even told he would be sent to a labor camp for juveniles. The boys refused to give false testimony against Petkus and refused to stop attending church services. After their summer holidays, the boys were informed that they had been expelled from school. Neither the boys nor their parents were ever shown the decisions of the teachers' council. &/

The Lithuanian official who spoke with the Helsinki Group members was probably not aware that they did not represent an official body. Generally the monitors were ignored or rebuffed by Soviet agencies and could not check allegations of human rights abuse with officials. That is why they urged the formation of an international commission to examine citizens' reports of abuse.

V. FOUNDING MEMBERS OF THE MOSCOW HELSINKI GROUP

The first eleven people to join the Moscow Helsinki Group were Ludmilla Alexeyeva, historian and editor; Mikhail Bernshtam, historian and teacher; Yelena Bonner, physician; Aleksandr Ginzburg, samizdat publisher; Petro Grigorenko, retired major general; Aleksandr Korchak, astrophysicist; Malva Landa, retired geologist; Anatoly Marchenko, worker and writer; Yury Orlov, physicist; Vitaly Rubin, historian and Sinologist; Anatoly Shcharansky, mathematician and cyberneticist. Yury Orlov was unanimously chosen as chairman of the group. The names and addresses of all eleven founders were announced in the founding statement of the Moscow Helsinki Group which was released at a press conference on May 12, 1976.

Most of the founding members were long-time activists in civil rights movements and had had a great deal of experience in monitoring human rights abuse and dealing with Soviet authorities. A number had suffered interrogations and searches for their work in the past. Ludmilla Alexeyeva had typed and distributed samizdat works for many years. Gen. Petro Grigorenko had spent time in forced psychiatric internment for his outspoken criticism of the Soviet system. Anatoly Marchenko, a worker, had served several terms as a political prisoner. Vitaly Rubin and Anatoly Shcharansky, leaders in the Jewish movement for emigration to Israel, had lost their jobs after applying to emigrate. The ability to withstand harassment from the authorities was an important criterion for membership in the Moscow Helsinki Group; the public positions taken by the group and its unflattering revelations of Soviet human rights abuse exposed its members to official retaliation.

VI. OTHER HELSINKI AND AFFILIATED GROUPS IN THE USSR

The Moscow Helsinki Group inspired the formation of similar human rights groups throughout the USSR. Helsinki monitoring groups were formed in the Soviet republics of the Ukraine and Lithuania in November 1976, in Georgia in January 1977, and in Armenia in April 1977. These groups were not directly affiliated with the Moscow Helsinki Group, but were organized along the same lines and cooperated with the Moscow Group extensively. The Moscow Group became a clearinghouse for other Helsinki groups' documents and helped to give them publicity through press conferences in Moscow, the only Soviet city with resident foreign correspondents. In this way, materials on ethnic discrimination, Russification, the repression of nationalist movements, and religious persecution in non-Russian republics were able to gain a wide hearing. Movements inside the USSR were able to learn about each other, and Westerners got a glimpse of the oppression that took place in peripheral areas of the Soviet empire.

The Moscow Helsinki Group also sparked the founding of special-interest groups that coordinated their work with the Moscow group and often signed joint statements on various issues. The Working Commission to Investigate the Abuse of Psychiatry for Political Purposes was one such group, founded on January 5, 1977, under the aegis of the Moscow Helsinki Group. Its members eventually included victims of psychiatric abuse, as well as Soviet psychiatrists who had examined political dissenters forcibly interned in mental hospitals and had concluded that they were sane.

The Psychiatric Commission was forced to cease its activities in 1981 after all its members had been arrested, but in

the four years of its existence it compiled 24 bulletins and numerous carefully-researched reports about psychiatric abuse. Dr. Anatoly Koryagin, a psychiatrist and consultant to the commission, was arrested in February 1981 and sentenced to seven years in a labor camp and five years in exile; in 1986, he was handed an additional two years of labor camp. He is suffering from repeated beatings and mistreatment in the labor camp, and after extended hunger strikes is reportedly near death.

The Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights was formed in December 1976 in response to the signing of the Helsinki accords and frequently provided documentation for, or jointly signed documents with, the Moscow Helsinki Group. Its leader, Fr. Gleb Yakunin, a Russian Orthodox Priest, was arrested in November 1979 and sentenced to five years in a labor camp and five years of exile.

The Initiative Group for the Defense of the Rights of Invalids, a group formed to protect the rights of the disabled and promote improved conditions, announced its founding at a press conference of the Moscow Helsinki Group in October 1978. An analogous group was formed in the Ukraine in January 1982.

Other religious rights groups that worked with the Moscow Helsinki Group are the Catholic Committee to Defend Believers' Rights, founded in Lithuania in November 1978; the Christians of the Evangelical Pentecostal Faith, founded in May 1980; the Council of Relatives of Evangelical Christian Baptist Prisoners, founded in February 1964; the Seventh Day Adventists; the Group for the Struggle and Investigation of Facts About the Persecution of Believers in the USSR, formed in May 1978; and the Initiative Group for the Defense of the Rights of Believers and the Church, founded by Ukrainian Uniates in 1982.

In addition to these organized groups, there were many individuals who assisted the Chronicle of Current Events and the Moscow Helsinki Group in its work and suffered the consequences. Aleksandr Lavut, a mathematician, was a member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights, a pre-cursor of the Moscow Helsinki Group. He was arrested in April 1980 and sentenced to three years of labor camp for editing the Chronicle and some of the Helsinki Group's documents. Lavut was resentenced upon reaching the end of his term in labor camp in April 1983, and sentenced to an additional five years of exile. Tatyana Velikanova, another mathematician also involved in the Initiative Group, was arrested in November 1979 and sentenced to four years labor camp and five years exile for publishing the Chronicle of Current Events.

Over the years, more than 100 people openly joined the Helsinki Groups and their affiliates, and virtually all of them have been punished. There are currently 36 Helsinki monitors incarcerated in Soviet prisons, labor camps or psychiatric hospitals, or serving terms of internal exile. Four have died after years of mistreatment in the camps: Yury Lytvyn, Oleksi Tykhy and Vasyl Stus of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group; and Eduard Arutyunyan of the Armenian Helsinki Group. Two Lithuanian priests were killed in car accidents under suspicious circumstances: Fr. Bronius Laurinavicius, a member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Group and the Catholic Committee, who died in November 1981; and Fr. Jozas Zdebskis, a member of the Catholic Committee who died in February 1986.

Thirty members of Helsinki and Helsinki-affiliated human rights groups have been released after serving sentences; they

remain in the USSR, but live under the constant threat of another arrest. Twenty-one others -- some of whom had served political sentences -- have emigrated to the West because of the threat of imprisonment. (This figure includes two political prisoners -- Anatoly Shcharansky and Aleksandr Ginzburg -- who were released from imprisonment in prisoners' exchanges between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.) All of the Helsinki groups have either been formally disbanded or have been forced underground. Only a handful of individuals remain, and they have been forced to cease their work.

VII. FIRST ARRESTS WITHIN THE MOSCOW HELSINKI GROUP

In weeks and months following the formation of the Helsinki Group, some members were persuaded under pressure from the authorities, to discontinue their activity, and others were allowed to leave the country. Vitaly Rubin received his exit visa in June 1976, a month after the group's founding. Mikhail Bernshtam signed the first document of the group but refrained from further activity; in September 1976 he received permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union. Aleksandr Korchak, a physicist and close friend of Yury Orlov, was summoned to the KGB in February 1977, and warned that he faced dismissal from his job unless he withdrew from the Helsinki Group. Although he refused to denounce Orlov, Korchak was forced to cease his activity, and he quietly left the group.

From the very beginning, attempts were made to intimidate Yuri Orlov. Just after the group was announced, Orlov was summoned by the authorities and warned that he and his colleagues would suffer "the full force of the law" if such a group were to start operating. The Soviet government, however, fearful perhaps of damaging its credibility in the Helsinki process, did not immediately suppress the group. Instead, the KGB picked off the members one by one, using a variety of methods -- intimidation, imprisonment, exile, and forced emigration -- each chosen to suit the case.

In January 1977, the apartments of Yury Orlov, Aleksandr Ginzburg, and Ludmilla Alexeyeva were searched, and documents were confiscated. The group was attacked by the Soviet press: a TASS English-language story attempted to link it, falsely, with

the NTS, an extremist Russian emigre organization based in Frankfurt. Later, the press turned nastier: Slepak and Shcharansky were accused of working for the CIA.

Nine months after the Moscow Helsinki Group was launched, the first arrests took place. On February 3, 1977, Aleksandr Ginzburg was arrested -- agents pulled him out of a telephone booth while he was making a call. On February 10, 1977, Yury Orlov was arrested in the apartment of a fellow group member Ludmilla Alexeyeva. On March 15, 1977, Anatoly Shcharansky was arrested on the street by KGB agents who had shadowed him all day. (Leaders of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group were taken at the same time, a blow to human rights cooperation across national barriers.)

Under Soviet law, suspects may not be held for more than nine months in pre-trial detention, but Yury Orlov and Aleksandr Ginzburg were held for 15 and 17 months respectively before trial -- perhaps a reflection of Soviet uncertainty in the face of world public opinion and of the difficulty in mounting a case against them. Ultimately, Orlov and Ginzburg were tried under Art. 70 (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda) for the documents and activities of the group, as were all subsequent Moscow group members.

A case was concocted against Shcharansky on charges of espionage under Art. 64 (treason) as well as Art. 70 (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda). Shcharansky was accused of divulging to Western correspondents classified information that could endanger national security. In fact he had compiled a list of Jewish refuseniks and the institutes where they worked which had purportedly given them security clearance. Shcharansky tried to

show that these individuals in fact had no access to secrets and ought to be permitted to emigrate. He denied providing intelligence to the CIA and refused to plead guilty as charged. President Carter made a public statement at that time, declaring that Shcharansky was not employed or connected with the CIA. Shcharansky was threatened with execution and ultimately sentenced in July 1978 to 13 years of labor camp, which were to include 3 years of prison, where conditions are harsher.

VIII. THE TRIAL OF YURY ORLOV

The trial of Yury Orlov, Chairman of the Moscow Helsinki Group, was emblematic of all the trials of the Helsinki monitors. It opened on May 15, 1978, and lasted only four days, until the 18th. It was marked by serious violations of due process as well as by gratuitous acts of intimidation, such as the strip-searching of Orlov's wife as she left the courtroom. Orlov was charged under Art. 70 with the drafting and circulation of Helsinki and other human rights documents. Art. 70 of the Russian Criminal Code deals with "agitation or propaganda, conducted with the purpose to subvert or weaken Soviet authority or to commit separate especially dangerous state crimes; the dissemination for the same purposes of slanderous fabrications which defame the Soviet State and social order." Soviet legal commentary stipulates that a defense to Art. 70 can be used if the material published is true or if the person publishing it believes it to be true. The prosecution did not prove that these documents constituted subversive activity or "anti-Soviet agitation and slander" nor did it prove that they were fabricated or not true.

In The Orlov Defence, a report for a tribunal in London on Orlov's case organized by British lawyer John MacDonald, Q.C., the contents of the documents with which Orlov was charged were summarized:

- (1) Prisoners are tortured as a matter of policy through hunger, cold and lack of sleep.
- (2) Sick prisoners are forced to work and are deprived of medical help.
- (3) People who have completed prison sentences imposed by the law are prevented by administrative action from living in certain areas and are forced to live apart from their families.

- (4) Prisoners of conscience who are sane are confined in psychiatric hospitals, often in the same wards as violent patients.
- (5) Sane people are forcibly treated with drugs they do not need and are not given the correctives to those drugs.
- (6) Patients in psychiatric hospitals are treated in an inhumane and degrading way.
- (7) It is official policy to destroy the culture and tradition of people like the Crimean Tatars who were evicted from their land in 1944 and forced to live in central Asia. The cruellest persecution is directed to those who try to return to the Crimea. The authorities destroy their houses with bulldozers, men are not given work and even families with many children are driven from their homes and left without a roof over their heads.
- (8) Christian believers are persecuted for practicing their religion and not allowed to emigrate.
- (9) Workers condemned to poverty are not allowed to emigrate.
- (10) Letters are not delivered and telephones are tapped and cut off.
- (11) Jewish people are discriminated against and in particular, an international seminar on Jewish culture is disrupted.9/

A number of Soviet human rights activists in exile supplied exhaustive testimony to the London tribunal to illustrate that Yury Orlov's statements were indeed the case.

At his trial, Orlov was prevented by the judge from questioning witnesses who testified against him. The judge interrupted Orlov during the summary of the defense, and failed to protect Orlov from the abuse of people attending the trial -- a hand-picked crowd of hecklers selected by the KGB. Orlov was not permitted to read in his defense from the reports of the Moscow Helsinki Group. Each of his petitions to call witnesses was refused. Yelena Bonner, Vladimir Slepak, and Malva Landa, with whom Orlov signed the reports on which the charges were

based, were not called to give evidence, although they asked to do so.

At his trial, Orlov stated:

Each country has its own laws ... It is in the nature of things that in each country there should be people and groups of people striving to ensure that the internal laws of their country are based on international covenants and are applied in the most humane way possible ...

You may sentence me ... you can shoot me, but I am convinced that trials like this one will not help to alleviate those ills and shortcomings to which the Helsinki Group documents bear witness, and about which I have tried to speak here ...10/

Orlov's final speech was interrupted by the judge, and he was removed from the courtroom. He was sentenced to seven years in a labor camp and five years of exile.

IX. EMIGRATION OF MOSCOW HELSINKI GROUP MEMBERS

For a brief period during 1977-79, Soviet authorities allowed a number of human rights leaders to emigrate, instead of arresting them. They warned them that if they did not choose the West, they would go East -- to Siberian labor camp or exile. Forcible emigration, more lenient than arrest, was a method rarely practiced by the Soviets before 1977. This relative leniency may have been an aftermath of the 1977 Helsinki Review Conference in Belgrade during which the Soviets were criticized by the Western nations for human rights repression. During this time there was also a summit meeting between President Carter and General Secretary Brezhnev, at which President Carter expressed concern about Soviet human rights problems. Carter had also answered a letter from Andrei Sakharov, and made a number of strong statements openly defending human rights activists in the USSR.

Ludmilla Alexeyeva, a founding member of the group, was unexpectedly granted permission to emigrate in February 1977 and settled in the United States. She was designated by the Moscow Helsinki Group as its official Western Representative. Yury Mnyukh was granted permission to leave the Soviet Union in June 1977, and settled in New York. In November 1977, Gen. Petro Grigorenko left the Soviet Union to obtain medical care in the U.S.; he was stripped of his Soviet citizenship in absentia and not permitted to return. Sergei Polikanov, a scientist who had applied to emigrate, joined the Moscow Helsinki Group in July 1978, and within a short time was granted permission to go

abroad; he left in October 1978. In April 1979, Aleksandr Ginzburg, who had already served two years in prison and labor camp, was one of five Soviet political prisoners exchanged for two convicted Soviet spies in a dramatic pre-summit exchange between the U.S. and the USSR. In July 1980, just before the Moscow Olympics, Yury Yarym-Agayev was granted permission to **emigrate.**

The decision to emigrate was an agonizing one for those veteran activists whose love for their homeland had prompted their human rights concerns. Forbidden forever from returning to the Soviet Union, even for visits, their family and cultural roots were severed. The pain of emigration was compounded by the fact that, despite the emigration of some, the arrests continued -- Helsinki monitors in exile have had to watch helplessly as their friends were taken.

Their adjustment to the West has also been difficult. In addition to linguistic and social barriers, they found that they were no longer "news." Western newspapers prefer to get stories with Moscow datelines, and the emigres, with their wealth of information and unprecedented freedom to speak out, often lacked the audience they deserved.

Despite these obstacles, the Helsinki group emigres showed the same perseverance for which they were known in Moscow. Their tenacious lobbying became a significant factor in developing a strong human rights component in American foreign policy in the last decade. The former monitors have had a strong voice at Congressional hearings and at Helsinki follow-up meetings. They are crucial to the work of Western human rights organizations like the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights,

Amnesty International, Freedom House, and the International League for Human Rights.

X. NEW MEMBERS, NEW ARRESTS

In June 1976, Vladimir Slepak, a radio engineer and Jewish refusenik, joined the Moscow Helsinki Group, taking the place of Vitaly Rubin, who had received permission to emigrate and had left that month. In January 1977, a month before Yury Orlov's arrest, Naum Meiman, a physicist and Jewish refusenik, came into the group. In 1977, four new members replaced others who had been arrested: Yury Mnyukh, a physicist, joined in January; Sofya Kallistratova, a lawyer, in September; Tatyana Osipova, a computer scientist, in October; and Viktor Nekipelov, a pharmacist and poet, in October.

In June 1978, Vladimir Slepak was arrested during a police blockade of his apartment when he hung a poster over his balcony saying "Let Us Go to Our Son in Israel." Yet others joined the group in 1978 and 1979 to fill in the ranks depleted by arrests: Leonard Ternovsky, a physician, and Feliks Serebrov, a worker, joined in March 1978; they were also members of the Psychiatric Commission, a group affiliated with the Helsinki Group and founded in January 1977. Yury Yarym-Agayev, a physicist, joined in December 1978, and Ivan Kovalyov, a power engineer, joined in October 1979.

By January 1980, six members of the Moscow Group had been arrested: Ginzburg, Orlov, Shcharansky, Landa (in May 1977), Slepak and Nekipelov (in December 1979). The others found themselves mainly engaged in monitoring the cases of their colleagues and attempting to enlist international support in an effort to gain the release of the monitors. The arrests of two more monitors came in rapid succession in the next year. Leonid

Ternovsky, a physician who was also a member of the independent Psychiatric Commission, was arrested in April 1980. In May, Tatyana Osipova, a computer scientist and one of the youngest members of the group, was apprehended.

In May 1980, Helsinki monitor Yury Yarym-Agayev, a physicist, wrote to Prof. Paul Flory of Stanford University, a Nobel Prize winner in chemistry, about the accelerating repression against the monitors. In the previous year, Yarym-Agayev had been fired from his job at a scientific research institute because of his human rights work, and Prof. Flory had invited him to come and work at Stanford University.

I decided to try to come to you, but events that began in the autumn made me postpone my intentions. I mean the arrests of some of my friends such as Tatyana Velikanova, Viktor Nekipelov, Vyacheslav Bakhmin and some others. All of us are now under great repression against the human rights movement in our country. And so all this time, those of us who were free tried to do their best to stand up against these repressions, at first to help our friends. But there are very few of us who openly made any steps to defend others. Even when academician Sakharov was exiled nobody from among Soviet scientists, except those few who had earlier spoken out, said anything about this important event. We did, but every one of our steps and every one of our words in defense of others' freedom is, of course, a step in losing our own. I already can't do anything to save others, particularly in the present situation when our voices are drowned in the stream of more sensational information.11/

Unable to find employment and discouraged about helping his friends further in Moscow, Yarym-Agayev decided to leave. He was granted permission to emigrate, and in July 1980 he left the Soviet Union and came to the United States.

At a press conference at Helsinki Watch in July 1980, Yarym-Agayev testified that:

the crackdown against dissidents, while accelerated by plans to clear Moscow for the Olympic Games, is in fact part of a long-range program to suppress political

dissent in the Soviet Union, a campaign which is stepped up or toned down according to Party directives at a given time ... While the charges and evidence at the trials of Ginsburg, Orlov and Shcharansky were blatantly fabricated, the authorities today exert even less effort to give the trials some semblance of legality. The members of the Helsinki Watch Groups must be defended by all groups in this country, because they act as the major channel of information and defend the rights of all human rights activists in the Soviet Union, including those who struggle for national rights, emigration, and religious liberty.12/

Yury Yarym-Agayev was the last person from the Moscow Group to leave the Soviet Union, until the dramatic release of Anatoly Shcharansky in an East-West prisoner exchange in February 1986.

The arrests continued. Feliks Serebrov, a worker and member of both the Moscow Helsinki Group and the Psychiatric Commission, was arrested in January 1981. In March 1981, Anatoly Marchenko, a worker and former political prisoner, was once again arrested.

Ivan Kovalyov, the youngest member of the group, joined in October 1979 at the age of 25. He was arrested in August 1981 and tried in April 1982, one year after his wife, Tatyana Osipova. Kovalyov was the last to join the group and the last Helsinki monitor to be tried and sentenced until the indictment of Mrs. Sakharov in 1984. After Kovalyov's arrest, no new members were found -- it was clear that Helsinki monitoring meant a speedy arrest, despite on-going Helsinki Review Conferences and the outcry in the West.

XI. DISBANDING OF THE MOSCOW HELSINKI GROUP

After Ivan Kovalyov's arrest in August 1981, the Moscow Helsinki Group greatly curtailed its activities. Arrests had taken their toll, and only three people remained at liberty to carry out the group's work. Yelena Bonner, wife of Andrei Sakharov, began spending most of her time with Sakharov in Gorky, after he was banished there in January 1980 without trial or sentence. That left Sofya Kallistratova and Naum Meiman, two elderly retired people in poor health, assisted by several young people who remained anonymous in order to avoid arrest. The group did not solicit new public members, knowing the dangers.

In 1982, the authorities opened a case against Kallistratova on charges of "anti-Soviet slander" under Art. 190, citing 120 documents of the Helsinki Group in the investigation.

On September 6, 1982, the Moscow Helsinki Group called a press conference and announced that it was discontinuing its activity; the announcement was clearly motivated by the fact that Sofya Kallistratova was formally charged with "anti-Soviet slander" that day. In a final document, No. 195, the remaining group members said that Soviet authorities had inflicted "cruel persecution" on the group since its inception: "In this increasingly difficult situation the group cannot fulfill the duties it assumed and, under pressure from the authorities, it is discontinuing its work."^{13/}

The group had hoped that it would only cease its activity temporarily and resume it when conditions became more favorable. But the inexorable pattern of arrests continued to a bitter end when Yelena Bonner was finally charged in May 1984 and prohibited

from travelling to Moscow from Gorky. In August 1984, she was tried and sentenced to five years of exile for statements she made at a press conference while temporarily abroad and for one of the documents of the Helsinki Group. Kept in complete isolation, Yelena Bonner and Andrei Sakharov are helpless in the face of state persecution; as victims of egregious human rights abuse themselves, they can no longer continue the work they had done for decades on behalf of others.

The disbanding of the Moscow Helsinki Group was widely perceived as the end of an era -- the end of a movement to promote civil rights by urging the Soviet government to abide by its own constitution and obligations under international law. New youth movements of the 1980s -- peace, alternative culture, and religious cult groups -- took up different causes in different ways, but they undoubtedly built on the accomplishments of their predecessors.

XII. WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

In all, 22 people became members of the Moscow Helsinki Group in the six years and four months of its existence. Of these, 12 were tried and sentenced for the group's documents and activities (Yelena Bonner, Aleksandr Ginzburg, Ivan Kovalyov, Malva Landa, Anatoly Marchenko, Viktor Nekipelov, Yury Orlov, Tatyana Osipova, Feliks Serebrov, Anatoly Shcharansky, Vladimir Slepak and Leonid Ternovsky.) To date, seven of these twelve men and women are still under detention. Three -- Yelena Bonner, Yury Orlov and Feliks Serebrov -- are serving sentences of internal exile. (Bonner was given temporary medical leave in the West in December 1985, but is scheduled to return in June 1986. This period will be added on to her sentence). Of the other four, one member, Anatoly Marchenko, is in prison, and three are in labor camps (Kovalyov, Nekipelov and Osipova). Three others who were tried and sentenced in the past -- Landa, Slepak and Ternovsky -- have completed their sentences; Landa and Ternovsky have been forced to live outside Moscow, and Slepak has returned to his home in Moscow. The remaining two -- Ginzburg and Shcharansky -- reached the West via prisoner exchanges.

As for the ten group members who were not arrested, one member of the group, Anatoly Korchak, resigned in February 1977. Seven other group members were forced to emigrate over the years, settling in Israel, West Germany and the United States: Ludmilla Alexeyeva, Mikhail Bernshtam, Petro Grigorenko, Yury Mnyukh, Sergei Polikanov, Vitaly Rubin (deceased), and Yury Yarym-Agayev. The two members who remain in Moscow today have never been tried and sentenced: Naum Meiman and Sofya Kallistratova. They are

both elderly and in poor health. Meiman has long sought emigration from the Soviet Union and been refused for arbitrary reasons, despite many interventions by Western politicians and public figures. Recently his case has become more urgent because his wife needs sophisticated radiation treatment for brain cancer that is unavailable in the USSR.

(For brief biographies of the members of the Moscow Helsinki Group, see Appendix B.)

XIII. HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING IN THE 1980s

After 1982, a number of new people quietly coordinated the work of gathering human rights information and sending it abroad. This "second tier" of nameless Helsinki monitors soon fell into the net of repression themselves, however, despite their caution, and a "third tier" of activists subsequently met the same fate.

In February 1983, Sergei Grigoryants, 45, a literary critic and former political prisoner, was arrested and charged with editing a new human rights publication Bulletin V. He was sentenced to seven years in prison and labor camp and three years of exile. In labor camp, when he refused to name his contacts, he was sentenced to a stricter prison regimen, and suffered a broken arm after severe beatings. In November 1983, mathematics teacher and former political prisoner Yury Shikhanovich was arrested in Moscow, charged with editing Chronicle of Current Events and Bulletin V, and sentenced to five years in a labor camp and five years of exile. In January 1984, Yelena Sannikova, 25, a philologist, was arrested and charged with editing yet another new monitoring bulletin, Herald of the Human Rights Movement. She was sentenced to one year in a labor camp and four years of exile. Many more individuals, whose names are not well-known in the West, have carried on the difficult and discouraging work of bearing witness to Soviet human rights abuse, and they have been punished for it.

In 1986, ten years after the Moscow Helsinki Group was formed, many courageous men and women still quietly continue the work of the Helsinki monitors. They no longer sign petitions or hold press conferences for Western reporters. They must now work

clandestinely at great risk, knowing that arrest is much more likely now and that the punishment will be more harsh. It is now common for political prisoners reaching the end of their terms to be resentenced to new terms; thus, new activists face the possibility of a whole life of imprisonment.

Nevertheless, Soviet citizens with great conscience, responsibility and courage carry on the monitoring work. Although the stream of human rights material from the Soviet Union has greatly decreased, and there are greater delays in receiving news than there were five years ago, the facts of Soviet repression continue to reach Western governments and private citizens' groups and to be raised by Western delegations at each Helsinki review conference.

XIV. FUTURE OF THE HELSINKI PROCESS

The Soviet government's blatant disregard of its Helsinki commitments in ruthlessly crushing its citizens' Helsinki monitoring movement has led many to question the Helsinki process. Some have urged that the agreement be cancelled until the Helsinki monitors are freed or even that the accords be abrogated altogether. The debate came into sharp focus when a letter by a group of Soviet emigres -- four of them former Helsinki monitors -- was published in The Wall Street Journal in May 1985. The more than twenty Soviet exiles who signed the appeal asserted that " we can no longer associate ourselves with the agreement which not only failed to serve its humanitarian purposes, but even to protect its most sincere supporters, ÅtheÅ agreement which has turned into a repressive tool in the hands of Soviet authorities."14/

It is the position of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights that we must continue the Helsinki process, with all its difficulties and frustrations, in order to maintain constant pressure on the Soviet Union to release the Helsinki monitors and in order to uphold the Helsinki spirit which the monitors have charged with such moral force. Testifying at a hearing on the Helsinki process held by the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe on October 3, 1985, Helsinki Watch Executive Director Jeri Laber stated:

"Not only is ÅHelsinkiÅ the only ongoing East-West forum in which human rights abuses are vigorously denounced but, more important by far, it remains the main source of hope for victims of human rights abuses in the Eastern bloc countries and a rallying point in their struggle for freedom and peace. I have seen the Helsinki spirit at work in my meetings with human rights activists in Eastern Europe. Voices may lower but eyes light up when the word 'Helsinki' is mentioned. To them 'Helsinki' means 'hope'."15/

In a pre-Belgrade summary of human rights issues released in February 1977 shortly after Yury Orlov's arrest, the Moscow Helsinki Group discussed the continuation of the Helsinki process. The points made in this statement are as timely as ever.

In acknowledging the total and flagrant violation of the humanitarian articles of the Final Act by the Soviet Union, the Western countries may conclude that the idea of tying human rights to international relations has failed. This conclusion allows two logical possibilities, both with highly tragic consequences. One, Western countries may repudiate the Helsinki agreements as something not observed by the opposite side. This would aggravate international tension, increase military expenditures, and diminish the chances for a stable peace and genuine international cooperation. Two, Western countries may retreat on human rights issues either by formally excluding such points from the Helsinki Agreements, or by virtually ignoring them, while preserving the remaining articles of the Agreements, specifically, guarantees for the inviolability of frontiers. This would be an enormous blow to human rights not only in the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe, but also in the developing world. Politically, any kind of "security and cooperation" achieved at such a cost would be illusory and would simply result in the demolition of the Helsinki Agreements.

We feel that any conclusion on the collapse of the "Helsinki idea" is premature and we put our hopes in a third logical possibility -- specifically, that the Western countries will point out the violations of its humanitarian commitments on the part of the Soviet Union and will conclude that the only means of preserving the Helsinki Agreement would be the establishment of agreed criteria for evaluating the facts. The Soviet government may choose not to recognize the violations of its own commitments, but it will have to recognize that the only way out of an impasse resulting from two such opposing points of view is to establish agreed criteria. If the Soviet Union refuses to accept concrete, measurable criteria for the evaluation of facts, then its action will have the force of a unilateral destruction of the Helsinki Agreement.

No matter what the criteria for the measuring of implementation of international agreements, one thing is clear: one cannot imprison anyone for seeking to fulfill international accords. We feel that the preliminary condition for any discussion must be the immediate release of all arrested members of the Helsinki Groups.

As long as these people are imprisoned, any discussion of criteria for observance of the Helsinki Agreements would be an insulting farce and a mockery of reason.16

East European and Soviet human rights activists continue to send their appeals to the Helsinki Review Conferences, thus signalling their belief that they are significant forums for exposing human rights abuse.

XV. THE HELSINKI MOVEMENT ABROAD

Yury Orlov's idea, launched in May 1976, caught fire not only in other Soviet republics, but in Eastern Europe as well. Charter 77 was founded in Czechoslovakia in January 1977 in response to the accords, and the first Polish Helsinki Watch Group was formed in Poland in September 1979 and continues underground to this day. Both groups have suffered from severe persecution, but they continue their activities, issuing reports on human rights abuse.

Concerned citizens in the West have also rallied to the defense of the Helsinki monitors. Responding to the call of the Moscow Helsinki Group for citizens' groups to be formed in each of the Helsinki signatory states, such groups began to form in the West. In 1978, a Helsinki Committee of prominent Norwegian citizens was formed in Oslo and in January 1979, the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee.

In September 1982 at a conference in Bellagio, Italy, an umbrella organization -- the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF) -- was created. The IHF now has 10 member groups in Western Europe and North America and has established headquarters in Vienna, Austria.

Paradoxically, the International Helsinki Federation was launched at the very moment that word came from Moscow of the disbanding of the Moscow Helsinki Group. Although saddened by the news, the Federation saw the need for still greater responsibility in continuing the work begun in Moscow and in making Yury Orlov's dream of an international Helsinki committee a reality.

APPENDIX A.

ARRESTS AND TRIALS

The following tables of arrests and trials tell the tragic history of the Moscow Helsinki Group:

<u>Arrest Dates</u>	<u>Members</u>
February 3, 1977	Aleksandr Ginzburg
February 10, 1977	Yury Orlov
March 15, 1977	Anatoly Shcharansky
May 31, 1977*	Malva Landa
March 7, 1980	" " (re-arrest)
June 1, 1978	Vladimir Slepak
December 7, 1979	Viktor Nekipelov
April 10, 1980	Leonid Ternovsky
May 27, 1980	Tatyana Osipova
May 25, 1985	" " (re-arrest)
January 8, 1981	Feliks Serebrov
March 17, 1981	Anatoly Marchenko
August 25, 1981	Ivan Kovalyov
August 17, 1984*	Yelena Bonner

*Trial date; not held in pre-trial detention.

<u>Trial Dates</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>Sentences</u>
July 13, 1978	Aleksandr Ginzburg	8 years labor camp, 3 exile
May 18, 1978	Yury Orlov	7 years labor camp, 5 exile
July 14, 1978	Anatoly Shcharansky	13 years prison, labor camp
May 31, 1977	Malva Landa	2 years exile
March 26, 1978	" " (re-arrest)	5 years exile
June 21, 1978	Viktor Slepak	5 years exile
June 13, 1980	Viktor Nekipelov	7 years labor camp, 5 exile
December 30, 1980	Leonid Ternovsky	3 years labor camp
April 2, 1981	Tatyana Osipova	5 years labor camp, 5 exile
May 25, 1985	" " (re-arrest)	2 years labor camp
July 21, 1981	Feliks Serebrov	4 years labor camp, 5 exile
September 4, 1981	Anatoly Marchenko	10 years labor camp, 5 exile
April 2, 1982	Ivan Kovalyov	5 years labor camp, 5 exile
August 17, 1984	Yelena Bonner	5 years exile

Currently In Prison, Labor Camp or Exile (May 1986)

<u>Members</u>	<u>Release Dates</u>
Yury Orlov (exile)	December 1988
Viktor Nekipelov (labor camp)	December 1991
Tatyana Osipova (labor camp)	March 1992
Feliks Serebrov (exile)	January 1990
Anatoly Marchenko (prison)	March 1996
Ivan Kovalyov (labor camp)	December 1992
Yelena Bonner (exile)	August 1989

APPENDIX B.

THE MOSCOW HELSINKI MONITORS: BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES

The following is a list of all the persons who were members of the Moscow Helsinki Group from its founding on May 12, 1976, to its disbanding on September 6, 1982. Biographical information was supplied by Ludmilla Alexeyeva, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Cronid Lubarsky and Radio Liberty.

ALEXEYeva, Ludmilla Mikhailovna. Founding member. Born July 20, 1927; historian and editor. Married, two sons by a previous marriage. Graduate of Moscow State University, editor at Soviet publishing houses; expelled from the Communist Party in 1968 for signing letters in defense of political prisoners. Active in samizdat movement and charity work for families of political prisoners. Emigrated on February 22, 1977; subsequently settled in the U.S. and became an American citizen. Designated by the Moscow Helsinki Group as its official Western representative. Soviet consultant for U.S. Helsinki Watch and free-lance script writer for Radio Liberty. Author of *Soviet Dissent: Contemporary Movements for National, Religious, and Human Rights*, Wesleyan University Press, 1985. Currently resides in Tarrytown, NY.

BERNSHTAM, Mikhail Semyonovich. Founding member. Born in 1943; historian and teacher of art history. Member of group until May 19, 1976. Emigrated on September 29, 1976. Research fellow at the Hoover Institution. Currently lives in Stanford, CA.

BONNER, Yelena Georgievna. Founding member. Born on February 15, 1923; pediatrician; married physicist and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Dr. Andrei Sakharov in 1971; daughter and son from previous marriage. Bonner's father, head of the personnel section of the Comintern, was executed under Stalin. Bonner is a World War II injured veteran. Sentenced on August 17, 1984, to five years of internal exile under Art. 190-1 ("anti-Soviet slander") for her human rights activity, defense of her husband and documents of the Moscow Helsinki Group. Suffers from heart disease and glaucoma. In December 1985, after extensive hunger-strikes and protests by Andrei Sakharov, Bonner was granted temporary leave to travel in Italy and the United States for medical care and to visit her son and daughter and their families in Newton, Massachusetts. Bonner underwent a successful sextuple heart by-pass operation in January 1986 and is scheduled to return to the Soviet Union in June 1986. A condition for her departure was that she refrain from giving any press conferences. The period spent in the West will be added on to Bonner's exile sentence. Since January 1980, she has lived with Dr. Sakharov in his place of banishment in Gorky, a closed city 250 miles east of Moscow. Since May 1984, she has not been permitted to travel to Moscow from Gorky. The Sakharovs' address is ul. Gagarina 214, kv. 3, Shcherbinka-2, Gorky 603137, USSR.

GINZBURG, Aleksandr Ilyich. Founding member. Born on November 21, 1936; publisher and editor of samizdat collections. Married, two sons. Arrested on February 3, 1977, charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (Art. 70) and sentenced to eight years in special-regimen labor camps and three in internal exile.

Previous terms of political imprisonment: 1960-62; 1967-72. Deported to U.S. on April 27, 1979, as part of prisoner exchange between the Soviet Union and the U.S., in which five Soviet political prisoners were traded for two convicted Soviet spies. Frequently lectures for universities and organizations in the U.S. and Europe; free-lance writer for Voice of America. Currently resides in Washington, DC.

GRIGORENKO, Petro Grigoryevich. Founding member of both Moscow and Ukrainian Helsinki Groups. Born on October 16, 1907; former Red Army major general during World War II; department chief at Frunze Military Academy. Married, three sons, one adopted son. Received a number of decorations, including Order of Lenin. Criticized Khrushchev in 1960 and protested discrimination against Jewish military officers; transferred to Soviet Far East as a result. In 1968, protested Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and was demoted to private and expelled from the Communist Party. Political prisoner in psychiatric hospitals from 1964-65 and 1969-74. Departed for U.S. on temporary six-month visa for medical treatment on November 10, 1977; subsequently deprived of Soviet citizenship on February 13, 1978, and granted political asylum in the U.S.. Author of Memoirs, W.W. Norton, 1982, and other books and articles on his experiences in the Soviet Union. Suffers from Parkinson's disease and is in poor health. Currently resides in Long Island City, New York.

KALLISTRATOVA, Sofya Vasilyevna. Born on September 19, 1907; retired lawyer. Joined group on September 1, 1977. Defended a number of prominent civil rights activists in Moscow and served as legal consultant to human rights groups. Charged on September 6, 1982, with disseminating "anti-Soviet slander" under Art. 190-1. At a press conference held in Moscow on the same day, the group announced the discontinuation of its activities, and the criminal proceedings against Kallistratova were reported to have been suspended on September 10, 1982. Nevertheless, the case against her was never formally closed. Since 1982, has ceased her human rights work and has declined visits from foreigners. Has been in poor health since breaking her hip in the summer of 1985. Currently resides in Moscow.

KORCHAK, Aleksandr Alekseyevich. Founding member. Date of birth unknown. Astrophysicist. Resigned from group in February 1977, under pressure from the Soviet authorities, who threatened him with dismissal from his job. Currently resides in Moscow but is no longer involved in human rights activity.

KOVALYOV, Ivan Sergeyeovich. Born on November 8, 1954. Power engineer, employed as fireman. Married. Joined group on October 30, 1979. Arrested on August 25, 1981, charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" under Art. 70, and sentenced on April 2, 1982, to five years strict-regimen labor camp and five years internal exile. To be released August 1991. Repeatedly placed in labor camp punishment cell on a starvation diet for prolonged periods. Due to the punishment cell regimen and repeated hunger-strikes, Kovalyov suffers from headaches, dizziness, nausea, and malnutrition, as well as osteomyelitis. He is denied books and newspapers. His father, Sergei, a former political prisoner residing in Kalinin, is denied permission to live in Moscow, and his wife, Tatyana Osipova, is also a political prisoner. Home

address: Ludmilla Boitsova (step-mother), ul. 26 Bakinskikh komissarov, no. 7, korp. 2, kv. 71. Labor camp address: Perm Labor Camp No. 35, uchr. VS-389/35, st. Vsesvyatskaya, Chusovskoy rayon, Permskaya obl. 618810, USSR.

LANDA, Malva Noyevna. Founding member. Born August 14, 1918; retired geologist and editor of geological publications. Father perished in Stalin's labor camps. Sentenced on May 31, 1977, to two years in exile for "negligent destruction or damage of state property and of personal property of citizens"; in fact, agents had set fire to her apartment and framed her. Granted amnesty on March 1, 1978. Re-arrested on March 7, 1980, charged with "anti-Soviet slander" under Art. 190-1 and sentenced to five years in exile. After her release from exile in 1985, she was denied permission to return to Moscow and currently resides in extremely reduced circumstances in Petushki, a suburb.

MARCHENKO, Anatoly Tikhonovich. Born January 1, 1938. Worker. Married, one son. Previous political sentences: 1960-66, 1968-69, 1969-71, 1975-79. Joined group from exile in Tarusa; signed groups first statements. Group documents from October-November 1976 name him as member, although his signature was not obtained for some subsequent documents. Arrested March 17, 1981, and sentenced September 4, 1981, to ten years strict-regimen labor camp and five years exile for samizdat articles and his memoirs, My Testimony, and From Tarusa to Siberia, published by Strathcona in Michigan in 1980. To be released March 1996. Suffers from polynephritis, otitis, after-effects of meningitis, deafness, gastritis, arthritis. Repeatedly and severely beaten in labor camp and incarcerated in solitary confinement; denied visits and correspondence. Transferred from Perm Labor Camp in October 1985 and currently incarcerated under harsher conditions in Chistopol Prison. Address: uchr. UE-148/st-4, Chistopol, Tatarskaya ASSR 422950, USSR. His wife, Larissa Bogoraz, lives at Leninsky prospekt 85, kv. 3, Moscow, USSR.

MEIMAN, Naum Natanovich (Nokhim Sanelevich). Born May 12, 1911. Joined group on January 14, 1977. Mathematician; received doctorate in physical and mathematical sciences in 1937; became professor of mathematics in 1939. Widower, one daughter in U.S.; remarried. Has been repeatedly refused permission to emigrate since 1974 on the grounds that he knows state secrets. However, the only time he was involved with classified material was during 1948-55, while employed at the Institute for Physical Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The formulae with which he worked 30 years ago are now obsolete or are in the public domain and known to ordinary students. From 1955-75, Meiman worked as a senior scientist in the Institute of Theoretical and Experimental Physics and was forced to retire when he applied to emigrate.

Despite harassment from the authorities, including searches of his apartment, Meiman remained a spokesman of the group and was one of three members at liberty when the group was forced to disband in September 1982. Since that time, Meiman has been the only person left in Moscow from the group who continues to make public statements, to greet foreign visitors and to give press conferences for Western correspondents. Meiman's wife, Irina Kitrosskaya, a 54-year-old English teacher, has been repeatedly

operated on for brain cancer and now requires special computer-driven radiation treatments as the only hope of extending her life. This type of treatment is not available in the Soviet Union, but despite invitations from Sweden, Switzerland, France, Israel, and the United States offering medical care, Soviet authorities refuse to grant her a temporary visa abroad. Meiman suffers from lung and heart ailments, but is now denied use of the Academy of Sciences polyclinic, where he had been treated for 30 years. The Meimans currently reside at Naberezhnaya Gorkogo 4/22, apt. 57, tel. 231-8473.

MNYUKH, Yury Vladimirovich. Born October 13, 1926; physicist; received degree of Candidate of Physical and Mathematical Sciences in 1959. Married. Fired from his position at the Pushchino Institute of Biological Physics in 1973 for his views. Joined the group on January 5, 1977. Emigrated on June 14, 1977. Currently resides in New York.

NEKIPELOV, Viktor Aleksandrovich. Born in Harbin, China, on September 29, 1928; came to the USSR with his parents at the age of nine. Mother disappeared during Stalin's purges in 1939. Pharmacist and poet. Married, two children. Former political prisoner 1973-75. Author of Institute of Fools, Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1980. Member International Pen Club. Joined group in October 1977. Arrested December 7, 1979, charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" under Art. 70 for his samizdat petitions and articles, and sentenced on June 13, 1980, to seven years strict-regimen labor camp and five years exile. To be released December 1991. Operated on for neck tumor and suffers from a number of chronic ailments including polynephritis and spinal osteochondrosis. Currently being held in Chistopol Prison, uchr. UE-148/st.-4, Chistopol, Tatarskaya ASSR 422950, USSR. His wife, Nina Komarova, resides at ul. Lugovaya 35, kv. 28, Fryazino, Moscow obl. 141120, USSR.

ORLOV, Yury Fyodorovich. Born August 13, 1924; physicist; veteran of World War II. Married, three sons from a previous marriage. Employed at Institute of Theoretical and Experimental Physics of the USSR Academy of Sciences until 1956, when he was expelled from the Communist Party and dismissed from his job for outspoken criticism at a party meeting. Subsequently forced to move to Armenia; received doctorate in physical and mathematical sciences in 1963; become corresponding member of Armenian Academy of Sciences in 1968. Returned to Moscow in 1972; following a 1973 letter in defense of Andrei Sakharov, lost his institute post in 1974 and denied opportunity to work in his profession since. Founding member and Chairman of the Moscow Helsinki Group. Arrested February 10, 1977, charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" under Art. 70 for his human rights activity, and sentenced to seven years strict-regimen labor camp and five years exile.

Released from labor camp into exile in February 1984; sentence to be completed December 1988. Orlov lives in complete isolation in a primitive hut under extremely harsh conditions in Siberia. His wife, Irina Orlova, who lives in Moscow, periodically makes the arduous journey to visit him; she has repeatedly been threatened by the authorities for her defense of her husband.

Orlov has not been permitted to receive any mail or telephone calls from the West since October 1984. He suffers from a number of unattended chronic ailments, including cystitis, nephritis, prostatitis, and after-effects of an old skull injury, and is denied adequate medical care in the remote settlement where he is exiled. Exile address: pos. Kobyay, Yakutskaya ASSR 678310, USSR. Irina Orlov (wife): ul. Profsoyuznaya 98, korp. 7, kv. 1, Moscow 117485, USSR.

OSIPOVA, Tatyana Semyonovna. Born March 15, 1949; computer engineer and programmer. Married. Joined group in October 1977. Forced to leave position at Moscow Oblast Pedagogical Institute in March 1979. Arrested May 27, 1980, charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" under Art. 70, and sentenced April 2, 1981, to five years labor camp and five years exile. Re-arrested in labor camp in March 1985 and sentenced to an additional two years under Art. 188-3 ("malicious disobedience of labor camp administration") for frequently organizing protests, work stoppages and hunger strikes among political prisoners, concerning inhumane prison conditions. Suffers from chronic hepatitis, endometriosis, kidney ailments. Osipova's husband, Ivan Kovalyov, is also a political prisoner. Currently held in Mordovian Labor Camp No. 3-4, uchr. Zhkh-385/3-4, pos. Barashevo, Tengushevsky rayon, Mordovskaya ASSR 4312000, USSR. To be released March 1992.

POLIKANOV, Sergei Mikhailovich. Born September 14, 1926; physicist. Awarded Lenin Prize in 1967; became corresponding member of USSR Academy of Sciences in 1974. Joined group on July 15, 1978. Went abroad on October 10, 1978, and was subsequently stripped of his citizenship. Withdrew from Academy of Sciences on May 15, 1979. Currently lives in West Germany where he continues his scientific work.

RUBIN, Vitaly Aronovich. Founding member. Born September 14, 1923; scholar of ancient Chinese history and philosophy; candidate of historical sciences; published 60 articles and books while in the USSR. Married. Leader of Jewish emigration movement. Applied for exit visa in February 1972 and was forced to resign his position at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Repeatedly denied exit visas but finally granted permission to emigrate and departed from the USSR on June 17, 1976, one month after the announcement of the group's formation. Settled in Israel, where he continued his academic work, until his death in a car accident in October 1981. He is survived by his wife, Inessa Rubin, who lives in Israel.

SEREBROV, Feliks Arkadyevich. Born in 1930. Laborer. Joined group on March 26, 1980; also member of Psychiatric Commission. Single. Former political prisoner (1947-54, 1957-58, 1977-78). Arrested January 8, 1981, charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" under Art. 70 and sentenced on July 21, 1981, to four years strict-regimen labor camp and five years exile. Suffers from high blood pressure, endarteritis, and various chronic ailments. Currently in exile: ul. Geologov, 6, pos. Krasny Yar, Kokchetavsky rayon, Kokchetavskaya obl., Kazakh SSR 476110, USSR.

SHCHARANSKY, Anatoly Borisovich. Founding member. Born January 20, 1948; mathematician and cyberneticist. Leader and spokesman for Jewish emigration movement. Married. Graduate of Moscow Institute of Applied Physics in 1972; refused permission to emigrate in April 1973, purportedly on the grounds that he had access to state secrets. On July 4, 1974, one day after marrying Shcharansky, Natalya Stieglitz (Avital Shcharansky), left the USSR for Israel, expecting Shcharansky to follow shortly; he continued to be denied an exit visa. Arrested March 15, 1977, and charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" under Art. 70 and "espionage" under Art. 64. The charges relate to his passing of information on Jewish refuseniks to Western correspondents. Shcharansky was accused of collaborating with the CIA, an accusation publicly denied by President Carter. Sentenced on July 14, 1978, to 3 years prison and 10 years strict-regimen labor camp. After serving nine years in labor camp, Shcharansky was released on February 11, 1986, in a dramatic East-West prisoners' exchange. He currently resides with his wife in Jerusalem.

SLEPAK, Vladimir Semyonovich. Born October 29, 1927; radio and television engineer. Married, two sons; both live in the U.S. Joined group on June 17, 1976. Leading Jewish activist. First denied permission to emigrate in April 1970 on the grounds that his work was classified (he had clearance in 1969). Even after the five-year period had elapsed for which secrecy restrictions were applicable, he continued to be denied an exit visa. Dismissed from position as chief of a research laboratory on TV and impulse apparatus after applying to emigrate. Subjected to frequent tailing, searches, beatings, and telephone interruptions. In March 1977, accused of treason against the USSR. Arrested June 1, 1978, for hanging a banner over his balcony saying "Let Us Go to Our Son in Israel." The banner was displayed during a police blockade of the Slepaks' apartment. Tried June 21, 1978, and sentenced to five years internal exile under Art. 206 for "malicious hooliganism." Slepak completed his exile term in 1983 and currently lives with his wife in Moscow. The couple continues to be denied permission to leave the Soviet Union.

TERNOVSKY, Leonard Borisovich. Born September 6, 1933; physician and radiologist. Joined group on March 26, 1980; also member of Psychiatric Commission. Married, one daughter. First warned by KGB in 1974 for signing statements in defense of political prisoners; forced to resign from Moscow Medical Institute Clinic Number One for his "anti-Soviet activities." Arrested April 10, 1980, and charged with "anti-Soviet slander" under Art. 190-1 and sentenced December 30, 1980, to three years ordinary-regimen labor camp. Released in 1983, and has been forced to live outside Moscow, since he is denied a residence permit there.

YARYM-AGAYEV, Yury. Born November 6, 1947; physicist. Married. Joined the group on December 8, 1978. Was employed as a research associate at the Institute of Chemical Physics of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In September 1978, refused to engage in classified work at the institute on moral grounds (security clearance at such institutes restricts contacts with foreigners), and was eventually dismissed on January 18, 1979. Emigrated on July 8, 1980, and accepted invitations to continue his scientific work at Rutgers University and later Stanford University. Currently lives with his wife in Fremont, California.

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The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights is a Vienna-based non-governmental organization that seeks to promote compliance with the human rights provisions contained in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe by the 35 states that signed it in 1975. The IHF represents Helsinki monitoring committees in 10 countries, and has direct links with human rights activists in countries where such citizen's groups are unable to form for fear of repression. The IHF coordinates the activities of its member groups and consultants; gathers information on the human rights situation in signatory countries; acts as a clearing-house for this information, disseminating it to members as well as to the press; and helps organize new Helsinki groups in countries where they do not yet exist.

Currently participating in the IHF are national committees in Austria, Canada, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. These Western groups have established themselves in the wake of a 1976 appeal by the Moscow Helsinki Group to concerned citizens in other countries to heed Principal VII of the Helsinki Final Act, which guarantees the right of all to "know and act upon their rights." The group in Moscow has since been forced to disband, but their pioneering efforts have inspired others to call attention to violations by governments of the human rights commitments they made in Helsinki.

Helsinki national committees differ from mass membership human rights organizations in that they are composed of a relatively limited number of prominent citizens and individuals with specific professional expertise, who can use their experience and knowledge to influence both public opinion and government policy on a domestic and international level. The national committees have a broad mandate to investigate violations of the Helsinki Accords in their own countries and elsewhere. They are concerned not only about individual victims of human rights transgressions but also about structural violations such as restrictions on free expression and the free flow of information and ideas; freedom of civil, political, economic, cultural and religious association; free movement of persons; family reunification; and the protection of minorities and migrant workers.

As long as governments infringe on the human rights of their citizens, the International Helsinki Federation will continue to work to foster respect for the commitments laid down in the Helsinki Final Act and subsequently affirmed and amplified in the Concluding Document of the follow-up CSCE conference in Madrid. The IHF is convinced that international peace and cooperation is inextricably linked to the safeguarding of human rights within each sovereign state.

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