



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Preserving American Jewish History

MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series D: International Relations Activities. 1961-1992

Box 72, Folder 4, Soviet Jewry, 1980-1983.

*Anti-Semitism
in the
Soviet Union
1977-1981*

by Max M. Kampelman

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE



This summary of officially-sanctioned anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union since the USSR signed the Helsinki Final Act was delivered at the European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Madrid, December 1, 1981. Mr. Max M. Kampelman is Chairman of the U.S. Delegation.

Today is the ninth day since Dr. Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Elena Bonner, began a hunger strike in the city of Gorky, where he has been exiled by the authorities of the Soviet Union. A week ago today, the United States Senate unanimously — Republicans and Democrats, liberals and conservatives, representing all of our fifty states — adopted a resolution associating itself “fully and completely” with that protest. They joined in his condemnation of the Soviet Union for its “flagrant violation of the Helsinki Accords.” I have no doubt that the Senate, in doing so, spoke for an outraged American people indignant at the harassment inflicted on Dr. Sakharov and his family.

We have noted on several occasions during the past year that harassment and mistreatment and repression have intensified in the Soviet Union. There is persecution of individuals and persecution of groups. Many ethnic and religious minorities have been particular victims.

The pattern of ethnic and religious oppression, officially sanctioned, takes many forms: the repressive legal restrictions on Crimean Tatars which prohibit them from returning to their historic homeland; forced Russification of the Baltic States; biased employment practices against Evangelical Christians; prohibition against manifestations of Ukrainian culture. We have talked of these and of others.

Last fall, the Delegate of Belgium eloquently addressed a particularly pernicious aspect of Soviet repression: anti-Semitism. The Delegate of the United Kingdom has forcefully, on a number of occasions, brought this problem to our attention as well. Last Friday he did so again. This distasteful phenomenon has grown in intensity and in ugliness.

Speaking personally for a moment, I am

Jewish by ancestry and commitment. My personal stake in this subject is, therefore, clear. Wherever anti-Semitism exists, Jews elsewhere react with concern and with the thought, "There but for the grace of God go I."

My intervention today, affected as all our statements may be by our personal values and beliefs, is nevertheless an expression of *my government's* deep concern.

The roots of anti-Semitism run deep in the human experience. It has commanded the attention and the profound intellectual energies of experts in psychology, sociology, religion and politics. The phenomenon is not yet fully understood, but we do know that the human being requires an avenue of release for his personal frustrations; and that, through a confluence of accidental and historical forces, the Jew often has become the focus of anger associated with frustration and disappointment.

The task of civilized society has been to harness and redirect the energy of that anger into more constructive channels, so that the basis of frustration may be understood and thus overcome. Regrettably, all too often totalitarian societies — unable to resolve the internal problems which beset them — have diverted the attention of their citizens away from the actual source of their frustration by finding targets on which to place the blame. Time and again, that scapegoat has been the Jew.

History has taught us that anti-Semitism is a contagious disease, a virus that endangers not only Jews but also the societies in which they live. It becomes our concern here in Madrid when and where anti-Semitism has government sanction. In that form, it is destructive to the Helsinki Final Act.

It is with regret that our delegation has concluded that the Soviet Union is clearly

identified with a pattern of anti-Semitic behavior that could not function without government support and acquiescence.

Despite Soviet protestations to the contrary; despite the Soviet Constitution's prohibition of any "advocacy of racial or national ... hostility"; despite Chairman Brezhnev's call at the 26th Party Congress in February to "fight resolutely against ... anti-Semitism"; despite these words, government-condoned and government-propagated anti-Semitism flourishes in the Soviet Union today.

The anti-Semitic campaign has intensified since the first CSCE review meeting. It has become more fearsome during our meeting here in Madrid. This latest surge, I assert without hesitation, is an officially sanctioned campaign, stimulated by state-controlled publication and exhibition of overtly anti-Semitic books, articles, cartoons and exhibitions.

The issue is too serious to exaggerate, and I will do my utmost not to do so. The label of anti-Semitism is too terrible to apply loosely, and I will guard against doing so. I proceed, therefore, with care to address this problem as a problem that dares not be ignored. The evidence is overwhelming. I will refer to only a few out of the hundreds of examples:

Fact: A book published in 150,000 copies in Moscow in 1977 and republished in 1979, written by Vladimir Begun and entitled *Invasion Without Arms*, characterizes the Torah, the Old Testament of the Bible, as, among other things, "an unsurpassed textbook [of] ... hypocrisy, treachery, perfidy and moral degeneracy — all the basest human qualities." He writes: "Jewish and Christian hypocrites alike keep silent over this."

Fact: There are frequent cartoons — we have them here — representations in the official

Soviet press portraying Jews with large hooked noses and evil-looking unshaven jowls. Indeed, in September 1975, after the Helsinki Final Act was signed, the *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* reproduced a cover cartoon of the 1934 edition of the notoriously poisonous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, depicting an evil-appearing Jewish figure under the caption, "The Jewish Peril," digging his fingers into a globe of the world and making it bleed.

Fact: A 1979 exhibition of paintings in Minsk by the official Soviet artist Mikhail A. Savitsky included a canvas depicting the brutalities of the Nazi occupation of Byelorussia. The painting, entitled "Summer Theater," showed a pile of naked corpses in a concentration camp. Standing over them and grinning sadistically at each other are a helmeted Nazi officer and a Jew with the stereotype hooked nose and wearing a Star of David, presumably a camp trusty. Despite protestations against the work's blatant anti-Semitic character, a reprint of the painting also appeared in the Byelorussian Ministry of Culture's official journal.

Fact: Jews are repeatedly characterized in Soviet articles as criminals and gangsters. One illustration, an article by A. Filipenko, "Zionism and Crime," states that although "the myth has become established that gangster bands consist exclusively of Italians, the facts prove that an active role is also played in the United States criminal syndicates by persons of Jewish origin." There are references in other Soviet publications to "the Jewish-Sicilian Mafia." (L. Korneyev, "The Most Zionist Business," in *Ogonyok*, No. 28, 1978; and, same author, "Leaders-Gangsters" in *Medelya*, pp. 21-27, November 1977.)

Fact: A television program entitled "Traders of the Souls" was broadcast in prime time

throughout the Soviet Union. The constant theme of this documentary was the Jew as moneychanger, "a trader of souls."

Fact: There is constant derogatory reference in the official Soviet press to persons with obvious Jewish names and background. Thus I quote a reference to American capitalism as being "led by the Lehmans, Lazards, Blausteins, Stillmans, Warburgs, Kuhns, Guggenheims, Loebbs, Kahns, Rosenwalds and Schiffs." (B. Bannov, "A Provocative Confluence," *Vechernyaya Moskva*, September 3, 1977.)

Fact: Reference to Jewish ownership of "death concerns," to "growing financial might," to the "Zionist Mafia of death," to Jewish control of media and banks and crime and multilateral corporations, government, and the theater — all these abound. (L. Korneyev, "The Secret Wars of Zionism," *Neva*, No. 4, 1978; L. Korneyev, "The Most Zionist Business" [Part I], *Ogonyok*, No. 28, 1978; V. Meshcheryakov, "With Someone Else's Voice," *Zhurnalists*, No. 4, 1976; and B. Antonov, "America in the Web of the Zionists," *Moskovskaya Pravda*, March 1, 1978.)

Fact: Soviet authorities in 1979 issued the *White Book*, which purported to reveal, as the subtitle states, "Espionage and Deception in the Name of Defense for Human Rights." Instead, the publication is replete with preposterous accusations and anti-Semitic attacks on Soviet Jewish activists and Western correspondents of Jewish origin. The *White Book* was first published by the Juridical Literature Printing House and edited by the director of the prestigious Association of Soviet Jurists. Even after this despicable work received worldwide condemnation, a second edition was released in December 1979.

Fact: Last year, it was announced that the book *Judaism and Zionism* by Trofim K. Kichko was to be published. Designed for a "mass audience," the book pretends to "unmask the criminal activities of various Zionist organizations and Zionist-oriented Judaism." The author's previous work of seventeen years ago, *Judaism Without Embellishment*, was so virulent in its anti-Semitism that after international protests were made — including some from the major Western Communist parties — Soviet authorities were forced to withdraw the book for "erroneous statements."

Fact: Articles accusing Jews of collaborating with Hitler to destroy the European Jewish community, to destroy the Soviet Union, and to strengthen a Jewish state are disseminated widely. Jews have furthermore been accused in the Soviet press of stimulating anti-Semitism and setting fire to synagogues in order to settle Israel. (L. Korneyev, "The Sinister Secrets of Zionism" [Part II], *Ogonyok*, No. 35, 1975; [Colonel] I. Tsvetkov, "The Tool of Imperialist Aggression," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, October 27, 1976; *Kino*, August 1975, a review of the anti-Semitic film "The Secret and the Overt"; L. Korneyev, "Zionism's Octopus of Espionage," *Ogonyok*, No. 5, 1977; V. Chernyavski, "Conversations with a Reader," *New Times*, No. 37, 1977; T. Kichko and D. Koretsky, "Trap for the Youth," *Dnipro*, No. 7, 1975.)

Fact: Anti-Jewish material has been distributed to Red Army recruits and is published in official journals of the Soviet armed forces. (Captain Y. Makulin, "Rabbis and Soldiers" in *Sovietskyvoin*, November 10, 1976.)

Fact: Jewish history is deleted from Soviet elementary and secondary school textbooks. Indeed, the Russian pogroms of the late 19th century against the Jews are justified in a Soviet

publication as part of the class struggle. (V. Ya. Begun, *ibid.*, pp. 55-56.)

Fact: The Soviet Union — with the third largest Jewish community in the world — is the only country with a Jewish population in which there is not a single approved Jewish school and no means for teaching Jewish history and tradition. The private teaching of Hebrew is outlawed, while the official study of the language is restricted to a very few non-Jews. In recent weeks, over eighty Jewish teachers of Hebrew, in Moscow alone, received threats of prosecution and banishment should they continue their instruction.

All of the evidence for the above facts reflects events taking place after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. During the past fifteen years, a total of at least 112 Soviet books and brochures with anti-Semitic overtones of various degrees have been identified, some of them printed and reprinted in editions of 150,000-200,000 copies. Anti-Semitic propaganda is also carried out through lectures, stimulated by the Communist Party and the state.

Soviet anti-Semitism is not limited to domestic consumption. It is also widely exported to Arab, African and other Third World countries. The writings of outspoken Soviet anti-Semites — Kichko, Begun, Korneyev and others — have been featured prominently in publications of the PLO, for instance. In addition, their writings are often published in English and distributed throughout the English-speaking world.

A publication of the Novosti Press Agency, the 77-page *Sword of David* by Leo Korn, has been widely distributed at Soviet embassies and international fairs. Clearly aimed at Western readers, the pamphlet purports to reveal the

“monstrous lie of Zionism” which is called “the most reactionary force of Jewish bourgeois nationalism.” The booklet alleges that anti-Semitism is, after all, the fault of the Jews themselves, an understandable “result of the non-Jewish workers’ hatred of their exploiters who belonged to the rich Jewish bourgeois caste.” Canadian authorities demanded the publication’s removal from the Ontario Science Center in 1978, where it was being given away by Soviet representatives.

In March of 1979, this same author raised the spectre of an international Jewish conspiracy, a familiar anti-Semitic theme, in the journal *Communist of the Armed Forces*. In an article entitled “Zionism — The Tool of Imperialistic Expansion and Neo-Colonialism,” he wrote: “The Jewish financiers and industrialists strive to direct the domestic and foreign policies of the U.S.A., England, France, the FRG, Belgium and of other capitalist states....”

Now, it may be said that these books, articles and films are mere reflections of their authors, who have the right to their own opinions, no matter how repulsive. But we all know that nothing can be published openly or distributed in the Soviet Union without the official imprimatur of the government censoring agency, Glavdit. Indeed, the chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Printing, in justifying the Soviet banning of Western publications at the September 1979 International Book Fair in Moscow, cited legislation prohibiting books on racism and those that “stir up hatred and hostility between people.” It is significant that anti-Semitic books, pamphlets, films and articles published in the Soviet Union are not required to meet that noble standard.

This is not a pretty picture that we have painted. We have done so with profound regret

and sadness. We have cited but a few deplorable examples. At our last session, the delegate from the United Kingdom cited others. There are many more instances of blatant government-condoned anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. These are accompanied by harassment and imprisonment of Jewish leaders, discrimination against Jews in education and employment, active and frequently violent interference with the study of Hebrew and the possession of articles of prayer, and by a drastic reduction in the number of Jews being allowed to escape this pervasive anti-Semitism through emigration.

I respectfully suggest that there should be no room for anti-Semitism in a society that professes its commitment to the teachings of Marx, a Jew. The early roots of socialism were idealistic. They had their philosophic justification in a commitment to human brotherhood and to the dignity of the individual. Where there is anti-Semitism, there is a corruption of those ideals.

I make this plea once again. The Soviet Union is a society that is large and powerful and has existed for more than sixty years. There is no need for that society to crush human beings, small and insignificant as they may appear in the broader perspective of history. There should be no need to stimulate hatred among peoples.

It is time for that society to develop a stronger faith in itself and in the inner strength of its people. The world, and certainly my government, would welcome a Soviet decision to mobilize its resources and its people constructively to help meet its internal problems without the use of diversionary hate tactics. This is the only way we can ever hope to achieve the spirit of understanding mandated by the Helsinki Final Act that we all seek and that eludes us.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, N. Y. 10022

Single copy, 35¢
Quantity prices on request

2/82
 33

NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, Plaza 1-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION: WHAT THE BREZHNEV FIGURES REALLY MEAN

On his current visit to the United States, Leonid I. Brezhnev, Secretary General of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., has sought to persuade the American public that there is no Jewish problem in the Soviet Union, and that the Soviet authorities are not preventing Jews who wish to emigrate from doing so.

In what follows, we provide certain background data which may help the American public appraise Mr. Brezhnev's statements in a more meaningful context.

(1) Mr. Brezhnev states that by the end of last year some 68,000 Jews had been permitted to leave the Soviet Union. This is roughly the same figure Western statistics give as the total of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union since 1948, the year Israel was founded. But this does not mean Soviet citizens enjoyed the basic human right to emigrate unhindered during all or part of that 25-year span. Even according to Mr. Brezhnev's figures, the vast majority left only during the last two or three years, and what chiefly seems to have set them free was the worldwide protests against the treatment of Soviet Jews prompted by the Leningrad trials in the winter of 1969-70.

(2) Nearly twice as many Jews as have been allowed to leave are still waiting to get out. Between 110,000 and 120,000 persons have filed the required affidavits and are now awaiting visas which may or may not be granted.

(3) The actual number of persons who wish to emigrate is probably even greater, for anyone who applies for an exit visa immediately subjects himself and his family to social ostracism, loss of employment, "anti-

-more-

Elmer L. Winter, President; Richard Maass, Chairman, Board of Governors; Maynard I. Wishner, Chairman, National Executive Council; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, Board of Trustees
Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

Washington Office: 818 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 • European hq.: 30 Rue la Boetie, Paris, France 75008 • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem, Israel 95149
So. Amer. hq.: Bartolome Mitre 1943, Buenos Aires, Argentina • Brazil: Av. Rio Branco 18, s/1109, Rio de Janeiro • Mexico-Cent. Amer. hq.: Av. E. National 533, Mexico 5, D.F.
CSAE 1707

Zionist" insults and other forms of harassment--without any assurance that he will ever be allowed to leave. Some applicants have been jailed; some have been declared mentally ill and confined to institutions.

(4) A number of persons who applied for exit visas years ago were jailed for such alleged crimes as "spreading anti-Soviet slander" or "possession of anti-Soviet materials" (which might mean nothing more than having an Israeli picture postcard in the house). Many of these people are still in severe regime labor camps.

(5) Highly trained persons, particularly scientists, are often refused exit visas on alleged security grounds, even though they may not have worked recently, or ever, in fields requiring security clearance. Right now, seven scientists who are in this situation are conducting a hunger strike in Moscow. Virtually all scientists who apply are promptly fired and indefinitely forced into menial jobs, rather than allowed to leave.

(6) Such exit visas as are granted are unevenly apportioned. In the more heavily Jewish parts of the Soviet Union--Russia proper, the Ukraine, Byelorussia--where 85 per cent of Soviet Jewry lives, only 10 to 15 per cent of applicants have been given exit visas; in the rest of the country, where Jews are few, 85 per cent of all applicants have received visas.

(7) Mr. Brezhnev sets the number of Soviet Jews at 2,151,000. This is the official figure, but it understates the total. It is known that persons of mixed Jewish-gentile ancestry have frequently been counted as non-Jews by Soviet census takers, as have Jewish spouses of gentiles on some occasions. Most specialists estimate the Jewish population of the Soviet Union as close to 3 million--which makes the 68,000 total proportionately still smaller.

The American Jewish Committee has consistently supported efforts toward detente and greater understanding with the Soviet Union. It feels, however, that by denying Jews and others their basic human rights the Soviet Union is putting obstacles in the way of a detente.

#

NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, PLaza 1-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, June 27...The American Jewish Committee, expressing "deep disappointment" that the Brezhnev-Nixon meetings "have apparently not brought about any improvement in the plight of Soviet Jewry," today urged Congress to "remain steadfast" in support of the Jackson Amendment, which denies special trade privileges to the Soviet Union as long as it continues to detain and harass Jews who wish to emigrate.

Elmer L. Winter, AJC President, announced the organization's position at the conclusion of a meeting of the AJC Board of Governors. Mr. Winter stressed the fact that the American Jewish Committee "welcomed the apparent continued progress toward detente" of the summit meetings, but declared that, in relation to Soviet Jewry, Mr. Brezhnev had "used misleading statistics," "sought to confuse the issue," and demonstrated a "hard line of resistance."

The full statement of the AJC Board of Governors follows:

"The Board of Governors of the American Jewish Committee, meeting a few days after the conclusion of Mr. Brezhnev's visit, while welcoming the apparent continued progress toward detente, registers its deep disappointment that those meetings have apparently not brought about any improvement in the plight of Soviet Jewry.

"It had been our hope, shared by millions of Americans of all faiths, that the summit meetings would provide an opportunity for the Soviet authorities to demonstrate greater flexibility and moderation on the issue of Jewish emigration. But all we have learned or heard thus far indicates, instead, a hard line of resistance. Using misleading statistics that have been consistently discredited, Mr. Brezhnev sought on numerous occasions to confuse the issue. At the very time of the meetings at which he sought to influence American political and business leaders, reports were being received about reduced emigration in recent weeks, further harassment and even detention of applicants, and further outright denials of visa applications by the Soviet Union.

"Last week's disappointments make more essential than ever Congressional action requiring a change in Soviet policy as a condition for American trade concessions. The Jackson Amendment is in the long tradition of American foreign policy, which has often sought to exert economic and political leverage for the securing of basic human rights. The Amendment will not prevent detente or trade; it will require only that the Soviets manifest greater respect for basic human rights to which they are in principle committed.

"The American Jewish Committee renews its support for the Jackson Amendment and urges all members of the Senate and the House to remain steadfast in their support of this measure."

-more-

Philip E. Hoffman, President; Richard Maass, Chairman, Executive Council; David Sher, Chairman, Board of Governors; Elmer L. Winter, Chairman, Board of Trustees
Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

Washington Office: 818 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 • European hq.: 30 Rue la Boetie, Paris, France 75008 • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem, Israel 95149
S. Amer. hq.: Bartolome Mitre 1943, Buenos Aires, Argentina • Brazil: Av. Rio Branco 18, s.; 1109, Rio de Janeiro • Mexico: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533 #302-303 Mexico 5, D.F.
CSAE 1707

JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION:
WHAT THE BREZHNEV FIGURES REALLY MEAN

On his recent visit to the United States, Leonid I. Brezhnev, Secretary General of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., sought to persuade the American public that there was no Jewish problem in the Soviet Union, and that the Soviet authorities were not preventing Jews who wished to emigrate from doing so.

In what follows, we provide certain background data which may help the American public appraise Mr. Brezhnev's statements in a more meaningful context.

(1) Mr. Brezhnev stated that by the end of last year some 68,000 Jews had been permitted to leave the Soviet Union. This is roughly the same figure Western statistics give as the total of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union since 1948, the year Israel was founded. But this does not mean Soviet citizens enjoyed the basic human right to emigrate unhindered during all or part of that 25-year span. Even according to Mr. Brezhnev's figures, the vast majority left only during the last two or three years, and what chiefly seems to have set them free was the worldwide protests against the treatment of Soviet Jews prompted by the Leningrad trials in the winter of 1969-70.

(2) Nearly twice as many Jews as have been allowed to leave are still waiting to get out. Between 110,000 and 120,000 persons have filed the required affidavits and are now awaiting visas which may or may not be granted.

(3) The actual number of persons who wish to emigrate is probably even greater, for anyone who applies for an exit visa immediately subjects himself and his family to social ostracism, loss of employment, "anti-

Zionist" insults and other forms of harassment--without any assurance that he will ever be allowed to leave. Some applicants have been jailed; some have been declared mentally ill and confined to institutions.

(4) A number of persons who applied for exit visas years ago were jailed for such alleged crimes as "spreading anti-Soviet slander" or "possession of anti-Soviet materials" (which might mean nothing more than having an Israeli picture postcard in the house). Many of these people are still in severe regime labor camps.

(5) Highly trained persons, particularly scientists, are often refused exit visas on alleged security grounds, even though they may not have worked recently, or ever, in fields requiring security clearance. Right now, seven scientists who are in this situation are conducting a hunger strike in Moscow. Virtually all scientists who apply are promptly fired and indefinitely forced into menial jobs, rather than allowed to leave.

(6) Such exit visas as are granted are unevenly apportioned. In the more heavily Jewish parts of the Soviet Union--Russia proper, the Ukraine, Byelorussia--where 85 per cent of Soviet Jewry lives, only 10 to 15 per cent of applicants have been given exit visas; in the rest of the country, where Jews are few, 85 per cent of all applicants have received visas.

(7) Mr. Brezhnev sets the number of Soviet Jews at 2,151,000. This is the official figure, but it understates the total. It is known that persons of mixed Jewish-gentile ancestry have frequently been counted as non-Jews by Soviet census takers, as have Jewish spouses of gentiles on some occasions. Most specialists estimate the Jewish population of the Soviet Union as close to 3 million--which makes the 68,000 total proportionately still smaller.

The American Jewish Committee has consistently supported efforts toward detente and greater understanding with the Soviet Union. It feels, however, that by denying Jews and others their basic human rights the Soviet Union is putting obstacles in the way of a detente.

#

KGB MOVE AGAINST STUDENTS OF HEBREW

Aware of the steady growth in the number of private Hebrew study groups throughout the Soviet Union - there are now more than 30 in Moscow alone - the KGB is now concentrating its efforts on frightening off young people who attend them.

This week, for instance, we were told about a dozen or so young men who had "enrolled" in the study circle run by PAVEL ABRAMOVICH, who has himself been called in by the KGB and warned that he faces prosecution.

The students were picked up by plain clothes men separately and closely interrogated. Typical questions are: "Why are you learning Hebrew?" "Are you a Zionist agent?" "What is your personal connection with ABRAMOVICH?" "Are you aware that he is a social parasite and could face prosecution at any time?"

When questions fail to deter the young people, they are flatly warned: "If you continue to study Hebrew, you will find yourself dismissed from your work, or worse."

The effect of this harassment, activists freely admit, is that quite a few students, many of them who have not applied to leave the country, have been frightened off.

"Despite that, and despite all the threats", one of Moscow's most popular Hebrew teachers reported to a friend this week, "We are pressing ahead with our teaching and find it difficult to fit into our small flats all the people now eager to learn the language.

ABRAMOVICH himself also continues to take a leading part in the publication of the samizdat journal "Our Ivrit", which is avidly read and studied in Jewish centres throughout the country.

The scope and range of the contents is shown in the 79 page issue which is dated March, 1980, and which reached the West very recently. The articles are:

1. MARTIN BUBER: Why We Should Study Jewish Origins
2. Interviews: M. CHLENOV : Hebrew, the pivot of Jewish culture and Jewish heritage
3. SH. YAVIN: The Hebrew-Phoenician Writing
4. A. BOLSHOY: Problems of Translation
5. D. FISH: Russian? Yiddish? Hebrew?
6. V. FULMAKHT: Reminiscences on Moshe Palkhan, the First Hebrew Teacher in Moscow
7. Readers' Letters: Reactions to Ivrit. No. 2
8. Studying Hebrew in an Ulpan in Israel (Excerpt from a letter)
9. No comments: Excerpts from the Soviet Press

In addition to ABRAMOVICH's name on the Editorial cover is that of DIANA ZISERMAN.

* * * * *

Jews USSR #15 4/24/80

BACKGROUND

The hunger for Hebrew, a relatively recent phenomenon, is exemplified also in a letter from ZEEV KURAVSKY of Moscow to a friend in London, written in English and Hebrew, some of which we print hereunder:

...I was happy to receive your letter, in which you have asked me about my interests in Hebrew. Indeed I'm very fond of this language because in fact I've come through it to all my Jewish life. As to Modern Hebrew I am interested, particularly in its style, in synonymy. This part of the language is very important to me because Hebrew is the mother (or rather the father) language to my children. I have two sons, nearly four years and eighteen months old, with which I speak only Hebrew. You understand, therefore, that I must talk to the children correctly, so that they can hear a good pattern of speech to imitate.....

...Secondly, I wish to supply my children with basic religious education. Moreover, I look forward to making aspects of Jewish life an integral part of each day's experiences

Jews USSR #15 4/24/80

"JEWISH CHILDREN"

Jewish children in the Soviet Union will face a massive "anti-Zionist" incitement campaign later this year, unless world public opinion can persuade the Soviet authorities not to proceed with a plan which might make such material required reading in schools.

"Pedagogika," the Soviet State Publishing House, has announced the issue in September-December 1983, of a book entitled "The Poison of Zionism," by Yelena Modrzhinskaya and V. S. Lapsky. With a print order of 200,000 copies, the book is intended for pupils "of more advanced age."

Yelena Modrzhinskaya is the authoress of a number of violently anti-Zionist books.

The announcement, made in Moscow recently, suggests that the subject of Zionism is rapidly becoming required reading for Soviet pupils in the 12 to 18 age group.

The book is ostensibly written against what the authors claim to be the "poison of Zionism."

Its effect will be to poison the atmosphere in which Jewish pupils must live in Soviet schools by branding all children educated in a Jewishly-conscious home of being Zionists, and casting doubts on their loyalty to the Soviet Union.

This is made clear in the explanatory notice which accompanied the pre-publication announcement in the weekly "Noviye Knigi ("New Books"). It said that "the book had been written on the basis of much factual material.

"It recounts the history of Zionism and its contemporary manifestations .. its slanderous propagandistic campaign and the links between Zionism and the centres of imperialist subversion against the Soviet Union and other countries of the Socialist commonwealth.

"The reader will become acquainted with the fate of those cheated by Zionist propaganda," the notice said.

Only 81 Jews were allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union in January, among the lowest monthly figures for 20 years.

Of these 81 Soviet Jewish emigrants, 19 went to Israel and 62 asked to go to other destinations. This means a drop-out rate of 76 per cent.

In December, 1982, 176 Soviet Jews were allowed to leave. The total for 1982 is 2,692.

35's #15 2/15/83

NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE...

NEW YORK, Feb. 24... A pamphlet charging that the Soviet Union has been carrying on an "official campaign" of anti-Semitism in the years since it signed the Helsinki Final Act has just been published by the American Jewish Committee

Titled "Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union 1977-1981," the pamphlet contains the text of an address delivered December 1, 1981, at the European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Madrid, by Max M. Kampelman, Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference.

Stressing that anti-Semitism is a "contagious disease...that endangers not only Jews but also the societies in which they live," and adding that it is "particularly destructive" when it has government sanction, Mr. Kampelman contends that the Soviet Union is "clearly identified with a pattern of anti-Semitic behavior that could not function without government support."

Despite Soviet "protestations to the contrary," Mr. Kampelman continues, the "evidence that government-propagated anti-Semitism flourishes in the Soviet Union today... is overwhelming." Emphasizing that "nothing can be published openly or distributed in the USSR without the official (approval) of the government censoring agency," he cites these examples:

- * Jews are repeatedly characterized in Soviet articles as criminals and gansters.
- * The official Soviet press contains "constant derogatory reference" to persons with "obvious Jewish names and backgrounds."
- * Articles accusing Jews of collaborating with Hitler to destroy the European Jewish community, to destroy the Soviet Union, and to strengthen a Jewish state are disseminated widely.
- * Anti-Jewish material has been distributed to Red Army recruits and is published in official journals of the Soviet armed forces.
- * The official Soviet press frequently contains cartoons portraying "evil-looking" Jews with "large hooked noses."
- * Jewish history is deleted from Soviet elementary and secondary school textbooks.
- * The Soviet Union -- with the third largest Jewish community in the world -- is the only country with a Jewish population in which "there is not a single approved Jewish school and no means for teaching Jewish history and tradition."
- * The private teaching of Hebrew is outlawed. "In recent weeks, over 80 Jewish teachers of Hebrew, in Moscow alone, received threats of prosecution and banishment should they continue their instruction," Mr. Kampelman explains.

NOTE: For a copy of "Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union 1977-1981," please contact Morton Yarmon, American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York, NY 10022.

2/22/82
82-960-48
A, REL, EJP

* * *

Maynard I. Wishner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert L. Pelz, Chairman, Board of Trustees.

Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

Washington Office, 818 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem, 95149, Israel
South America hq.: (temporary office) 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. E. National 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

CSAE 1707

cfk

information

cpc

**Information Department of the Christian Peace Conference
Informationsabteilung der Christlichen Friedenskonferenz
Prague 1, Jungmannova 9, Czechoslovakia - phone 24 88 66, 24 85 36**

**The Israeli Military Aggression Against Lebanon Must Be Stopped
Immediately
Statement of the Leading Representatives of the CPC**

**Back to the Negotiating Table
Statement of the CPC on the Conflict in the South Atlantic**

**The Danger of a World Conflagration - The Causes of the Stagnation
of Political Détente
The International Commission of the CPC Meets in the GDR**

**Jointly Against Fascism
40th Anniversary of the Extermination of Lidice**

**New Aspects of the Efforts for Peace and Justice on the Latin
American Continent
2nd Study Congress of the Latin American and Caribbean CPC
Takes Place in Managua**

Regional Activities of the CPC

Cooperation with Other Organizations

=====

**The Israeli Military Aggression Against Lebanon Must Be Stopped
Immediately**

Only a few weeks after the world community had been shocked by the outbreak of war in the South Atlantic and had called on the confronting parties to return to the negotiating table, a new threat to peace is emerging in the Middle East. In the first days of June, the Israeli armies launched a massive attack against an independent state, Lebanon. Supported by tanks, the navy and the indiscriminate air bombing of cities and villages, 20,000 Israeli troops - subsequently expanded to 50,000 - invaded a neighbouring country which had offered refuge to thousands of homeless Palestinians.

Instead of guaranteeing the rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to an independent state of their own - a right recognized by the majority of nations of the world - the present Israeli leaders chose an action aimed at their total annihilation. It is an act that disregards the resolutions adopted by the UN and the interests and security of the Arab nations in that area.

No 303 - June 13, 1982

At this time when international relationships have deteriorated to a state of instability and when the arms race is continuing at the same speed, the unilateral use of force by the Israeli government in the explosive Middle East region is a threat to world peace and to the future of mankind as a whole.

The CPC condemns these hazardous and highly dangerous military actions of Israeli and calls upon the leaders of that country to put an end to their adventurous policy and return to civilized means of solving Israel's problems. The CPC also supports the recent resolution of the UN Security Council which calls on all parties to cease their military actions in Lebanon and on both sides on the Israeli border. The path to peace must be embarked upon by the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from Lebanon's territory and by convoking a conference of all parties concerned, as suggested by previous UN resolutions.

Prague, June 1982

Rev. Dr. Lubomír Mirejovský
Secretary General of the CPC

Bishop Dr. Károly Tóth
President of the CPC

Dr. Filaret
Metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia
Chairman of the Continuation
Committee of the CPC

X X X

Back to the Negotiating Table!

Statement of the CPC on the Conflict in the South Atlantic

In connection with the armed conflict between Great Britain and Argentina in the South Atlantic, the Christian Peace Conference issued a statement which stresses among other things the need to resolve all conflicting issues through negotiations and to prevent steps toward decolonization and national independence from violating the peaceful character of international law and above all the UN Charter. "It is not yet too late for the parties in the conflict to return to the negotiating table. The CPC is determined to oppose, together with all peace forces, the resorting to the fatality of war, and basing itself on the peace commitment of the Christian conscience, to support the world-wide appeal to both sides: 'Back to the negotiating table!' - Let people talk, not weapons'!"

X X X

The Danger of a World Conflagration - The Causes of the Stagnation of Political Détente

The International Commission of the CPC Meets in the GDR

(Communiqué)

At the invitation of the Regional Committee of the Christian Peace Conference in the GDR the CPC Commission on International Questions held its meeting from June 2 - 6, 1982 in the newly constructed centre of the Evangelical Peace Congregation Eisenhüttenstadt. The meeting was attended by more than 40 participants from 14 countries coming from 5 continents. The causes and the background of the present stalemate in political détente were discussed as well as the commitment of Christians and churches in the world-wide struggle of the peace-loving forces. Mr. Klaus-Dieter Ernst, Counsellor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the GDR, Mr. Samarajiwa from Sri Lanka, the chairman of the Commission, and Dr. Reinhard Opitz, FRG, presented papers on the main theme: "The danger of world conflagration, reasons for and background of the contemporary stagnation of political détente and the engagement of Christians and churches in the world-wide struggle of the peace forces".

Counsellor Ernst stated among other things: "Whereas, in the past, the question of war and peace was a matter of life and death of individual people, today it is a matter of survival of entire humankind. Compared with it all other issues appear to trifling and of secondary importance. The socialist countries advocate the view that there is no reasonable alternative to the policy of peaceful co-existence". Dealing with the close connection between the operations of the IMF and IBRD in the Third World and the power of the TNC's Mr. Samarajiwa said that these structures in their present form aggravate the situation of the people rather than aid them. Dr. Opitz analyzed the cooperation of the peace forces in all parts of the world and emphasized that the policy and strategy of the leading circles in some of the NATO countries is aimed against decolonization and entails as its consequence hunger, poverty and misery. The solidarity of the peace forces includes support to liberation movements even after they have achieved political independence of their country.

The commission dealt with the interdependence of places of tension, increasing armament expenditures to the detriment of peoples and nations in the Third World, as well as with the role of transnational corporations. All discussions centered around the fear of the danger of a nuclear holocaust, a fear caused mainly by certain pronouncements related to the new US foreign policy. In connection with the forthcoming Second UN Assembly Special Session on Disarmament to be opened on June 7, 1982 in New York, the participants expressed their view that the road towards unbiased negotiations between the super powers should be re-opened. There is an urgent need for agreements on nuclear armament freeze and ban on use of nuclear weapons as well as on reduction of the existing weapon arsenals and numbers of troops to be concluded.

The commission received reports on the "World Conference of Religious Leaders for the Salvation of the Sacred Gift of Life from a Nuclear Catastrophe" held in Moscow, May 10 - 14, 1982. In compliance with the results of the conference the commission stated that in view of the endangered world situation the Christians and churches should contribute more than ever before towards a renewal of the process of détente in order that peoples and mankind be freed from the fear of nuclear war. Many Christians and churches share the conviction of the peace movements throughout the world, particularly in Europe and the USA, that it is not through confrontation, but rather through joint efforts towards maintaining peace that life and safety of the peoples and mankind on our planet can be guaranteed.

The Secretary General of the CPC, Dr. Lubomír Mirejovský, informed the commission about the Continental CPC General Assembly of Latin America and the Caribbean held from May 26 - 31, 1982 in Managua, Nicaragua. It was underlined by 108 participants that the fight for national liberation is a part of the struggle for peace.

The participants in the commission's session expressed their conviction that peace remains the highest commandment, is indivisible, and requires cooperation between Christians and non-Christians throughout the world. This was also testified to in the daily morning and evening prayers.

As part of the preparations for the VIth All-Christian Peace Assembly to be held from June 27 through July 2, 1984 in Prague, the participants discussed proposals for the main theme and the corresponding sub-themes. In a recommendation to the leadership of the CPC, the commission suggested that the recent Moscow World Conference of Religious Workers should be thoroughly evaluated with a view to making full use of its results, and that special attention should be devoted to cooperation among the peace forces.

At the opening evening session a worship was led by Dr. Gottfried Forck, Bishop of the Evangelical Church Berlin Brandenburg. Greetings were presented by Joachim Rinn, pastor of the host congregation, Walter Delbrück, Superintendent of the Church district of Guben, Professor Dr. Gerhard Bassarak, Vice-President of the CPC and Oberkonsistorialrat Dr. Johannes Althausen, Vice-Chairman of the CPC Regional Committee in the GDR. In the evening of June 4, a reception was given by Hermann Kalb, Deputy of the State Secretary for Church Affairs at the Government of the GDR. On Sunday, June 6, 1982, members of the commission preached in divine services in neighbouring congregations manifesting in that way the ecumenical togetherness in the service of world peace.

The commission extended its thanks to the CPC Regional Committee of the GDR for its invitation as well as the Evangelical Peace Community in Eisenhüttenstadt for their hospitality which was appreciated as a contribution to the peace effort of the CPC.

X X X

Jointly Against Fascism
40th Anniversary of the Extermination of Lidice

At the instigation of the movement known as the "Lidice Initiative" in the German Federal Republic, and in cooperation with the Christian Peace Conference, commemorative celebrations were held on May 18 - 20 in Bremen on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the extermination of the Czech village of Lidice by the German fascists. The commemoration was attended on behalf of the CPC by its General Secretary, Dr. Lubomír Mirejovský, and General Bishop Dr. Ján Michalko, a vice-president of the CPC. The Czechoslovak delegation consisting of representatives of peace and anti-fascist organizations, was headed by Mrs Marie Jarosová, one of the few women who survived the Lidice tragedy and confinement in concentration camps. The delegation was received at the parliament of the Federal Land of Bremen by its chairman, Dr. D. Klink. "We have come with a spirit of goodwill", said Mrs Jarosová on that occasion. "We do not intend to repay evil with evil, but we wish to struggle against our common enemy, fascism. This meeting can imply an important step toward mutual understanding and further cooperation in the interest of peace."

The delegation also met with the highest representatives of the Evangelical Church in Bremen, its president, Dr. Ranft, and its spiritual administrator, Dr. Schmidt.

The highlight of the visit was the laying of wreaths at the Monument of the Victims of Fascism, which was also attended by many public figures from political and church circles. The prime minister of Bremen and vice-president of the FRG Dr. Hans Koschnick, pointed out on that occasion that the past cannot be concealed or suppressed. It is necessary to face up to it and master it. The immense injustice perpetrated by German fascism vis-à-vis the nations of Europe is, precisely for the Germans, a lasting admonition to strive to put right their relations with other nations and to seek earnestly and in a spirit of openness possibilities of cooperation.

Another important event was a solemn commemorative gathering, the host of which was the St Stephen Evangelical congregation. The representative of the Bremen senate, Dr. Hennig Scherf, who addressed the gathering together with many other speakers, stressed that what Lidice symbolizes must always be kept in fresh peoples' memories so that especially young people shall not forget that part of history. He also expressed the hope that events such as the present commemoration substantially help to create the prerequisites for the elimination of mistrust between both nations and for enabling them to live side by side. "The danger that past evils could reoccur has not yet disappeared," said Bishop Dr. Michalko in his answer, and he also pointed to the possibilities of expanding the "Lidice Initiative", among other things at an international seminar taking place in the vicinity of Lidice - at Kladno - on June 17 and 18 of this year.

All the meetings and discussions between the member of the Czechoslovak delegation and church, political and public figures in the FRG strengthened their participants' conviction that it is neces-

sary to wage a joint struggle against contemporary fascism in all its forms and that precisely this cooperation can help to improve the relations between our nations and throughout Europe at large. "This cooperation must cut through ideological, political and religious differentiations", the General Secretary of the CPC, Dr. L. Mirejovský, emphasized at one of the many meetings. "All peace forces have one important mission today: to strengthen their mutual solidarity through common practical activity. The fact that this is possible has been documented by the whole course of the visit of our delegation, as well as the occasion for which we have come to Bremen."

X X X

New Aspects of the Efforts for Peace and Justice on the Latin American Continent
2nd Study Congress of the Latin American and Caribbean CPC Takes Place in Managua

The Second General Assembly and the Study Congress of the Latin American and Caribbean CPC took place in the capital of Nicaragua, Managua, from May 26 to 31, 1982. More than 100 participants from 19 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean took part in the meetings. The international CPC sent a delegation to that event composed of the Chairman of the CPC's Continuation Committee, Metropolitan Dr. Filaret of Kiev and Galicia; the CPC's General Secretary, Rev. Dr. Lubomir Mirejovský; the Deputy General Secretary of the CPC, Archimandrite Sergij (Fomin) and Dr. Crispin Mazobere, the CPC's co-worker from Zimbabwe.

The Conference was opened by a public meeting in which a number of representatives of Church and public life participated.

In the course of the meetings, various reports were presented. For example, Prof. Luis Rivera spoke on the theme "Peace and Justice in the Bible" and Prof. Icaza Manero of Mexico informed the participants - on the basis of extensive documentation - about the changing standpoint of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America concerning the problems of peace, justice and the resistance against the local dictatorial regimes. He also described the implications and effects of US imperialism's actions.

In reports presented by representatives of Churches and Church groups, it was stressed that the greatly increasing unemployment, high indebtedness and disintegration of economic structures are common denominators of the present situation of those countries. The resistance against military, political and economic intervention into those countries' internal affairs is increasing. This resistance is similarly increasing among certain circles of the domestic national bourgeoisie.

Particular aspects of the Congress' theme and further possibilities of Christian involvement for peace and justice on the Latin American continent and in the Caribbean were thoroughly discussed both in the

plenary sessions and in the three working groups. These discussions lead to the adoption of several final documents.

In a resolution concerning the situation in the Caribbean region, the participants in the congress deplored, among other things, the continuing rule of the USA over Puerto Rico and attempts to destabilize the situation of certain countries in that region by military means and the spreading of disinformation about the hostile propaganda against the progressive forces as well as by means of an economic blockade, undercover operations and the manipulating of the people's religious feelings.

The participants in the congress expressed their solidarity with the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala struggling for the establishment of truly democratic regimes in their countries, and in a special resolution they voiced their support of the government and people of Nicaragua, which is undergoing a difficult period of struggle for the maintenance of the results of its revolution. This revolution, the statement says, is at present a sign of hope for all nations of Latin America and the Caribbean region in the search for peace, justice and social progress. We welcome the participation of many Christians in the process of revolution and national reconstruction - the document reads further - who demonstrate that "the power of the gospel knows no fear of necessary structural changes, but implies courage and struggle as it is based on faith in Him Who makes all things anew".

The 2nd Study Congress also sent two open letters addressed to Christians in Western Europe and North America and to Christians in Latin America and the Caribbean respectively. "As Latin American and Caribbean Christians, members of the Universal Church, we are grateful to God for the ecumenical relations which express in a concrete form the basic unity not only of believers but of mankind as a whole", says the letter to the churches in Western Europe and North America, which also points out that this spirit of solidarity and ecumenicity helps to confirm our obligation vis-à-vis Jesus Christ in terms of a concrete, genuine participation of the poor and oppressed who are seeking their liberation and full self-realization through their faith. "Peace can be attained only by means of justice and therefore those Christians who enjoy the privileges of the advanced economic systems must struggle under their own conditions for just economico-political and social relations."

The Message addressed to Christians in Latin America expresses profound grief over the tragic situation of the nations of that continent, which is the result not only of natural calamities, but especially of man-made disasters such as oppression, injustice, wars and death - in a word, of all that prevents the establishment of genuine peace and justice. In spite of this tragic situation, "our view of the reality surrounding us is not pessimistic but is imbued with hope. This is why we wish to call on all of you who believe in Jesus Christ to decide together with us to strive for the creation of those conditions under which a dignified, creative and responsible life will not merely be a distant hope but will

become in the near future a reality in the lives of our nations, as regards both each individual and society at large".

A resolution concerning the armed conflict between Argentina and Great Britain recognizes the legitimate right of the Argentine people to sovereignty over the Malvinas, as well as their right to internal democracy, the return of those who have disappeared in prisons and the release of persecuted and jailed political workers and trade unionists. This goal, the resolution says, can be achieved only if a truly popular government comes to power in Argentina.

"The aggression against Argentina is a clear proof of the disintegration of more powerful countries' domination over the weaker ones. It also shows that the USA underestimates the other countries of the American continents as well as the uselessness of organizations such as the OAS or the TIAR, which have never represented the real interests of Latin America and Caribbean region."

In conclusion, the statement calls for an immediate ceasefire, an end to economic sanctions against Argentina and a return to diplomatic negotiations with the use of the good services of the UN.

At the end of the 2nd Study Congress of the Continental CPC in Latin America and the Caribbean, a new Presidential Board was elected. Its chairman is now Prof. Louis Rivera (Puerto Rico) and its secretary is the Rev. Ismail Madruga (Cuba). Prof. Fernando Ceballos of Cuba was elected honorary president. A new Continuation Committee consisting of fifty members living in 21 countries was also proposed.

The next session of the Presidential Board will take place in September of this year in Mexico, coinciding with the establishment of a Chair of Social Theology at that country's Baptist Seminary, which will be dedicated to the memory of the tragically deceased co-worker of the CPC, Augusto Cotto of El Salvador.

X X X

Regional Activities of the CPC

The British Regional Committee of the Christian Peace Conference is one of a coalition of British church peace bodies sponsoring the "Choose Life" programme of activities in support of the UN Special Session on Disarmament. It has carried out a wide range of activities, including studies on peace theology, prayer vigils for peace and lectures and special services - particularly an ecumenical and interfaith service at Westminster Abbey on Sunday June 6 on the eve of the opening of the Special Session. At Coventry Cathedral on May 27 - 30 a special "European Peace Conference" was held, attended by some sixty Christians from Britain, Federal Germany, the GDR and the USA and a Buddhist peace mission from Hiroshima. Rev. Brian G. Cooper, a member of the CPC's Working Committee charged with analyzing East-West relations, stressed the vital contribution of the European Churches to the establishing of détente,

and discussed the question of how to maintain it at a time of international tensions. Rev. Cooper emphasized that Europe had been for many centuries the world's most Christian continent culturally, yet in the 20th century two world wars had begun in Europe and had been spread throughout the world. In view of this historical context and the present fact of Europe being the most heavily-armed continent in the world, Europe - and above all its churches - have a very special responsibility to all mankind for world peace, he said.

Rev. Canon Wright, secretary of the Scottish Churches' Council and a member of the CPC's Continuation Committee, saw mankind's future threatened by the runaway arms race, the population explosion and overproduction leading to pollution. Unless reversed the present nuclear arms policies may very likely lead to a nuclear catastrophe whether through military escalation, technological accident or other factors, he emphasized. "The Church must identify this monstrous evil and seek to exorcise it," - Rev. Wright concluded.

AMERICAN JEWISH

On the instigation of its Advisory Board for Peace Work, the Synodal Council of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren organized this year its tenth peace seminar for representatives of the church's seniorates, which took place from May 27 to 29 at the "Sola fide" House in Jánské Lázně.

Since this year we recall the criminal eradiction of Lidice by German fascism 40 years ago, the main attention at the seminar was concentrated on the dangerous activity of fascism, not only with a view to its past excesses in Germany, Italy and elsewhere during the Second World War, but also as concerns its new, present forms and manifestations which are becoming a new threat to the future of the nations of Europe and the world.

Thus expert PhDr. Sylvie Ostrovská CSc analyzed the beginnings and roots of fascism from the historical and ideological standpoints, while the Rev. Otto Löber of Federal Republic Germany, a member of the international staff of the CPC, acquainted the participants in the seminar, in two speeches, with the dangerous manifestations of rightist extremism in his country as well as with the influential, continually growing activity of the peace and anti-fascist movement, many of whose initiators in West Germany are Christian peace groupings and movements.

The Rev. Jirí Pumr, a member of the Advisory Board for Peace Work, informed those present about the most important aspects of the work of the CPC and its participation in various peace activities and Synodal Senior Dr. Miloslav Hájek shared with the audiences his personal experiences and impressions from the Moscow World Conference: Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe. The conclusions of that conference and its appeal to the participants in the UN General Assembly's 2nd Special Session on Disarmament were also supported by the participants in the seminar in a statement delivered to the synodal senior with the request that the church public be acquainted with it.

X X X

Cooperation with Other Organizations

The regional session "North" of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics was held from May 27 through 30 at Mangleås/Copenhagen, Denmark. Its participants coming from ten European countries consulted together on the most urgent problems of the present peace movement and, under the theme "The peace of God and the peace of man", discussed the basic questions of the biblical concept of peace. In their introductory speeches, Dr. Richardt Hansen (Denmark) and the president of the Berlin Conference, Otto Hartmut Fuchs (GDR), dealt with the concept of peace in terms of its biblical foundations and the history of its applications. They showed how greatly peace had been misunderstood by traditional moral theology as the mere absence of war and how the theme of peace had been interpreted from the vantage point of war. First the encyclical "Pacem in terris" issued in 1963 implied an enrichment of Catholic theology with a concept of peace through which answers can also be sought to the burning issues of today.

With a view to the acute danger to world peace, the participants in the session expressed themselves in favour of immediate measures toward disarmament. In this connection, they underlined the importance of an atom-free zone in Northern Europe, the general implementation of a moratorium on Euro-strategic intermediate-range missiles and the need for increased fellowship among Christians and the adherents of different world outlooks in the world-wide struggle for peace. Special attention was devoted to the UN General Assembly's 2nd Special Session on Disarmament and another widely-discussed subject was the Moscow World Conference: Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe.

The CPC was represented at the session by Dr. Dieter Kraft, a member of its Prague staff, who attended the event as an observer.

X

New European Ecumenical Body Comes into Being
During its last meeting in Gwatt, Switzerland (May 15-21, 1982), at which the CPC was represented by Past. Ilsegrit Fink (GDR) and Míla Hradecná (CSSR), new body "Ecumenical Forum of European Christian Women" has been constituted. According to the constitution "the aim of the Forum shall be to create a forum for European christian women to find a common identity, to deepen their christian understanding, to work for the unity of the church and of humankind and to further appropriate initiatives for development, justice and peace". Mrs. Nicole Fischer, President of National Protestant Synod of Geneva, was elected as President of the Forum. The Forum will meet every four years and the next meeting has been invited to Finland.

X X X

In recognition of his many years of meritorious work for peace, the director of the Secretariat of the CPC, Dr. Tibor Görög, who is also a member of the International Secretariat of the CPC, was awarded on May 18 the Silver Order of Labour of the People's Republic of Hungary. The Rev. Dr. Görög received this high distinction in Budapest from the hands of the Secretary for Church Affairs, Imre Miklos, in the presence of Bishop Dr. Károly Tóth, President of the CPC, and Dr. Z. Káldy, the leading bishop of the Hungarian Lutheran Church.

XXXXXXXXXXXX

MINUTES

Meeting of the Board of Directors

RESEARCH CENTER FOR RELIGION AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN CLOSED SOCIETIES

June 25, 1982

Presiding: Frank D. Svoboda

Present: J. Corgee, B. Hruby, O. Hruby, K. Linsley, G. Miller, R. Mortensen,
B. Sterling, and F. Svoboda

The meeting was opened with prayer by F. Svoboda at 2:10 PM. Minutes of the meeting on May 28th were read. The text of one sentence was corrected to read "K. Linsley reported that our debt to B. Hruby would not increase." With this version the minutes were approved.

Excuses: C. Kallaur, L. Kishkovsky and E. Stanton

Proxies: Blahoslav Hruby -- L. Kishkovsky, B. Cree. Olga Hruby -- R. Davies,
J. Drake, S. Goodrich, K. Hill, B. Wampold

In his opening remarks F. Svoboda focused on Billy Graham's trip to Moscow and on the prevailing misconceptions about religious freedom in Communist countries.

Financial report by K. Linsley: Following last meeting the financial committee met to discuss urgent issues and longer-range policies. The recommendation that the Center issue certificates of recognition for larger donations was rejected. The schedule for payment of arrears to B. Hruby could not be set as it depends on the funds to be received.

It was suggested that a pamphlet outlining the work and purpose of our organization be published.

Pros and cons of raising the subscription rates were discussed with the conclusion that for the time being such an increase would not be feasible.

Burkert Cree recommended that the Moore Foundation in Indianapolis be approached; it was agreed to ask him for further information on that organization and if possible, for making the request.

J. Corgee suggested that we contact clearing houses of organizations sympathetic to our objectives and consult them about potential donors.

It was proposed that a letter be sent to John Templeton to request that he be one of the sponsors of the anniversary dinner and that he consider Research Center for a grant.

B. Hruby reported that the UPC had extended our lease for another 3 years, with that difference that we pay the rent directly to the Interchurch Center and receive an annual grant of \$ 5,400 from the UPC for that purpose.

B. Sterling gave a detailed account of the meeting held by the Men's Class of the Riverside Church on June 21st, at which occasion the program for the joint dinner

on October 28th was discussed. It was agreed that the Independence House, a half-way institution for juveniles, which is sponsored by the Men's Class, participate in the preparations for the dinner and share some of the receipts.

The time allotted for the program was set at 70 minutes, with 30 minute overrun. The Men's Class will honor Bayard Rustin who will be one of the speakers. Names of potential speakers for RCDA were suggested and the final decision was left to the committee. The RCDA Freedom and Human Rights Award will be given in memoriam to Fathers John Ryder and Raymond de Jaegher, to Dr. Paul Empie and James Sheldon.

The committee will hold a joint meeting with representatives of the Men's Class on July 12th to discuss further arrangements.

RCDA: The Hrubys reported that bill S. 312 for the relief of the Siberian Seven had been approved in the Subcommittee on Immigration and forwarded to the Committee on the Judiciary for further action. Among those particularly efficient in promoting the bill are members of the Board Jane Drake and Richard Davies.

New contacts established with exiled Cubans and Ethiopians provided us with valuable documentation concerning the situation of human rights in their respective countries.

RCDA participated in preparations for the concert held in Avery Fisher Hall in honor of Vladimir Feltsman, a Soviet piano virtuoso and refusenik whose case our Center had been promoting for some time.

Among other concerns under discussion was particularly the disarmament conference in Moscow with its follow-up at the U. N. It offered a glaring example of Soviet manipulation of religion and churches for propaganda purposes. Members of the Center attended some events and gained information about various aspects of the so called peace movement.

New business: Ralph Mortensen offered to inquire about the possibility of obtaining a word processor for RCDA.

Meetings of the Board of Directors were set as follows: August 26 at 2:30 PM, September 23, October 14, November 18, and December 16 at 2 PM.

The meeting was closed at 4:30 PM with a prayer by James Corgee.

Following the meeting the committee discussed the choice of speakers for the anniversary dinner and decided that Richard T. Davies be requested to address the audience.

*

Respectfully submitted by:

Olga S. Hruby
Secretary pro tem



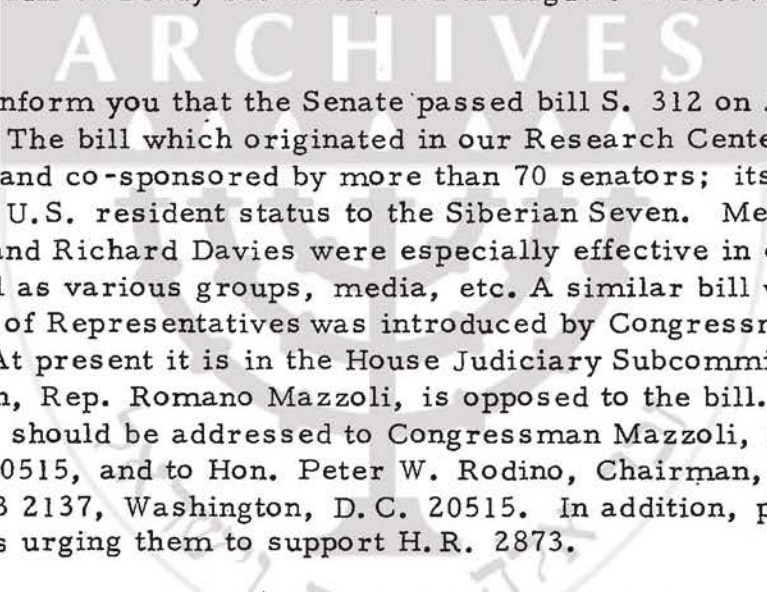
212-870-2481 or 2440

Blahoslav S. Hruby
Executive Director and Editor

August 6, 1982

To: Members of the Board of Directors
From: Blahoslav Hruby, Executive Director

Please note that the next meeting of the Board of Directors will be held on Thursday, August 26, 1982, from 2 to 4:30 PM in the Stamm Conference Room (#505), 5th Floor, Interchurch Center, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115. The main topic on the agenda will be the preparations for the dinner to celebrate the 20th anniversary of our publication RCDA-RELIGION IN COMMUNIST DOMINATED AREAS which is scheduled for Thursday, October 28, 1982. We will be joined in this celebration by the Men's Class of the Riverside Church and by the Independence House. The speakers will be Ambassador R. T. Davies, member of our Board of Directors, and Bayard Rustin. Invitations will be ready before the end of August. Reservations may be sent to RCDA.



I am very happy to inform you that the Senate passed bill S. 312 on July 13, 1982, with no opposition. The bill which originated in our Research Center was introduced by Hon. Carl Levin and co-sponsored by more than 70 senators; its purpose is to offer the permanent U.S. resident status to the Siberian Seven. Members of our Board Janie Drake and Richard Davies were especially effective in contacting members of the Senate as well as various groups, media, etc. A similar bill which must be passed by the House of Representatives was introduced by Congressman Barney Frank under H.R. 2873. At present it is in the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration whose Chairman, Rep. Romano Mazzoli, is opposed to the bill. Letters urging action on H.R. 2873 should be addressed to Congressman Mazzoli, RHOB 2246, Washington, D.C. 20515, and to Hon. Peter W. Rodino, Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, RHOB 2137, Washington, D.C. 20515. In addition, please write to your representatives urging them to support H.R. 2873.

Furthermore, please send appeals on behalf of Yuri Balovlenkov and Sergei Petrov, Moscow hunger-strikers who wish to be reunited with their wives and families. Requests for their emigration should be addressed to President L. I. Brezhnev, Kremlin, Moscow, USSR, President Ronald Reagan, The White House, Washington, D.C. 20500, and Patriarch Pimen, Moscow Patriarchate, Ryleeva, Moscow, USSR.

*Warm regards!
As ever,
Blah*

I am planning to attend the meeting on August 26, 1982 []
I cannot attend. My proxy is [name]
Recommendations and proposals:

Name
Address

Blahoslav S. Hrubý
Executive Director and Editor

September 1982

Dear Reader:

The enclosed issue of RCDA, Nos. 10, 11 and 12, conclude Volume XX (1981). Nos. 1, 2 and 3 of V. XXI and Index to V. XIX are now in the press and will be mailed in November. We hope that during the first half of 1983 we shall be able to resume a regular schedule of publication.

As most small periodicals, we are particularly vulnerable to the inflation and its consequences which have been the major cause of delays in the publication of RCDA. Moreover, we have been overwhelmed recently by the influx of documentation on violations of human rights in the Soviet orbit where the situation is deteriorating rapidly. It would be unrealistic to expect any spontaneous improvement; the only hope is in planned, systematic actions of the Free World. We are encouraged especially by the interest expressed by certain members of Congress in the issues of human rights and religious freedom in closed societies. In July we had the honor and privilege to testify before the Congressional Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations whose Chairman, Representative Don Bonker, is very attentive to these problems and determined to take action. In our opinion, this should be done in the form of defense of the persecuted as well as by offering captive nations authentic information and ideological alternatives to the monopolistic dogma of Marxism.

In this conjunction we should like to call your attention to a discussion of Rep. John Le Boutillier with Alexander Solzhenitsyn concerning U.S. broadcast to the USSR, the text of which we present in this issue. Solzhenitsyn's criticism and proposals merit consideration of all persons interested in aiding captive nations.

Important documentation presented in this issue of RCDA offers insight in the developments in Poland. The Solidarity movement has outdistanced by far any preceding outbursts of opposition against Communist totalitarianism in Eastern Europe, because by the mediation of the Catholic Church the overwhelming majority of Polish people, workers, peasants, intellectuals and students, have joined the reform movement which threatens the inertia of the corrupt, spiritually exhausted Communist leadership of that country.

We continue our efforts to enable the Siberian Seven, the Vashchenkos and Chmykhalovs, to emigrate. Bill H.R. 2873 which would give them permanent resident status is now pending in the House Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law whose Chairman Romano Mazzoli seems unwilling to release it for further action. The bill may be reintroduced in the next session, however, it is hard to predict how much more can the two families endure, physically and psychologically, after more than four years in a twilight zone. Letters to Rep. Mazzoli should be sent to Rayburn H.O. Building 2137, Washington, D.C. 20515. We urge you to contact in this matter Rep. Peter W. Rodino, Chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary (same address) as well as your congressman.

Thank you for your support and interest.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. & Mrs. B. S. Hrubý
Rev. & Mrs. B. S. Hrubý
Editors, RCDA

Please Detach

RCDA—RELIGION IN COMMUNIST DOMINATED AREAS
Please enter subscription(s). Annual subscrip-
tion: USA — individuals \$15, institutions \$20, foreign
countries — \$20, air mail \$30.
Send unbound volumes I-XIX (1962-1980)
\$20 each, plus shipping charges.

475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10115, USA

*Gift subscriptions for libraries and readers in Africa,
Asia and Latin America are urgently needed. Dona-
tions to RESEARCH CENTER FOR RELIGION AND
HUMAN RIGHTS IN CLOSED SOCIETIES, LTD.
are tax deductible.*

Name (please print)

Enclosed please find my donation \$.....

Address

Name (please print)

City

State Zip

Address

..... Payment Enclosed

City

State Zip

Aaronson, Mr. and Mrs. Joel	Table 7	Jacobs, Mr. and Mrs. Ron	Table 8
Anderson, Dr. and Mrs. Paul	3	Jenkins, Dr. and Mrs. Herman	2
Arensberg, Mr. and Mrs. Conrad	15	Kallaur, Mrs. C. H.	4
Arkas, Albert	10	Kishkovsky, Very Rev. Leonid	4
Atterbury, Marguerite	14	Knitgoods Workers Union	23
Baker, Gilbert H.	12	Kraus, Mr. and Mrs. John	4
Baker, Kenneth, S.J.	10	Lawrence, Yvonne	12
Baloun, Rev. Miloslav	5	Lee, Mr. and Mrs. Dewey	8
Barius, Father Placidus	6	Lieb, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph	7
Barth Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Irving V.E.	3	Likwar, Father Vasily	4
Baxter, Jewell	19	Lin, Frank C.H.	9
Becker, Mr. and Mrs.	7	Linsley, Rev. and Mrs. Kenneth W.	8
Biddle Jr., Eric H.	11	Lukosevicius, Algis	6
Bierbauer, Joe	8	Lynch, Mr. and Mrs. Kevin	11
Bowen, Eileen	11	Martin, Patrick	19
Breland, Leslie J.	19	Matusaitis, Mr. and Mrs.	6
Brunger, Harry	3	McCarrol, Rev. and Mrs. Richard	5
Bulvicius, Dalia	6	McDonald, Yvonne	14
Carpenter, Josephine	17	McFadden, Mr. and Mrs. James	10
Catelli, Elsa	14	McGeady, Paul	10
Cherne, Mr. and Mrs. Leo	1	McKesson, Amb. John A. III	1
Chopnicki, Max	16	Mertz, Lu Esther T (and guests)	15
Chung Hie Kim	12	Miller, Rev. and Mrs. Gareth	5
Cohen, Maxwell T.	2	Miller, Xenia	17
Cohen, Dr. Barbara Naomi	2	Montero, Frank	10
Cohen, Rachel Val	7	Montgomery, Merle	9
Collins, Jeffrey A.	10	Moore, Sanford, W.	19
Collora, Isabelle	12	Mortensen, Dr. Ralph	3
Colles, William L. (Local 1070)	16	Muller-Eberhard, Dr. Ursula	8
Condon, Larry	15	Nielsen, Signe B.	15
Conner, J. M.	19	O'Hara, Marie	5
Coran, Mr. and Mrs. Bernard	7	O'Meally, Cyril	19
Corgee, Rev. James R.	5	O'Neal, Frederick (A.A.&A. of A.)	17
Cornell, George	3	Opolska, Ewa	14
Cree, Rev. Burkert (and guest)	5	Ourusoff, Irina	11
Dawback, Max	4	Pacheco, Bruni	16
Deeble, Emma K.	14	Peck-Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. W.	15
Delano, Georgia	10	Penn, Mary	19
Divito, Lydia	19	Penny, Dr. Chris T.F.N.F.G.	14
Doumouras, Rev. Alexander	10	Perrault, Mary J.	19
Dresher, Robert	17	Petrov, Nicholas	1
Dudley, Edward R.	19	Picirillo, Douglas J.	17
Duggan, Joseph	1	Powers, Mr. and Mrs. Peter	2
Dunn, Hon. K. C. and Mrs.	1	Rattman, Joseph H.	7
Edwards, Hon. David Jr. and Mrs.	2	Richardson, Mr. and Mrs. R. Randolph	1
Engelman, Howard	9	Rocker, Samuel and family	9
Erskine, J. Drummond	14	Roesch, Gustav R. and guest	9
Eskoff, Nadine	4	Service Employ. Union, Local # 733	16
Faulding, C (TWU Local 100)	23	Shakespeare, Frank	1
Fields, Charles	23	Shalins, Mary	6
Fiore, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph	8	Sidtis, Mr. and Mrs	6
Gallanter, Dorothy	9	Skabeikis, Mr. and Mrs.	6
Gedgudas, Father Francis	6	Skilling, Robert	12
Gilberti, Lawrence	15	Skold, Mr. and Mrs. Walter S.	17
Griffin, Mary	19	Smylie, Robert F.	5
Harmon, Waverly	9	Sobran, Joseph	11
Henry, Mr. and Mrs. Carl	15	Solidarity (Lasota, Irena)	3
Herring, Glenwood	12	Somkaite, Dr. Rose	6
Hill, Joal	8	Stanley, Mr. and Mrs. Roger	12
Horak, Dr. Jiri	3	Sterling, Mr. and Mrs. Bryan	7
Hruby, Suzanne	11	Stern, Mrs. Carl	2
Hubiak, Rev. and Mrs. Daniel	4	Sundstrom, Marie C.	17
Independence House	20	Sussman, Leonard R.	1
dto	21	Svoboda, Rev. Frank	3
dto	22	Swan, Jack	8
Irvin, Michael	4		
Isaac, Dr. Rael Jean	11		

Tanaka, Tammy	<u>Table</u> 10	Waddy, High	<u>Table</u> 17
Tanenbaum, Mrs. Marc	1	Wallace, Howard Jr.	14
Teper, Lazare	12	Watson, Rev. James	5
Thorne, Mr. and Mrs. Charles	14	Webster, Hilda	19
Thorne, Ludmilla	11	Weidensaul, Mary	3
Tiedeman, Karl	11	Wells, Samuel I. Jr.	14
Train, John	11	Williams, Brent	2
Trigubov, Rev. Father	4	Wilson, Rev. Frederick R.	3
TWU, Local 100	23		
Tyler, Hon. Andrew and Mrs.	2	Yu, Suzanna	11
Tzanov, Dako	14		
		Ziebell, Kenneth R.	5
Van Rossum, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob	17		
Voege, Carol	17		
Voice of America	10		

ADDENDUM:

Father Leonard	<u>Table</u> 6
Bilinsky, Prof. Yaroslav	16
Jones, William	16
Trenkel, Martha	16
Skilling, Ms.	12



Aaronson, Mr. and Mrs. Joel	Table 7	Jacobs, Mr. and Mrs. Ron	Table 8
Anderson, Dr. and Mrs. Paul	3	Jenkins, Dr. and Mrs. Herman	2
Arensberg, Mr. and Mrs. Conrad	15		
Arkas, Albert	10	Kallaur, Mrs. C. H.	4
Atterbury, Marguerite	14	Kishkovsky, Very Rev. Leonid	4
		Knitgoods Workers Union	23
Baker, Gilbert H.	12	Kraus, Mr. and Mrs. John	4
Baker, Kenneth, S.J.	10		
Baloun, Rev. Miloslav	5	Lawrence, Yvonne	12
Barius, Father Placidus	6	Lee, Mr. and Mrs. Dewey	8
Barth Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Irving V.E.	3	Lieb, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph	7
Baxter, Jewell	19	Likwar, Father Vasily	4
Becker, Mr. and Mrs.	7	Lin, Frank C.H.	9
Biddle Jr., Eric H.	11	Linsley, Rev. and Mrs. Kenneth W.	8
Bierbauer, Joe	8	Lukosevicius, Algis	6
Bowen, Eileen	11	Lynch, Mr. and Mrs. Kevin	11
Breland, Leslie J.	19		
Brunger, Harry	3	Martin, Patrick	19
Bulvicius, Dalia	6	Matusaitis, Mr. and Mrs.	6
		McCarrol, Rev. and Mrs. Richard	5
Carpenter, Josephine	17	McDonald, Yvonne	14
Catelli, Elsa	14	McFadden, Mr. and Mrs. James	10
Cherne, Mr. and Mrs. Leo	1	McGeady, Paul	10
Chopnicki, Max	16	McKesson, Amb. John A. III	1
Chung Hie Kim	12	Mertz, Lu Esther T (and guests)	15
Cohen, Maxwell T.	2	Miller, Rev. and Mrs. Gareth	5
Cohen, Dr. Barbara Naomi	2	Miller, Xenia	17
Cohen, Rachel Val	7	Montero, Frank	10
Collins, Jeffrey A.	10	Montgomery, Merle	9
Collora, Isabelle	12	Moore, Sanford, W.	19
Colles, William L. (Local 1070)	16	Mortensen, Dr. Ralph	3
Condon, Larry	15	Muller-Eberhard, Dr. Ursula	8
Conner, J. M.	19		
Coran, Mr. and Mrs. Bernard	7	Nielsen, Signe B.	15
Corgee, Rev. James R.	5		
Cornell, George	3	O'Hara, Marie	5
Cree, Rev. Burkert (and guest)	5	O'Meally, Cyril	19
		O'Neal, Frederick (A.A.&A. of A.)	17
Dawback, Max	4	Opolska, Ewa	14
Deeble, Emma K.	14	Ourusoff, Irina	11
Delano, Georgia	10		
Divito, Lydia	19	Pacheco, Bruni	16
Doumouras, Rev. Alexander	10	Peck-Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. W.	15
Dresher, Robert	17	Penn, Mary	19
Dudley, Edward R.	19	Penny, Dr. Chris T.F.N.F.G.	14
Duggan, Joseph	1	Perrault, Mary J.	19
Dunn, Hon. K. C. and Mrs.	1	Petrov, Nicholas	1
		Picirillo, Douglas J.	17
Edwards, Hon. David Jr. and Mrs.	2	Powers, Mr. and Mrs. Peter	2
Engelman, Howard	9		
Erskine, J. Drummond	14	Rattman, Joseph H.	7
Eskoff, Nadine	4	Richardson, Mr. and Mrs. R. Randolph	1
		Rocker, Samuel and family	9
Faulding, C (TWU Local 100)	23	Roesch, Gustav R. and guest	9
Fields, Charles	23		
Fiore, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph	8	Service Employ. Union, Local # 733	16
		Shakespeare, Frank	1
Gallanter, Dorothy	9	Shalins, Mary	6
Gedgudas, Father Francis	6	Sidtis, Mr. and Mrs	6
Gilberti, Lawrence	15	Skabeikis, Mr. and Mrs.	6
Griffin, Mary	19	Skilling, Robert	12
		Skold, Mr. and Mrs. Walter S.	17
Harmon, Waverly	9	Smylie, Robert F.	5
Henry, Mr. and Mrs. Carl	15	Sobran, Joseph	11
Herring, Glenwood	12	Solidarity (Lasota, Irena)	3
Hill, Joal	8	Somkaite, Dr. Rose	6
Horak, Dr. Jiri	3	Stanley, Mr. and Mrs. Roger	12
Hruby, Suzanne	11	Sterling, Mr. and Mrs. Bryan	7
Hubiak, Rev. and Mrs. Daniel	4	Stern, Mrs. Carl	2
		Sundstrom, Marie C.	17
Independence House	20	Sussman, Leonard R.	1
dto	21	Svoboda, Rev. Frank	3
dto	22	Swan, Jack	8
Irvin, Michael	4		
Isaac, Dr. Rael Jean	11		

Tanaka, Tammy	<u>Table</u> 10	Waddy, High	<u>Table</u> 17
Tanenbaum, Mrs. Marc	1	Wallace, Howard Jr.	14
Teper, Lazare	12	Watson, Rev. James	5
Thorne, Mr. and Mrs. Charles	14	Webster, Hilda	19
Thorne, Ludmilla	11	Weidensaul, Mary	3
Tiedeman, Karl	11	Wells, Samuel I. Jr.	14
Train, John	11	Williams, Brent	2
Trigubov, Rev. Father	4	Wilson, Rev. Frederick R.	3
TWU, Local 100	23		
Tyler, Hon. Andrew and Mrs.	2	Yu, Suzanna	11
Tzanov, Dako	14		
		Ziebell, Kenneth R.	5
Van Rossum, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob	17		
Voege, Carol	17		
Voice of America	10		

ADDENDUM:

Father Leonard	<u>Table</u> 6
Bilinsky, Prof. Yaroslav	16
Jones, William	16
Trenkel, Martha	16
Skilling, Ms.	12



National Conference on Soviet Jewry

National Office: 10 East 40th Street, Suite 907, New York, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 679-6122/Cable Address: AMCONSOV, N.Y. • Telex: 237311 NCS.
Washington Office: 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 265-8114

November 19, 1982

Leadership Change in the Soviet Union

"I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma; but perhaps there is a key. The key is Russian national interest."

Winston Churchill
October 1, 1939

"The future is left to God and the dogmatists."

unknown

"Never prophesy, especially about the future."

Samuel Goldwyn

Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov, 68, ascended to the position of Secretary General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union with "impressive experience in Party management, Communist ideology and foreign affairs. His Moscow Party base and bureaucratic skills guarantee that his views and priorities will prevail in the geriatric Politburo. With his ascension the West faces a shrewd and sophisticated adversary." (Newsweek, 11/22/82)

As Andropov worked his way up through the Party hierarchy, his positions included; Ambassador to Hungary, 1954 - 57; head of the Central Committee's department in charge of relations with other Communist countries, 1957 - 67; non-voting and, later, voting member of the Politburo, 1967 - present; chairman of the KGB, 1967 - 82; and, most recently, chief ideologue in place of the late Mikhail Suslov. His background in foreign affairs, coupled with his reported, but unconfirmed, knowledge of English and interest in Western culture, perhaps makes him better informed about international issues than his predecessors. It is, however, significant to note that Andropov has never travelled to the West.

Although the experience of succession in the USSR is limited — this is only the fourth major leadership change since Lenin's death, most experts do not expect any major policy changes in the near term. Indeed, Andropov has pledged to continue Brezhnev's "line" both in foreign and domestic matters (11/12/82) but, if, as appears likely, he can quickly consolidate his authority, he may be prepared to implement significant policy initiatives sooner than otherwise expected, particularly in view of the continuing economic difficulties facing the Soviet Union.

The New York Times' Moscow correspondent, Serge Schmemmann, noted that, appearances to the contrary, "nothing justifies the conclusion that he (Andropov) is a closet liberal." (11/13/82) As chairman of the KGB, he played a critical role in the invasion of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, the crushing of Solidarity in Poland, and the dismemberment of the dissident movement in the USSR. On the other hand, 260,000 Jews did emigrate in the past dozen years of the Brezhnev era, and some pockets of dissent were permitted to survive for lengthy periods. What Andropov's views are on such matters as Jewish emigration is uncertain.

(over)

Andropov has made reference on at least one public occasion to the need for ideological flexibility in Soviet decision-making. A number of Western experts cite his apparent toleration of the Hungarian model of economic decentralization to bolster the view that he can be expected to introduce economic reforms into the Soviet system. Richard Weintraub, writing in the Washington Post, predicted that the new Soviet leader "might be prepared to experiment with the economy while maintaining a tight rein on political dissent." (11/12/82)

On East-West relations, Newsweek has reported that Andropov's "speeches expressed relatively enthusiastic praise for detente, even in 1979 and 1980 when other leaders had turned to vigorously denouncing the United States." Georgy Arbatov, head of the USA Institute in Moscow, appears to have been among Andropov's group of advisors. Arbatov, well-known in Western political circles, has frequently presented himself as a believer in the importance of detente, whether as a goal or as a tactical maneuver to achieve other goals.

Some Reagan Administration officials describe Andropov as a "neo-Stalinist hard-liner" and anticipate new crackdowns against remaining dissidents and against "economic corruption" and "lax habits" among Soviet workers. Others regard him as a more pragmatic, if not liberal (in the Soviet context), leader who, because of his orthodox careerist credentials, may be able to introduce reforms at home while making conciliatory moves towards the West. Some observers in fact, argue that Andropov's generation, having witnessed the effects of mass terror under Stalin and a world war, may place constraints upon themselves that the next generation of Soviet leaders will not have.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's National Security Advisor, sees the choice in the Soviet Union not between "doves or hawks or conservatives or liberals, but between different types of tough guys. There is the rigid, ignorant, parochial tough guy . . . and there is the more sophisticated, skilled, experienced tough guy; Andropov fits that mold." In Brzezinski's view, the Andropov "type" is preferable in our nuclear age.

Unfortunately, relatively little is known about Andropov in the West. This has led to endless speculation about the future policy directions of the Soviet Government in domestic and foreign policy. Given the nature of the Soviet system and our limited understanding of it, one must conclude that it is extremely tenuous to make forecasts as Andropov establishes his authority, as the Brezhnev legacy recedes, and as the new Soviet leader begins to assert his own views on important policy matters.

Elyse Leifer
NCSJ Washington Office



National Conference on Soviet Jewry

DATE: December 6, 1982
TO: BOARD OF GOVERNORS
FROM: Theodore R. Mann, Chairman
RE: MEETING, TUESDAY DECEMBER 21

This is to remind you that our next meeting will be on Tuesday, December 21, at 10:00 A.M., in the offices of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 345 East 46th Street (corner 1st Avenue), New York City, in the second floor Banquet Hall. A kosher luncheon will be served. We hope to conclude no later than 3:30 P.M.

Among the agenda items are:

- o Third International Conference on Soviet Jewry - March 14 - 17, 1983, Jerusalem
- o Working with the 98th Congress and the Administration
- o Changes in Moscow: Context and Complications
- o Proposals for Annual Policy Conference - April 24 - 26, 1983, Washington, D.C.

Enclosed is relevant background material which should be helpful.

Please return the enclosed form indicating your attendance and reserving your kosher luncheon. If you are arriving the night before, and wish us to make hotel reservations, please call Mark Heutlinger.

I look forward to seeing you on December 21.

PLEASE NOTE: THERE WILL NOT BE AN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING ON DECEMBER 20, 1982.



USSR encouraging the study of Yiddish, say specialists

SPECIAL TO THE SENTINEL

The Soviet government has been taking unusual steps to encourage the study of Yiddish, according to Western specialists who observe Jewish cultural trends in the Soviet Union, the New York Times reported recently.

A 40,000-word Russian-Yiddish dictionary, originally announced for publication in 1979, has been rescheduled for 1984; a Yiddish primer has been published in 10,000 copies; and an advanced Yiddish study course has been set up in Moscow's Gorky Institute of Literature.

These moves in favor of Yiddish, the traditional language of Eastern European Jews, spoken by some 250,000 people in the Soviet Union, come at a time when departures of Jews have slowed to a trickle. The slowdown has prompted a campaign by Jewish organizations abroad to revive emigration.

The limited Soviet support of Yiddish in recent years, compared with the extensive backing given to the languages of other ethnic minorities, has often been cited as evidence of official bias. The recent developments are seen by some as a possible response.

Soviet Jews are classified as an ethnic group, and censuses report the ethnic affiliation and languages spoken by respondents. The 1979 count reported 1.8 million Jews, ranking the Soviet Union third in number of Jews after the United States and Israel.

Language data published in May 1981 in the journal Soviet Jewish Affairs indicated that there were 250,000 Yiddish speakers among Soviet Jews. The journal is published in London

by the Institute of Jewish Affairs, an affiliate of the World Jewish Congress.

Dr. Lukasz Hirszowicz, the journal's editor, said in an interview by telephone that the new dictionary now promised for publication in the last quarter of 1984 had in fact been largely completed by 1948. In that year, Stalin brought Jewish cultural life to an abrupt halt with the arrest of 24 prominent Yiddish writers and other prominent Jews. They were executed in August 1952.

The files of the Yivo Institute of Jewish Research show no previous Russian-Yiddish dictionary published in the Soviet Union. According to Dina Abramowicz, the institute's librarian, a reverse dictionary, from Yiddish into Russian, appeared in Minsk in 1940.

Jewish cultural activity was revived in 1959 under Nikita S. Khrushchev and soon focused on the new Yiddish literary monthly Sovietish Heimland.

Further active promotion of Yiddish began in the last few years, according to another observer, Dr. Elias Schulman of New York, who is an adjunct professor of East European and Jewish studies at Queens College and a literary critic for the Jewish Daily Forward.

He said in an interview that, starting in 1980, Sovietish Heimland began publishing a regular book supplement with each monthly issue of the magazine to add to the few Yiddish-language books being printed by the Moscow publishing house Soviet Writer. The March 1983 supplement, ac-

(Continued on page 31)

YIDDISH IN USSR

(Continued from page 30)

According to Dr. Schulman, is by Morris Ghitiz of Chicago, an unusual case of a book by an American Yiddish writer being published.

According to the specialists interviewed, the Yiddish section in the Institute of Literature was set up in 1981, offering a two-year course to train professional Yiddish language editors, proofreaders and translators. The journal Sovietish Heimland was said to have provided the teaching materials.

The appearance of the Yiddish primer for elementary school, the

first since World War II, was reported earlier this year in Sovetskaya Kultura, the newspaper of the Culture Ministry. It was published in Khabarovsk, the Soviet Far Eastern city that adjoins the so-called Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidzhan, and no copy seems to have reached the West so far.

The need for printing as many as 10,000 copies could not be immediately explained, according to Dr. Hirszowicz in London, since the entire Jewish population of the region is only 10,000. Although the region was established in 1934, supposedly for the benefit of Soviet Jews, most continue to live in European Russia, the Ukraine and other western areas of the Soviet Union.

Purists battle liberals over growth of Hebrew tongue

By JERRY CHESLOW

One hundred years after the revival of the Hebrew language in Palestine, the war of the purists and the language liberals is still raging.

Israel's parliament, the Knesset, has been asked to consider a bill proposed by Moshe Shamir of the right-wing Tehiya (rebirth) Party to protect the purity of the language. Shamir wants to obligate television and movie theatres to dub their films in Hebrew and eliminate the customary Hebrew subtitles. He also seeks to force government ministries and businesses to use more Hebrew in correspondence and to make shopkeepers use more Hebrew in their signs.

Other purists, such as Israeli poet Moshe Ater, have gone so far as to predict that unless something is done to protect the Hebrew language, Israel's social gap could deepen. This is because the creeping infiltration of foreign words into the language is supposedly creating two forms of spoken Hebrew. The Jews from Arab lands are using more and more Arabic words in their Hebrew, while westerners are using more and more English words.

On the other hand, there are the liberals, such as Prof. Haim Rabin of the Hebrew University, who believe "a language is not

yours simply because it is pure, but because a people has developed it into a unique method of expression."

Rabin, an international expert who settled in Israel from England, maintains that a language cannot develop in a vacuum, but must borrow from other languages with which it comes in contact. He notes that the Bible, with its vocabulary of 8000 words, has at least 400 words which can be traced to other languages. "Even the English language," says Rabin, "has about 70 percent foreign words."

1881 is often accepted as the beginning of the modern revival of the Hebrew language, though the language had been sustained and nurtured for many centuries. It is the date when a Lithuanian scholar, Eliezer Ben Yehuda, and his wife set foot on Palestinian soil. From then on, Ben Yehuda declared, the language of the family would be Hebrew and it was only in Hebrew that he spoke with his wife and children.

Shortly after that date, Ben Yehuda wrote of the difficulties in reviving the ancient language: "Whoever wants to write something of wisdom and science, and especially someone like myself who speaks Hebrew at home with his children about everything in

life, feels every moment a lack of words, without which living speech cannot take place."

Because of the limitations of biblical Hebrew, with its 8000 words, Ben Yehuda and a number of other scholars went to other sources - the Hebrew poets and Aramaic writings such as the Talmud - to find terms that could be adapted to the realities of the period.

They also began coining new words on the basis of the ancient writings. Thus, they started the process which has led to the expansion of the Hebrew language to its current vocabulary of 80,000 words.

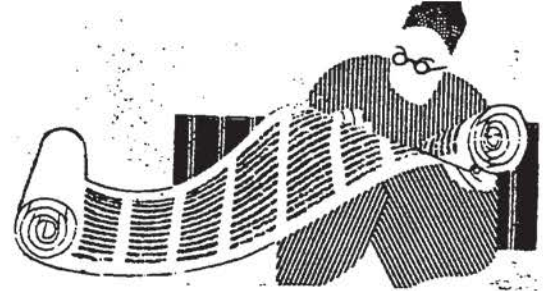
The limitations of the language and the need to create new words led to a lack of consistency. For instance, mathematics teachers in different parts of Jewish Palestine would make up different terms for expressing the same idea. So students transferring from one school to another could not understand their teachers.

This problem led to the creation of the Hebrew Language Board (later renamed Academy) for coining new words and for confirming ones that had been established. Among the thousands of words it has coined or confirmed are words like ramzor, an abbreviation of the two words ramaz or (signal light), or sofshavua (weekend). Thus ancient Hebrew words are used in a new way to express today's concepts. Then there are the foreign words which have been absorbed into the language, (even including the verb leflartate, which is a conjugation of the English word to flirt) or the word puncture. It originally meant a hole in a bicycle tire. But it has come to mean anything that has gone wrong. The word became so entrenched in the language that when the academy coined a new word for a hole in a tire, teker, the Israeli was able to say, "I had a puncture, a teker in my tire."

Hebrew seems to be doing quite well as the national language, to judge from the million Israelis who recently visited the Hebrew Book Week exhibitions all over the country.

**THE RIGHT TO
IDENTITY**

National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry
1307 South Wabash
Chicago, Illinois 60605



HEBREW STUDY IN THE SOVIET UNION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir -- I was astonished to note the headline of an article in your issue of January 14 reading: "Sixty Hebrew ulpanim in the USSR."

I do not know from where Mr. Schenker received information on this kind, or how he had the audacity to make such a statement as fact. First of all, the so-called "ulpanim" in the Soviet Union are not the ulpanim we know in the West. These "ulpanim" are formed by small groups of people who meet in private homes to study Hebrew. This is at great risk to the hosts, teachers and students.

Mr. Schenker explains that "studying Hebrew isn't illegal in the Soviet Union." This may be so on paper, but reality is another matter. It is a miracle, due solely to the efforts of dedicated and committed individuals (at great personal risk), that Jews in the Soviet Union learn Hebrew.

Moreover, how can such a statement be made when Dr. Yosef Begun, who has already served two terms of exile in Siberia, was arrested for the third time on November 7, 1982, and is now awaiting trial in Vladimir Prison, solely because of the fact that he taught Hebrew and struggled openly for the legalization of Hebrew teaching and study in the Soviet Union?

PROFESSOR BENJAMIN FAIN
Chairman, Tarbut

Tel Aviv

STUDYING HEBREW IN THE SOVIET UNION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir,--Immediately alongside the article describing the brutal treatment accorded by the Soviet Authorities to ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY (January 14) was another article with the headline " 60 Hebrew ulpanim in Soviet Union."

The headline and the article itself give the false impression that Hebrew is freely studied today in the USSR. The truth is that Jewish studies are being followed by several hundred students in spite of the enormous difficulties put in their way by the authorities. It is true that theoretically "studying Hebrew isn't illegal in the Soviet Union" as Mr. Shenker is quoted as saying, but he failed to point out that time and time again lessons are broken up by the militia (police) and the KGB with students and teachers being warned that these lessons must discontinue. The warnings are usually accompanied by thug-type action resulting in the beating up of several students, together with threats of imprisonment if they fail to comply with the demand to cease the study of Hebrew of Jewish history.

Mr. Schenker says that the World Hebrew Union provides study materials for these ulpanim. He fails to add that the same material has to be sent in over and over again because -

- (a) A large proportion of what is sent never reaches the addresses, but goes into the KGB storehouse, and
- (b) Every time the police and KGB break up a lesson or seminar or conduct a search in a Jewish home they confiscate every Hebrew book (including Bibles, prayer books and textbooks), film slides and tapes of Hebrew lessons or songs, and any material connected with the study of Hebrew language, or any aspect of Jewish history or culture.

cont'd

#2 Studying Hebrew in the Soviet Union

Refusenik teachers who are dismissed from their normal jobs have no other source of income than the fees paid by their students, and when they go, voluntarily, to pay income tax on this, the officials refuse to accept it, saying that "the teaching of Hebrew is not recognized." Studying Hebrew isn't illegal but its teaching isn't recognized.

A full list of these bearers of the flag of Jewish national, religious and cultural renaissance in the USSR would be far too long to enumerate here, but your readers should be made aware that the teaching and study of Hebrew is continuing there, not because Mr. Schenker says "the authorities often look the other way," but because many courageous Jews are today ready to stand up against the assault of the anti-Semitic, anti-Zionist, anti-Israel Soviet authorities.

MICHAEL SHERBOURNE
Ramat Hasharon

35's #15 2/15/83

**Some 35 years ago...
on May 18, 1948 to be exact,
the State of Israel was born!**

Say: *HAPPY ANNIVERSARY*

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE FOR ISRAEL

134 East 39th Street

New York, New York 10016

Tel. 212/679-4822

This year Israel will celebrate its 35th Anniversary of Independence. The official date in 1983 is April 18th. No doubt many Christians will participate in special observances commemorating this momentous event in modern history. But would it not be wonderful if many thousands of Christians celebrated Israel's independence with a common action?

Our suggestion is this: that we set a minimum goal of 35,000 letters to the White House during the second week of May, conveying some message about support for Israel to the President of the United States. These would not be form letters, but brief personal messages making perhaps one main point. That point would obviously be quite different for different people: a biblical theme, our common democratic heritage, the need for strong America-Israel ties, an expression of concern, of appreciation, of hope, etc.

The point is not that Christians all hold similar views or advocate identical policies, but that many thousands of Christians voice some personal sentiment that is supportive of Israel as the embodiment of an ancient vision that has come to fruition after centuries of struggle and suffering. (Our Jewish friends who receive this letter may want to pass it on to a Christian neighbor).

Please, mark your calendar NOW. We so easily forget!

Address your letter to: President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Make this a project among your friends, in your church, your clubs, etc. We need the voices of all kinds of Christians, of all ages—pastors, lay people, bishops, professors, evangelists. The people of Israel need to know that they have friends in the world. Our leaders in Washington need to know how we feel as Christians. A volume of 35,000 plus letters would be a great birthday gift during this 35th Anniversary of Independence. It would also be a demonstration that many of us care.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

FROM: HARRIET S. BOGARD-CHICAGO

DATE: 5-16-83

NATIONAL

- Harold Applebaum
- Shula Bahat
- Eugene DuBow
- Yehuda Rosenman
- Marilyn Rothman
- Jim Rudin
- Marc Tanenbaum
- _____

CHICAGO

- Meta S. Berger
- Stephen Comar
- Howard A. Gilbert
- Sister Ann Gillen
- Robert S. Jacobs
- Stanley Rosenthal
- Marshall L. Zissman
- _____

STAFF

- Adrienne Goodman
- Jon Levine
- Richard Zelin
- _____

The plight of Father Alfonsas Svarinskas

The cross is not only a symbol of our faith, but also of the history of the church. At almost no time during its history has the church been free from suffering and persecution.

This should not surprise us because Our Lord predicted that this would be so. In our own times, the church and its leaders have frequently had to bear the price of proclaiming the name of Jesus. We think of Cardinal Mindzenty, Archbishop Romero, St. Maximilian Kolbe, the four American missionaries slain in El Salvador and countless others whose names are not as well known, but who have suffered and even died for the cause of religious rights and freedoms. We are a church founded on the blood of martyrs.

AFTER WORLD WAR II, the term "Iron Curtain" was coined to describe the wall of separation that descended between the East and the West. That chilling image even more aptly describes life and the conditions of human freedom in the Soviet Union.

And, although the level of intensity has varied, the Communist regime has constantly worked to eliminate the church and religious activity within the Soviet Union, particularly in predominantly Catholic Lithuania.

None of the bishops in Lithuania is allowed to function as an ordinary. The church may not own property. Seminaries are rigidly controlled and only officially-approved candidates may enter the seminaries. Sermons are carefully monitored for "anti-Soviet" sentiments. Priests and pastors are forbidden to form religious organizations or to teach the catechism to children. Priests may minister to the sick and dying only at the price of harassment and constant surveillance.

Parents who allow their children to receive religious instruction and the sacraments run the risk of losing their jobs or housing. Children are encouraged to inform on friends who receive religious instruction. Believers are frequently detained for questioning regarding their participation in religious activities.

REPORTS AND DETAILS about the persecution of the church are contained in the "Chronicles of the Catholic Church in Lithuania." This is one of the most authoritative underground publications emerging from the Soviet Union.

Although the Soviet authorities have made every

*'The truth
in Christ'*

By Cardinal
Bernardin



effort to uncover and stop the "Chronicles," its publication has continued for over a decade. It has reported in graphic detail the anti-religious activities of the government: incidents of arrests, details of interrogations, and even trial transcripts of those accused of "anti-Soviet" activities, a code word for practicing the faith.

Recently, when Yuri Andropov came to power, there was great speculation on about how religious and civil rights would be dealt with by the new regime. After all, Andropov is more "open" to the West. He reads our novels, listens to jazz, is very acquainted with western democracies, their views and feelings. Some suggested that his awareness of western sensitivities regarding human rights would cause him to deal with religious and human rights issues with a softer hand.

Such speculation and hope have proved to be wrong. The former director of the KGB has sent a strong signal to the growing religious and human rights movement in Lithuania by having Father Alfonsas Svarinskas, one of the movement's leaders, arrested

and imprisoned in KGB headquarters in Vilnius.

FATHER SVARINSKAS, a priest of the diocese of Kaunas, is one of the most courageous and forthright leaders in the church in Lithuania. He was ordained in 1950 while in a Soviet labor camp by a Lithuanian bishop, a fellow inmate of the camp.

During his 16 years in labor camps, he ministered and cared for ailing and suffering inmates including the present Josyf Cardinal Slipi who was denied treatment for pneumonia at the camp hospital.

Since his return to his diocese, Father Svarinskas has committed the great crime — exercising his priesthood. He has dared openly to teach children their catechism; he has dared to visit the sick and dying. In 1978, he became a charter member of the Lithuania-based Catholic Committee for the Defense of Believers Rights.

As Lech Walesa symbolizes the aspirations of the Polish worker, so Father Svarinskas has become the leader and focal point of the Lithuanian religious movement. And it is for this that he now languishes in prison. The Soviet authorities dread what he represents — a faithful priest who inspires faith in his people.

LITHUANIA HAS BEEN CALLED "the land of crosses," a reference to the Lithuanian custom of building wayside crosses. Most of these crosses have been destroyed by the authorities. Nonetheless, Lithuania, more than ever, is the land of the cross.

Lithuanians here in our own diocese and in other communities encourage the writing of letters to the Soviet Embassy, protesting the denial of religious and human rights in Lithuania and particularly the arrest and imprisonment of Father Svarinskas.

Our brothers and sisters in the faith deserve our prayers and support in this endeavor. Let us join them. For further information contact Lithuanian Catholic Religious Aid, 351 Highland Boulevard, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11207.

Cardinal

Kilcoyne's photography wins national awards

Underground reports more persecution in Lithuania

By Father Joseph Prunskis

Christians who are now under the oppression of an atheistic yoke are our brothers in chains. We cannot forget or ignore them. Our prayers can strengthen them, our compassion can comfort them and our voices of protest through public opinion might help alleviate their plight.

How cruel their plight is can be detected from information given to us through the underground press.

We have to realize that such information is being published despite the real danger of being jailed, sent to slave labor camps or to psychiatric hospitals. Many promoters of the underground press at present are martyrs in the institutions mentioned above. However, there are many other dedicated men who continue their work.

RECENTLY, WE RECEIVED from Lithuania, from behind the Iron Curtain, a clandestine paper, "Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, No. 56."

They complain that pressure from Moscow in that occupied country is on the increase. Among the latest victims is Father Alfonsas Svarinkas, pastor of the Vidukle parish. A very dedicated man, an unquenchable defender of freedom of conscience and human rights, he

has already been jailed three times for his beliefs.

There are many martyrs like him in Lithuania. A teacher, Petras Paulaitis, was released last year after 35 years of suffering in Soviet jails. A highly educated man, he studied philosophy and education in Italy and was a teacher in Lisbon, Portugal, for four years.

For his patriotic and religious beliefs he was abused by the agents of atheistic communist dictatorship and, notwithstanding 35 years of torture, he is still under police surveillance. His only crime — he loves God and Lithuania.

EVEN THOSE ACTIVE BELIEVERS who remain free are being terrorized by the KGB. In the city of Telsiai, about 30 members of the Soviet secret police surrounded the lodging of Father Jonas Kauneckas and carried out a very thorough search that lasted until 1 a.m.

They confiscated about 20 religious and patriotic books and publications. The following day he was interrogated and fined 50 rubles for organizing a religious procession to the cemetery on All Souls Day.

In January seven KGB agents searched the premises of Father Algimantas Keinas, pastor of Valkininkai parish.

Jadvyga Bieliauskiene is being kept in the Vilnius jail, accused of organizing a group of young people interested

in religion and collecting signatures for a petition against the terrorizing of children by tedious interrogations.

THE CEMETERIES IN LITHUANIA are confiscated by the government. A custodian at the Papiliai Cemetery was dismissed because he attended church. He did not even receive his salary for his last month's work.

In Rokiskis the president of the local chapter of the atheist organization chased away students from the altar who came to serve Mass. A teacher in the same city strictly admonished parents who took children to church and forbade pupils to take part in the celebration of Christmas and Easter together with their families.

The worse situation is in Soviet-occupied Byelorussia. In the city of Varonovo the church was demolished. Believers assembled in the house of Felix Scygla to pray. From this "crime" the owner of the house was fined 50 rubles.

During Lent last year, when people assembled at the Juralaitis home to pray, two people were fined 50 rubles each for leading the Rosary. In the city of Ivje the church is being used to store mineral fertilizer.

Brothers in Christ, please remember the members of God's family who are at present the victims of cruel atheistic persecution.

CHICAGO
Catholic 4-22-83

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT ON SOVIET JEWRY

1. With growing concern the AJC notes the deteriorating situation of our
2. fellow Jews in the USSR. The iron curtain closes on emigration. The
3. vitriolic anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic campaign in the media continues to
4. build to new ominous levels. Discrimination in education and employment
5. increases and the campaign to extinguish any remnant of Jewish culture pro-
6. ceeds. And, with special pain do we recall the Prisoners of Conscience who
7. languish in prison camps under the harshest of conditions, and ponder the
8. fate of those who have been recently arrested, such as Iosif Begun who has
9. suffered persecution and exile for over a decade while waiting for permission
10. to emigrate to Israel and who has been re-arrested on trumped-up charges,
11. in a further attempt to cripple the Jewish movement on behalf of cultural
12. and religious rights as well as their right to emigrate.

13. Accordingly, in the spirit of the message from President Reagan delivered
14. to the Third International Conference on Soviet Jewry, we urge our Government
15. to continue to press on behalf of Soviet Jews in all discourse and negotia-
16. tions with the Soviet Union. We call on the Soviet Government to live up to
17. accepted international norms of human rights, to implement in deed and spirit
18. international treaties and conventions to which it is signatory such as the
19. Helsinki Final Act and the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. We
20. call on our fellow Americans who have contact with Soviet officials -- busi-
21. nessmen in their commercial transactions and scholars, scientists and artists
22. involved in scientific and cultural exchange programs -- to protest the mis-
23. treatment of Soviet Jews, the refusal of repatriation and reunification of
24. families, with their Soviet counterparts.

25. And to our brothers and sisters in the USSR, we say just as you have not
26. given up your struggle for freedom...We shall not give up our struggle for you.

The Task

WEEK ENDING 5/13/83

A VOICE OF CHRISTIAN-JEWISH CONCERN

FOCUS: HEBREW, A Bond of Belonging between Soviet Jews and Israel

Page 1 The charge of "parasitism" goes to the ILO

2 Emigration review

3-4 Campaign against Hebrew and Zionism

5 Hebrew Study in the USSR

6 NCLCI seeks 35,000 letters for Israel's 35th anniversary

7-8 Soviets prefer to encourage Yiddish? Hebrew grows in Israel

NB. Bring the letter campaign to the attention of Christian friends, please.

TREATMENT OF REFUSENIKS TO GO BEFORE ILO

The Soviet treatment of refuseniks and its harassment of would-be-teachers of Hebrew will be the subject of charges formulated by ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) at this month's meeting of the ILO (International Labour Organization) in Geneva.

The complaint is based upon documented evidence of the treatment of some forty five refuseniks, most of whom have been sacked from senior jobs and have had to find work as labourers, lift men, night watchmen or cleaners. The ICFTU claims that this is in contravention of the rules of membership which the Soviet have accepted. It further claims that the harassment of Jews unable to find work as parasites is also a contravention of the Soviets ILO undertaking.

At a previous ILO meeting the Soviet Union claimed that "parasites" were people who practised fortune-telling or who lived by gambling. The ICFTU submission points out that in several instances refuseniks have been either threatened or prosecuted without falling into either of those categories.

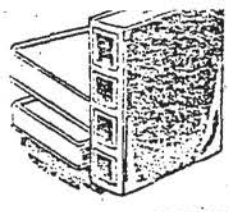
A second set of submissions deals with the right of refuseniks to earn a legitimate living as teachers of modern Hebrew and to be allowed to pay tax on such earnings. It was because of this failure of the Soviets obligations that YOSIF BEGUN, for instance, was convicted as a parasite in 1977 and sentenced to two years exile.

Among the forty five cases presented are those of: OSCAR MENDELEYEV; VLADIMIR RAIZ; EMIL MENDZHERITSKY; GRIGORY ROZENSHTEIN; ABA TARATUTA; PAVEL ABRAMOVICH; BORIS DEKHOVICH; LEV ELBERT; VICTOR FULMAKHT; and ALEXANDER Kholmiansky.

There will be a further report of the submission following the reply expected from the Soviet Union shortly.

Jews USSR #10 3/10/83

The National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry
1307 S. Wabash Av., #221 - Chicago, Il. 60605



RUSSIA - JEWS - EMIGRATION

JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR IN 1981 -82, by Zvi Nezer.

Soviet Jewish Affairs (London), November 1982, pp. 3-17

Jewish emigration has been substantially reduced since 1980. Discusses the factors that may have promoted the restrictive Soviet policy. Includes tables of Israeli visas granted, Jewish arrivals in Vienna, and per cent of "drop-outs."

WHAT HAPPENED? by Zvi Gitelman.

Moment, October 1982, pp. 34-37.

"Why has the traditional Soviet policy been against emigration? And why was that policy changed in 1971? How, if at all, did the decade of emigration change the nature of the Soviet system? And what, if any, are the chances for resumption of the flow?"

AJC Blaustein Library 11/29/82

EMIGRATION FIGURES FOR THE MONTH OF MARCH - 101

This is less than 1/2	IN March	1982
"	1/12	" 1981
"	1/30	" 1980
"	1/40	" 1979

Only ONE person left MOSCOW last month.

35's #21 4/6/83

JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR in 1982 ACCORDING TO REPUBLIC OF ORIGIN

1,105	RSFSR
590	UKRAINE
91	BYELORUSSIA
67	MOLDAVIA
137	LITHUANIA
250	LATVIA
37	ESTONIA
263	GEORGIA
73	UZBEKISTAN
33	AZERBAIDZAN
36	TADZHIKSTAN
7	KAZAKHSTAN
1	KIRGIZIA
2	ARMENIA
-	TURKESTAN

1983 EMIGRATION FIGURES

JANUARY	81
FEBRUARY	123

2,692 TOTAL

JEWS USSR #6 2/10/83

SPECIAL REPORT

Soviet Jews Suffer Mounting Repression

WILL THE ADVENT of Yuri Andropov as the new Soviet leader and the deterioration of relations between the White House and the Kremlin mean the termination of the remarkable exodus of 270,000 Soviet Jews over the past dozen years? That was the difficult question confronted by 2,000 Jews and 50 Christians from 31 nations at the Third World Conference on Soviet Jewry held in Jerusalem March 15-17.

The fact is, no one knows what is ahead for the 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union. What is clear is that their condition has worsened. Emigration in 1982 declined to 2,400 from a high of 51,000 in 1979. Harassment has intensified and discrimination against the estimated 200,000 refuseniks has become more severe than ever before.

The delegates in Jerusalem were clearly frightened. But they kept encouraging each other that the miracles they helped to bring about because of the First and Second World Conferences on Soviet Jewry in Brussels in 1971 and 1976 can be continued.

I was elated but also depressed at the events of the Jerusalem meeting. Anatoly Scharansky, the activist sentenced to 13 years for alleged spying for the United States, was my guide and translator in Moscow in August 1975. He took me to visit Andrei Sakharov and many other dissidents, several of whom I met in a reunion at the World Conference in Jerusalem. But I talked with them about those who after years of applying are still held in the land they want to leave. We also talked to dozens of Israeli citizens who are intensely anxious that their close relatives be allowed to leave the Soviet Union and join them. Some 180,000 Soviet Jews have arrived in Israel since 1970. But in hundreds, even thousands of cases they have not been able to bring about the release of their spouses, parents or children from Russia.

I spoke with a 78-year-old woman, recently widowed, who has been begging since 1972 for her son and her grand-

children to be granted permission to join her in Israel. They applied years ago. As a result, the son, an engineer, lost his position and—in a Catch-22 situation—is now being prosecuted for being unemployed. This woman, like most of the 180,000 Soviet Jews now in Israel, feels that only worldwide pressure on the Kremlin will induce the U.S.S.R. to live up to the 1975 Helsinki Accords, which it signed and which guarantee the right to emigrate for the purpose of reunification of families.

ANTI-SEMITISM in the Soviet Union has long been ferocious. The pogroms and the persecutions there were two of the major causes that produced political Zionism. For a short period after 1917, the Russian Jewish community—which still accounts for 20 per cent of all of the Jews in the world—was treated with toleration. But since around 1920 the suppression of Judaism has been an objective of every regime—in particular, of Stalin's. Synagogues that numbered 3,000 in 1917 are now reduced to 40 at most. The destruction of Yiddish culture and the Hebrew language have been goals ruthlessly pursued. The examples of anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist literature that were on display at the Jerusalem Conference were simply unbelievable.

Panels of jurors, scientists and churchmen at the Jerusalem Conference examined the persistence of anti-Semitism in Soviet society. Lawyers recounted their efforts (filing briefs, bringing cases to international forums) to point out the gross violations of internationally recognized human rights in which Soviet officials engage. A new international association of lawyers devoted to the legal rights of Soviet Jews emerged from the Jerusalem meeting. Scientists spoke of their scientific colleagues in the U.S.S.R. who, like Dr. Alexander Lerner in Moscow, have lost professorships because they applied to make "aliyah." Scientists also brought out the fact that Jewish young people are being denied admission to the universities of Russia. In 1968-69 Jewish students enrolled in higher education in the Soviet Union totaled 111,900. In 1976-77 (the last year of published data) that number had declined to 66,900.

The church-related spokespeople at the Jerusalem Conference related their activities around the world on behalf of Soviet Jews. The great struggle for Jewish liberation in the Soviet Union is being waged with only the slightest support from Christians, many of whom are engaged in the work of Amnesty Interna-

tional and other world human rights groups.

One active ecumenical group is the Interreligious Task Force for Soviet Jewry, established in 1972 by Christian and Jewish leaders in the United States. With Sister Ann Gillen as its executive director, this unit sends delegates to the meetings of the Helsinki nations in Belgrade and Madrid and disseminates information about refuseniks and related issues in the U.S.S.R. At the Jerusalem meeting this task force emerged as clearly the best organized of all of the Christian organizations seeking to sensitize the world to the harsh conditions imposed on the Jews of Russia. The church people from the Netherlands could also point to impressive accomplishments. But one would have to conclude that, generally speaking, Christians around the world are unaware of or are silent about the severity of the repression of Soviet Jews. One is reminded of the silence of Christians during the Holocaust.

One Christian group received mixed reviews in Jerusalem—the International Christian Embassy, an evangelical group based in Israel and financed in part by the religious right wing in America. Based on some of the concepts about Israel favored by the Moral Majority, the ICE is welcomed by some conservative elements in Israel but is viewed with some suspicion by the mainline Christian bodies.

A handful of Christian clergy in the United States has been devoted to Soviet Jews. One is John Steinbruck of Luther Place Church in Washington, D.C. For many years he has preached about what the establishment of the state of Israel should mean to Christians. He has visited the refuseniks in Russia.

There are some indications that a Christian protest movement might be developing, but they are slender. One church-related college in the United States is going to give an honorary degree in absentia this year to Alexander Pirtitsky, one of the best-known refuseniks. A group of Catholic nuns in the recent past fasted to express their solidarity with Scharansky. Cardinal Joseph Bernardin recently made a statement on Soviet Jews and pleaded for Scharansky.

BUT THE JEWS at the Jerusalem Conference said that Soviet Jews feel they are alone. They have the deepest apprehension about what Andropov might do. As the head of the KGB, he was one of the leaders in the actions to suppress all vestiges of the Jewish religion in the U.S.S.R. The level of angst at

the Jerusalem Conference seemed to rise by the hour as the full implications of what is happening in Moscow, Leningrad, Riga, Odessa and elsewhere unfolded. What if all emigration were terminated? Will the Kremlin seek a "final solution" for Judaism and even for the Jews? Should the techniques and tactics of the Jewish community—so successful from 1970 to 1980—be altered, since they are not producing results now? What are the alternatives? One of the few items that drew consensus was the conviction that "noise"—petitions, demonstrations, resolutions and statements by churches—must continue and escalate.

There was also consensus among the 2,000 delegates, 525 of them from the United States, that the Soviet Union has to be denounced. Prime Minister Menachem Begin reminisced at the conference about his time in a Soviet jail, confined because of his pro-Zionist activities. Even Israel's former foreign minister, Abba Eban, engaged in hard rhetoric about the lawlessness of Soviet leaders. The word "détente" was not heard in Jerusalem. Delegates' anger at the cruelty and inhumanity of the Kremlin toward Jews undoubtedly blocked any enthusiasm for such rapprochement.

But it was Abba Eban who pointed out that the highest levels of Jewish emigration occurred during periods of East-West accommodation. Abba Eban did not, however, urge that the delegates endorse détente in some form; he urged them not to sit in judgment on the postures of the superpowers, lest this hurt their cause. But everyone knew that he was speaking about Ronald Reagan when he said that "rhetorical violence and strategic confrontation" are not productive.

One sometimes had the feeling at Jerusalem that although the Jewish leaders must continue to voice their anger and anguish at the Kremlin, perhaps nothing will improve the chances of substantial emigration. The Helsinki Accords consist of three parts: military accommodations, economic adjustments and the observance of human rights. Can the Soviets be expected to observe the part on human rights if they feel that the United States is violating the letter or the spirit of the first two parts of the agreements?

There may well be other causes for the radical change in the Politburo's policy on emigration—a 95 per cent decline in permitted departures. One is the displeasure of the Kremlin at the fact that around 60 per cent of Jewish emigres in recent months have gone not to Israel but

to the United States or elsewhere. Invitations to these people come from Israel from relatives interested in family reunification. Soviet officials are obviously resentful of the fact that emigres with highly developed skills go to the United States rather than Israel. Jewish spokespeople counter that when Soviet Jews arrive in Vienna for processing, they are stateless people who may, under international law, go to any country that will receive them. At the Jerusalem Conference there was some talk of asking Moscow to help to arrange for direct flights to Israel from the Soviet Union, with the question of any further moves to be settled at a later time.

A third possible reason for the radical



decline in emigration was hinted at but not openly discussed in Jerusalem. It is the possibility that the Soviet officials are tired of being bothered by demonstrations and propaganda concerning Soviet Jewry around the world and that they have now determined to eliminate the problem by eliminating the Jewish religion in Russia. The U.S.S.R. has done everything theoretically necessary to obliterate Jewish language and culture. Yet it endures and even flourishes. It is conceivable that the Kremlin could decree the elimination of the word "Jew" on the identity cards of the 3 million people whose parents were Jewish. But to what nationality could the Soviet officials assign the Jews?

REGARDLESS of the reasons for the present cutoff in emigration, the Jewish community around the world is determined to make it possible for every Soviet Jew to emigrate. The spectacular liberation of 280,000 since 1970

argues that it can be done. The delegates in Jerusalem would not listen to counter-arguments. They recalled that Theodore Herzl, the founder of Zionism, frequently said that one of the fundamental purposes for the establishment of Israel was to form a homeland for the Jews of Russia. Israel is ready; indeed, it needs all the immigrants it can get.

The Jews who came to the Jerusalem Conference had many questions about the policies of the Begin government. Many Jews were troubled about the invasion of Lebanon—particularly the shelling and occupation of Beirut.

But all these questions were displaced as the avalanche of information and horror stories about Soviet Jews gained momentum. Diaspora Jews and Israelis are deeply divided about Begin's militarism and his territorial claims to Judea and Samaria. But on the plight of Soviet Jews they are completely united, as the potential (or predictable) tragedies of the Andropov era unfold.

It is impossible to predict the fate of the 400,000 Soviet Jews who have received invitations to immigrate from individual Israeli hosts. Will they withdraw their applications to leave, as some are now being asked to do by Soviet authorities? Could the whole movement to leave the Soviet Union dry up if the consequences of applying are made even more draconian? Or will the Soviets, tired of all the controversy, finally respond to a Moses-like demand to "let my people go"?

What could the Christian role in this possible exodus be? I recalled the words spoken to me by Dr. Sakharov in his apartment in August 1975: "Only the Christians of America can liberate the Jews of Russia." If this is more than a rhetorical flourish, the Christians of America have a great deal to do. It may be that they won't even think of doing it until they feel grief and guilt over the record of anti-Semitism of the churches through the centuries.

Many of the Christians who came to the Jerusalem Conference have experienced that grief and guilt. A Catholic woman from Ecuador expressed her pain at the anti-Semitism which she sees in her church. A Baptist member of the Canadian Parliament thrilled the Jerusalem assembly by his statements about why he will fight for the rights of Jewish dissidents. And an Anglican woman from Scotland told me that she feels constant shame because of the way that Christians have treated Jews.

Such sentiments are not very visible in Christian pronouncements, however. And Jews do not appear to rely on them.

They feel alone in their struggle for Israel against the Arab nations and at the United Nations, where in 1975, 72 nations voted in favor of the proposition that Zionism is a form of racism.

The final declaration of the Jerusalem Conference was a vigorous, even vehe-

ment plea to the Kremlin to reopen its gates, end the persecution of Jews and stop its global dissemination of anti-Semitic literature. The statement opens by proclaiming that the Jews at the Third World Conference on Soviet Jewry are "joined by Christian leaders." It

would indeed be beautiful if history recorded that in the late 1980s the Christians of the world joined together to bring about the deliverance from the Soviet Union of some 3 million believers in the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. **Robert F. Drinan, S.J.**

FILM

Expanding Both Mind and Heart at the Berlinale

"DEMOCRACY DEMANDS respect for the opinion of others. And live [*sic*] society needs films which are unpopular, which say things we do not want to see or hear," stated the catalogue for the 1983 International Berlin Film Festival. Certainly, with its vast number of films, ranging in content from the commercially viable, popular Americanisms of *Tootsie* to the harsh political statement of *Onward Brazil*, the Berlinale provided an intense mind- and heart-expanding experience for anyone willing to watch and listen. Participants could choose among 326 films, presented in eight programs during the festival's 12-day duration.

The Otto Dibelius Award presented by the International Protestant Film Jury (Interfilm), of which I was a member, was shared by the Turkish film *A Season in Hakkari*, shown in the Competition Program, and by the Swiss picture *The Whole of Life*, included in the International Forum of Young Cinema. Director Erden Kiral's *Hakkari* also received the festival's Silver Bear.

Hakkari is the story of one winter in the life of an idealistic young teacher transferred temporarily to a remote mountain village in Turkey. The inhabitants are at first suspicious of the outsider, but his determination to teach despite the most discouraging conditions eventually wins them over. He is accepted into the community and shares the people's trials. A woman seeks his counsel when her husband follows age-old custom and brings home a younger wife. When the teacher's efforts to get medical aid for a sick pupil fail, he stands by with the family as the child dies.

While director Kiral obviously harbors no illusions about "the simple life," his straightforward style evokes a haunting, timeless atmosphere of epic dimensions. The film's measured tempo and repeated long pans over the primitive village huts, which appear to be gouged out of the mountain's rocky side, eloquently suggest the natural forces and communal identity that reduce and bind the characters' lives. The women bring warmth and color into their homes' barren interiors with rugs and blankets which they spend long hours weaving and embroidering, and the bright colors of their voluminous skirts seem to challenge the hostile environment.

The International Forum of Young Cinema, a separate section within the festival, places its emphasis on noncommercial, experimental works. Selected by the Protestant Jury in this category, director Bruno Moll's *The Whole of Life* uses innovative cinematic techniques to interpret the actual case history of a rebellious woman, rejected by society since her youth, who must overcome legal and moral problems before she can acknowledge her lesbianism.

The festival's top prize, the Golden Berlin Bear for feature films in the Competition Program, went to British director Edward Bennett's *Ascendancy*, which deals with the beginnings of the tragic "troubles" in Northern Ireland—and *ex aequo* to Spanish director Mario Camus's *The Beehive*, which focuses on a cross section of Madrid society trying to cope with the problems of post-Civil War (1943) Spain.

The only award won by an American was the Best Actor Silver Bear awarded to Bruce Dern for his role in Jason Miller's *That Championship Season*. (Sidney Pollack's *Tootsie* as well as Godfrey Reggio's *Koyaanisqatsi* and Emile de Antonio's *In the King of Prussia* were shown out of competition.) Apparently, the International Jury wished to live up to its name by spreading the honors among as many countries as possible. Thus, the People's Republic of China received special mention for the appealingly unaffected *Strange Friends*, which the sophisticated Berlin audience greeted

with polite silence. The robust, rosy-cheeked Jewgenija Gluschenko, who played the heroine in the U.S.S.R.'s *Love by Request*, received the Silver Bear for best actress.

This last film is most remarkable for what it indirectly reveals about contemporary Russia. Under the guise of comedy, it deals with alcoholism, the importance of getting an education, and labor problems, such as the dissatisfaction and boredom of factory workers. It even hints that people in government may take advantage of their positions.

AS A REFLECTION of our times, Parviz Sayyad's *The Mission*, West Germany/USA, was one of the most powerful films presented at the festival. With documentary directness, Sayyad tracks a young Iranian sent to New York by Iran's present regime to assassinate an exiled countryman. Sayyad examines the deeply anchored religious beliefs that form the protagonist's motivation (his first question upon arriving in New York is "Which way is Mecca?") and shows how his point of view changes when chance acquaintance with his victim exposes him to new insight into an alien world. Although the would-be assassin rejects "foreign" beliefs and attitudes, he comes to respect the other man's humanity and to doubt the rightness of his own mission. When he refuses to fulfill his assignment, he himself is killed. As the film ends, we see another young Iranian, looking much like his predecessor, arriving to carry out the unfinished business.

Land of Plenty, directed by Denmark's Morten Arnfred, also won high praise and received an honorable mention from the International Jury. The saga of a Danish pig breeder, *Plenty* highlights some of the basic causes of the problems faced by independent farmers: soaring costs of farm machinery and supplies, and high interest rates. At first, the ambitious, self-reliant Knud and his wife and two small children appear to be a model family, comfortably settled in their cheerful farmhouse. But new methods of work place ever greater demands on Knud's time and energy. When pol-

ANNOUNCING Christian Legal Society Writing Contest

As a result of a challenge grant from a foundation and matching gifts from a number of individuals, CLS is able to offer cash prizes totaling \$5,750 to winners of a writing contest designed to produce substantive material for use in CLS' religious liberty activities and publications.

Entrants may choose to address issues in the areas of labor law for religious employers, government distinctions between various religious groups, government regulation of private schools, parental rights in education, and religious activities in public schools.

The contest is open to CLS members who have not graduated from law school before May, 1983. Up to two persons may collaborate on a project. All entries must be postmarked by August 15, 1983 and received by August 31, 1983.

For details write to Dorothy Mullins at CLS, Box 2069, Oak Park, Illinois 60303.

Soviet Pentecostals

On April 12, six Soviet religious dissidents left the American Embassy where they had taken refuge for nearly five years while seeking permission to emigrate to the West. The six pentecostals returned by air to their hometown in Chernagorsk, Siberia to rejoin the rest of their families.

The six included Peter and Augustina Vaschenko and their daughters Luba and Lilya (in their twenties), and Maria Chmykalov and her son Timothy (about 20). The six along with another Vaschenko daughter, Lidia, (age 32) had come to the Embassy seeking information on emigration to the United States. They had rushed past Soviet guards, but another young Vaschenko boy had been detained by Soviet authorities. The family members then remained when they feared for their lives.

The case of the Siberian Seven has attracted wide spread interest among religious and human rights groups in the United States, Great Britain and other west European communities. A book, *The Siberian Seven*, by John Pollack, reviewed their twenty-year quest for religious liberty. President Reagan has spoken on their behalf and numerous U.S. Congressmen have visited the Seven. A Senate bill has proposed immigrant status for the family.

Their recent departure from the Embassy was apparently in response to the Soviet's granting of the exit visa to Lidia who arrived in Israel on Sunday, April 10. Lidia had returned to Chernagorsk approximately one year ago after a hunger strike in the Embassy led to hospitalization. She had been encouraged by many friends to return home and apply for emigration, thus testing the Soviet assurances that no harm would come to the family if they returned home and applied for emigration.

In November of 1981 and February of 1982, the Executive Director of the Christian Legal Society, Lynn Robert Buzzard, visited Moscow to explore means of securing the release of the Seven. In the February visits, Mr. Buzzard and Dr. Kent Hill of Seattle Pacific University (who had been in Moscow when the family had first arrived and had translated family materials for the book noted) visited Soviet political, religious and legal authorities to express the concerns of many U.S. groups. Meetings were held with the Moscow College of Advocates, All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists, officials of the Moscow Patriarchate, and the government Ministry of Religious Affairs. Later in Madrid they met with the chief of the Soviet delegation at the Madrid sessions on human rights. Buzzard and Hill encouraged the Soviets to release some of the family members still in Chernagorsk, thus providing the good faith gesture necessary to persuade the family members in the embassy to return home.

Recent Involvements of Chicago Area Groups

In recent days the Christian Legal Society, in cooperation with many local and national groups, has established a fund to cover the costs of exit visas, renunciation of Soviet citizenship fees, air fare and other resettlement costs for 29 members of the two families. Contributions to the fund have represented the broad cross section of persons and groups who have shared a concern for these two families who lack those characteristics of professional and artistic prominence which draw the world's attention to the Solzhenitsyns and Sakarovs. Contributions have come not only from the evangelical community but from the Jewish community as well, illustrating the inter-religious character of such human rights issues.

Mr. Buzzard and Mr. Tom Brandon, General Counsel of the Christian Legal Society serve with representatives of the American Jewish Committee and others in an Inter-Religious Legal Task Force for Human Rights based in Chicago that also evidences the solidarity of human rights and religious liberty concerns among the respective groups

The Immediate Future

Mr. Buzzard and Dr. Hill have been asked by Lidia and others associated with the effort to assist in relocation and settlement arrangements. Buzzard and Hill have worked closely over the last several years with the Campaign to free the Siberian Seven in London (Danny Smith) and Keston College (Michael Rowe and Michael Bordeaux) near London which monitors religious liberty issues in Soviet bloc countries. Both these groups have also been instrumental in current efforts. Buzzard and Hill indicated their intent to meet the family when they are permitted to exit.

Currently, the families are applying for emigration and Lidia will be forwarding official invitations for the rest of her family to join her. The families will then await word from Soviet officials regarding their emigration request. While there are no formal assurances regarding the Soviet disposition of such a request, western friends of the Seven, including those who have spoken with Soviet authorities, express cautious optimism that the requests will be granted in the near future.

BRIEFLY - A publication of
#6 - JUNE 1983 The Christian Legal Society

INSIGHT

Soviet Jews

Editor: Emanuel Litvinoff
Published by European Jewish Publications Ltd.,
31 Percy Street, London, W.1

Volume 9, No. 4, July, 1983

The Begun Case Jewish Culture on Trial

Because of Yosif Begun's key role in the Jewish national movement and all he stands for in relation to Jewish culture in the USSR, his impending trial (on the 25th of this month) is inevitably seen as a corollary to that of Victor Brailovsky's in June, 1981. It is now more than eight months since Begun was seized in Leningrad and taken to the Strunino regional prison in Vladimir. He is to be charged under Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code covering "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", a far more serious charge than Article 190/1 under which Brailovsky was prosecuted and one that carries a maximum sentence of seven years imprisonment and five years internal exile.

Yosif Begun first attracted the attention of the KGB because of his missionary belief that unless Jews in the Soviet Union were able to keep alive their inherited national and religious culture they faced the danger of spiritual annihilation. This belief is shared by his close friend Professor Benjamin Fain, now settled in Israel, by Grigory Rozenshtein, a leading Moscow refusenik, and by other well-known activists some of whom have emigrated, others who still remain immured in "refusal". "A nation can be destroyed if it is denied the possibility of studying its history, just as an individual's identity can be destroyed if he loses his memory," is how Professor Fain summed up the philosophy he shares with Begun.

Action – and Reaction

In the Soviet Union, where Jewish identity has been systematically etiolated by depriving Jews of access to their history, culture and traditions and forcibly dismantling their communal and educational institutions, the task of reviving Jewish culture would provide major difficulties even with the full resources of the state. That a small group of individuals set out to make the attempt in the face of harsh official disapproval and police harassment was by any definition an act of heroism. Begun, Fain and their friends began by stimulating the study of Hebrew. They published a *samizdat* magazine on Jewish culture called *Tarbut*, organised unofficial seminars, exhibitions and study groups and ran headlong into trouble with the authorities when an international three-day seminar on Jewish culture they sought to arrange in December, 1976 in Moscow was broken up by the KGB.

The violence of the official reaction can be judged by the statement made at the time by USSR Deputy Minister of Culture, Vladimir Popov. "I would be going against my conscience and I would also be wrong if I did not warn you that the forms, the methods and the character of your actions contradict the order existing in any civilised state," he declared as if addressing

dangerous terrorists rather than mild-mannered academics engaged in nothing more deadly than organising a symposium on Jewish culture. Inevitably, arrests, house searches and confiscation of books followed increasing the burning sense of injustice among Soviet Jews at the intractable Soviet policy that had made the Jewish nationality the most culturally deprived of the USSR's ethnic and linguistic nationalities. Why was the Bible in Hebrew considered more undesirable than in Russian, Ukrainian and other languages, or than the Koran? Why was a Hebrew dictionary unobtainable (the Hebrew-Russian dictionary published in 1963 was a bibliographic rarity) when dictionaries in other languages could openly be bought in bookstores? Why could the German language be taught to Soviet German children with state approval and support when Jews were not permitted to arrange Hebrew classes for their children? Why was the Jewish struggle against assimilation anathema when that of the Armenians was regarded as heroic and admirable? In the face-to-face discussion that took place after the Deputy Minister of Culture's warning in December, 1976, Professor Fain pointed out that "in the 59 years of the Soviet regime the ancient history of the Jewish people has disappeared from the history books. The only mention of Jews in the textbook on ancient history for fifth year students is the section dealing with the emergence of Christianity. What it says is that Jews, together with Romans, Greeks and Syrians, were one of the first people to embrace Christianity. So when we speak of the sad state of Jewish culture we have ample grounds for doing so."

Choosing a Scapegoat

From quite early on Yosif Begun seems to have been selected to provide an object lesson of what could befall those who pursued the cause of Jewish culture too openly. These were the days when the authorities operated an arbitrary system of clamping down hard on some activists while getting rid of others by permitting them to emigrate. His early background was more traditionally Jewish than the great majority of his contemporaries. Born on July 9, 1932 in Moscow, he was the son of a religious Jewish working man, grandson of a Hebrew scribe employed in the production of Torah scrolls and other ritual articles. His education was conventionally secular. He graduated from Moscow University with a diploma in mathematical engineering and subsequently earned the degree of Candidate of Technical Sciences (the equivalent of a Ph.D) from the same institution. For two years after his graduation in 1967 he worked in various enterprises for the handling of technical information involving access to information regarded as classified, which led to the rejection of his application for an exit visa to Israel in April, 1971 and dismissal from his job in the Central Science Research Institute for Economic Problems of the State Planning Agency (Gosplan) of the USSR. Previously, for about two years, he had been employed as a senior lecturer in mathematics at the Goryachkin Institute of Agricultural Economics.

So ended a successful career that included the publication of eleven scientific papers in the field of electronics. Having crossed the barrier of conformity by filing an application for emigration to Israel, he now inhabited the limbo of other refuseniks excluded from work in their professions. He found employment as a labourer at a Moscow telephone exchange but was dismissed on the grounds of "staff reductions", then worked as a watchman on a building site only to be sacked for "truancy" after being held in prison for fifteen days after being arrested with other Jews for peacefully demonstrating in protest against the refusal to grant their exit visas.

His first marriage having ended in divorce in 1970, Begun lived with his blind, invalid mother in a communal apartment situated in an old part of Moscow. They existed on his savings and the income from her pension eked out by private lessons he gave in Hebrew and mathematics. He was by then a leading activist in the Jewish national movement and the struggle for *aliya*. An insight into his circumstances at this time was given by one of his friends, Dina Beilina, who settled in Israel, during the course of an interview she gave to a young Israeli lawyer, Jerome E. Singer, in September 1978. Mrs. Beilina said that she and Yosif Begun were both active in the Jewish emigration movement and met frequently at the synagogue and at various seminars on Jewish subjects then regularly held by their group. "Like so many others, he lost his job when he applied to emigrate to Israel. He desperately wanted work in his field and made continuous

efforts to find work as a scientist, but he was prevented from doing so as a potential emigré. He was like a dying man.” About his work as a Hebrew teacher, Mrs. Beilina said: “He was a kind of fanatic about the language. He worked night and day as a teacher.” His friend Benjamin Fain, also interviewed by Jerome Singer, said that each of Begun’s Hebrew lessons lasted about three hours, for which he received about three roubles per person. “He had enough pupils to be able to live modestly at this rate. I should also say that he made great efforts to register as a Hebrew teacher with the tax authorities, but they refused to accept the teaching of Hebrew as a legitimate occupation.”

A “Pariah” Language

Interest in learning Hebrew had grown tremendously among Soviet Jews, both because of the large volume of applications for emigration to Israel and the revival of interest in Jewish history and culture. But because of the ideological disapproval of the language, an unpublicised ban exists on its teaching and study among Jews and no facilities are open to them in official institutions. Private language tuition is permitted in the Soviet Union and legitimised by the simple act of registration with the income tax department. Yosif Begun began an energetic campaign for the right of Hebrew teachers to be registered for income tax on the same basis as people privately teaching other languages. Refusal was adamant on the grounds that Hebrew is not approved as a valid subject of study by the USSR Ministry of Education and that Begun lacked certification as a teacher. Some idea of the irrational reactions such a simple request can arouse is provided by the experience recounted by Pavel Abramovich, another well-known Hebrew teacher, in a letter (of course unpublished) he wrote to the editor of the evening newspaper *Vechernaya Moskva*.

Paval Abramovich had sought to place an advertisement in the personal column of the Moscow paper. The lady in the advertising department, O. L. Moroshkina, helpfully explained the regulations for placing announcements in this column and said there were no restrictions concerning advertisements to teach languages. Abramovich then handed over his own announcement. Brief and to the point, it read: “I give Hebrew lessons.” The reaction was electrifying. After reading his advertisement, he wrote to the newspaper’s editor: “O. L. Moroshkina jumped up from her chair, on which she had safely been sitting until that moment, and exclaimed with outrage: ‘We shall not accept! What do you think, young man? Are you mad?’” Abramovich says he “timidly explained” that the advertisement text contained nothing offensive, was literally and grammatically correct. “To everything I said she firmly answered: ‘We will not accept. I thought you were talking about Japanese at least. But you come here with Hebrew!’”

A Warning – and a TV Programme

A citizen of a country under an authoritative regime is unwise to attract attention to himself. Yosif Begun not only insisted in “coming with his Hebrew” but was active in the promotion of Jewish culture and had written an unorthodox paper on national minorities. To compound these activities, he was one of the organising committee of the International Symposium on Jewish Culture scheduled for December, 1976 and repressed by the KGB. In a sudden swoop a week or so before the symposium was due to be held, KGB agents mounted night raids on the homes of all the Symposium organisers confiscating Hebrew textbooks, prayerbooks, works of Jewish history, tape-recordings of Jewish music and everything relating to Jewish culture. A *Tass* statement said the searches were conducted in the apartments of people “who intended to incite national hostility on the instructions of Zionists.” That December the police warned Begun to cease his “parasitic mode of life” and find “legitimate employment”, even though every attempt he made to get work for which he was properly qualified was blocked by the authorities. The warning was repeated in more threatening terms the following month. Begun, as the saying goes, was being set-up.

On January 22, 1977 TV viewers across the USSR were treated to a sensational one-hour documentary programme, “Traders of Souls”, which exposed Begun and other prominent Jewish refuseniks as “soldiers of Zionism inside the Soviet Union” who were engaged in a

Western anti-Soviet conspiracy. Instead of being intimidated by this unjustified onslaught, Begun and others named had the temerity to bring a private action against the Moscow TV authorities for defaming the character of Soviet-Jewish citizens. The action was not of course accepted. Instead a policy of direct harassment was instituted. Visiting the American Embassy at the invitation of one of its diplomats, Begun and Benjamin Fain were arrested at the entrance but released shortly afterwards. Three days later Begun and another well-known Jewish activist, Yuli Kosharovsky, were summoned to the Police Department and released after two hours. Later that day Begun was attending a seminar on Jewish-Christian co-existence when he was forcibly taken to the local militia depot and kept there until the evening. On March 2 he was summoned to the militia and questioned again about his employment. This cat-and-mouse game abruptly came to an end the next day when he was arrested, informed that he would be charged under Article 209/1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and was carted away to the Matroskaya Tishina prison. Article 209/1 is concerned with parasitism, i.e. declining to work honestly and subsisting on unearned income for a prolonged period despite the warnings of the KGB. He was not allowed to consult a lawyer or see visitors. On March 28 Begun went on hunger strike.

Setting a Precedent

From the very beginning the Begun case had exceptional features. It was the first time a Jewish refusenik, many of whom had lost their employment as a result of filing applications to emigrate to Israel, had been charged with parasitism. Also, imprisoning an alleged "parasite" before the trial was unusual. After all, idleness may be socially undesirable but is not an offence so threatening to society as to warrant immediate incarceration. Moreover, the prominence given to Begun's arrest by the authorities, together with the pre-trial attack on him as a "soldier of Zionism", etc., left no doubt that the purpose was exemplary as well as vindictive, a warning to others teaching Hebrew and promoting unofficial Jewish studies. Its significance was not underestimated by other Jews prominent in the national movement. At a time when it might have been considered politic not to draw attention to themselves, ten leading refuseniks courageously addressed a joint letter to V. Avdonin, the judge of the People's Court in the Proletarsky Region of Moscow, before whom the hearing was to take place, requesting the right to attend the trial.

"We ask you to permit us to attend the trial not only because Yosif Begun is our friend," they wrote, "but also because this case also concerns us directly. Many of us have also lost our jobs after applying to emigrate to Israel. It could also be thought that even those of us who are formally working now do not really have a job as the work we are engaged in does not correspond to our professional qualifications or education. It also does not provide us with a sufficient income and, what is most important, the jobs can very easily be lost in a society in which we are compelled to live against our will and in which emigration to Israel is considered to be an unsocial act. Thus in April, 1971 after his application for emigration to Israel Yosif Begun had to relinquish his position of senior scientific worker in one of the institutes of Gosplan for auxiliary work in the Zhdanovsky Communication Exchange. He was dismissed from that position in less than a year because of staff reductions and took a job as a watchman at a building site. He was dismissed from this post too after being held under administrative arrest by the militia. The militia refused to issue him an appropriate document certifying that he had been arrested as explanation for his enforced absence from work. Is he to be blamed for this? Following his second dismissal, Yosif Begun in June, 1972 applied to the Regional Bureau of Employment but was informed that the Bureau was not concerned with finding employment for scientific workers. Similar answers were received from the Bureaus of Leninsky Region, the Zhdanovsky Region and finally from the Executive Committee of the Moscow Municipality. It was therefore Yosif Begun's misfortune, not his fault, that he remained without employment."

The group letter then specified the efforts Begun had made to exercise his right to give Hebrew lessons as a private teacher, and the refusal of the authorities to recognise this right by allowing him to register officially in order to pay income tax on his earnings. It was well-known, the signatories pointed out, that it was his propagation of the study of Hebrew and his active participation in the organisation of the international symposium on Jewish culture that had aroused the displeasure of the KGB and the Procurator's office. His apartment had been raided

twice. Books on Jewish culture and history, as well as those by Solzhenitsyn and other "unpopular" authors, were confiscated. "Yosif Begun was finally called for questioning in connection with a case on distributing of slanderous fabrications against the regime, not in connection with charges of parasitism. From the nature of the interrogation it could be assumed that he would later be turned from a witness into an accused. . . . We therefore have grounds for believing that the formal charge presented against him has nothing to do with his 'real crime', and that the charge of parasitism was being brought in order to compromise him. We would be glad to find out that our assumption is wrong but will only be able to do so if we are able to attend the trial that, unless we are mistaken, must be an open one."

The letter was signed by Vladimir Prestin, Ida Nudel, Mark Novikov, Galina Gurevich, Yosif Ass, Grigory Rozenshtein, Vladimir Slepak, Leonid Volvovsky, Pavel Abramovich and Vladimir Lazaris. Needless to say, the request for permission to attend the hearing of the case against Begun was ignored. Ida Nudel and Slepak were subsequently arrested and sentenced to long terms of exile while Leonid Volvovsky, like Begun a teacher of Hebrew, was removed from his Moscow apartment, refused renewal of a Moscow residential permit, and is now effectively banished to the provincial city of Gorky.

Trial and Hunger Strike

The trial of Yosif Begun – first of three he was fated to endure – took place on June 1, 1977 and, considering the nominal insignificance of the charge, was notable for the international attention it received and the marked nervousness of the judge. It lasted an unusually long time for a simple case – from 10 in the morning to 7 p.m., without a lunch break but with short intermissions of 10-15 minutes during which the judge left the court to confer with mysterious persons standing by in his office. The courtroom was filled with the usual Soviet rent-a-crowd mobilised for such occasions to maintain the fiction of an open trial while ensuring that genuinely interested observers or friends of the accused are excluded. Labrynthine methods had been used by the authorities to confuse Begun's relatives and friends and mislead foreign correspondents by setting dates for the trial and switching them at the last minute. The ruse failed, but even Alla Drugova, Begun's fiancée later his wife, and his son Boris were not allowed in the courtroom.

Pale from the effects of a three-month hunger strike and wearing a skull cap, Yosif Begun made an impressive figure as he faced his judges. In measured tones, he declared: "I protest against the sudden changes in the date for this trial. First the hearing was set for May 27, then it was moved to May 18, then to June 8 and yet again suddenly, to June 1. These changes of date prevented me from preparing my defence. I also protest at the gross violation of the law in that none of my friends and relatives was admitted to the courtroom for the hearing, and the hearing itself is not being held in public, the principle of public trial being enshrined in Article III of the USSR Constitution, Article 115 of the RSFSR Constitution and in Article 12 of the Fundamental Procedures of Criminal Hearings. Only where State security is involved can a trial be held in camera." Moreover, he pointed out citing the USSR Minister of Justice Terebilev in a *Pravda* article of May 20, 1977, his imprisonment was in breach of juridical practice. The Minister had written that "in criminal cases where the penalty is loss of liberty for no more than one year, imprisonment until the trial is allowed in exceptional cases. My arrest was therefore unlawful since I have never been before a court until now, I have a permanent residence and I have never avoided the police. On the contrary, I always presented myself at the first call. There was no reason at all to keep me under arrest."

In another exchange, Begun asked for two witnesses to be called, Silva Kaputikyan and Yuri Richteu, both activists in the struggle for the languages and ethnic cultures of their own peoples. Judge: "What have they to do with you?" Begun: "The Jews, and I am one, are also a national minority and they are prevented from studying their own language." Requests for other witnesses who could directly confirm his evidence were also rejected. Eight witnesses for the prosecution were called, including neighbours who testified that Begun not only did not work but had no desire to work, and who added the embellishment that he often came home drunk. The observation "is a drunkard" duly appeared in the final verdict. The main prosecution witness, an official of the Municipal Bureau of Employment, declared that Yosif Begun was a

parasite, yet in cross-examination was neither able to answer the defence lawyer's questions about Begun's profession, nor could he remember details about the latter's appeals to the Employment Bureau.

The Crucial Factor

The right of an individual to teach Hebrew was central to the case and a crucial factor was whether or not Hebrew is a legitimate subject for study in the USSR. Consequently, the defence lawyer asked the court to include among case-exhibits a certificate issued by the University of Tbilisi and registered by the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Education. This stated that from 1945 onwards Hebrew was being taught there, that a teaching programme for the language had been formulated and studies and articles on the subject were published. The advocate's request was rejected. She returned to the subject in her closing speech, pointing out that had Begun tutored any other language but Hebrew he would have been properly registered as a private teacher and the charge of parasitism could not have been brought. Begun was also accused of having received parcels and money from Zionist organisations abroad, but the amounts in question were insufficient to live on. If, however, he was being tried for receiving parcels from hostile organisations, then the Article of the law under which he was charged was inapplicable and should be changed.

Although weakened by his long hunger strike and the ninety days of solitary confinement imposed on him before the trial, Begun's concluding remarks were vigorous and unrepentant. He contemptuously dismissed the prosecution's accusation that he had lived a parasitic existence, pointing to the twenty years in which he had built a successful scientific career that was abruptly terminated by dismissal after he applied to emigrate to Israel. Defending his right to teach Hebrew, he reminded the court that had he offered tuition in French, German, English, Arabic, Chinese or any other civilised language no obstacle would have been placed in his way. But, with glum predictability, he was given the maximum possible sentence under Article 290/1—two years internal exile—and transported to the bleak Siberian village of Burkandya, some three thousand miles from Moscow in the remote Soviet penal area of Magadan.

If the authorities hoped that the rigours of this experience would silence him, they were disappointed. From exile, he continued the struggle for Hebrew in letters to newspapers and individuals, addressing a message to the Supreme Soviet protesting at the discrimination against Jewish culture and one to the Belgrade Conference on the Helsinki Agreement describing his own plight and that of other Jews in similar situations as "legalised judicial persecution." In another letter addressed to the International Association of Teachers of Russian and Russian Literature and to the National Society for Russian Studies in France, he wrote: "The study of the language of my people is forbidden in the country where I live . . . for many years there have been no public forms to study the Jewish language in schools, at courses, etc. in the Soviet Union and no textbooks in this language have been published in the USSR. Such textbooks published in Russian in other countries are not permitted to be distributed in the USSR . . . All this is happening despite the fact that Soviet law forbids any such form of national restriction, despite the fact that the Soviet Union has signed such important humanitarian documents as the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference . . . I am writing this appeal from exile in far-away Kolyma. The verdict in my trial—allegedly for leading a 'parasitic' way of life—was in fact an act of revenge for my attempts to arrange private study of the Jewish language."

Second Arrest and Trial

In March, 1978, after having served his sentence, Yosif Begun returned to Moscow to rejoin his wife and son there. To the dismay of his friends and supporters all over the world, it was not the end of his problems. The authorities refused to re-issue the permit necessary to reside in the city, cynically advising him to "go back to Burkandya and they will register you there". The dismay turned to indignation when, on May 17, 1978 he was arrested, thrown into jail and accused of violation of residence regulations. Thirty-seven Moscow refuseniks on June 4 appealed on his behalf to fellow scientists abroad, declaring that: "It seems that the authorities,

in cold blood, have worked out a system to persecute Begun, one that can also be used against other refuseniks. A network of punishments is devised (which can) add up to many years deprivation of freedom." The arrest was itself in breach of Soviet legality, for Begun was still in the midst of seeking a residential permit and, until a final official refusal was received and ignored, could not legitimately be accused of violating regulations.

In protest against his arrest Begun immediately began another hunger strike. On June 28, 1978 he was brought to trial in the Proletarsky District Court of Moscow. The witnesses for the prosecution were all employees of the KGB. Too weak to stand up, Begun was hoisted into the dock, his physical condition so pitiable that even the state appointed lawyer asked the judge to postpone the hearing pending medical evidence of the accused's condition. Begun's wife, Alla Drugova, joined in this appeal but the judge rejected it, ordering her to leave the court. One of Begun's friends who was present also left, unable to bear the spectacle of Begun's suffering, and with nine others immediately sent cables to the Soviet President and the Attorney General asking them urgently to intervene and order a postponement of the trial. It was unavailing. Yosif Begun was again sentenced to exile, this time for three years. Shocked by this injustice, thirty-five former Soviet Jews resident in Israel issued an impassioned appeal to world opinion. "Yosif Begun has been punished not for having violated some Soviet law," they wrote. "He is suffering for his views, his ideals, his dreams. He is suffering for those he helped to become acquainted with the riches of Jewish culture, and for those he helped to begin the difficult struggle for emigration to Israel . . . He did not violate a single letter of Soviet law."

"I Am More Free Than You"

In the meantime, the text of a long statement he had been too weak to deliver at his trial became available. Space prohibits its reproduction in full here. It is one of those powerful indictments in which a victim of injustice turns the tables upon his persecutors. Tracing the record of harassment to which he had been subjected, Begun concluded: "I can only say one thing to you, the organisers of this trial, to those who are my judges. Although I am now in the dock and you will no doubt find me guilty, I am a freer man than you, adhering as I do to the principle beautifully formulated by a courageous and talented modern writer – 'not to live by lies' . . . A victim of repression because of my national convictions, I know that I am suffering in a just cause. I say to my persecutors: Look at the history of the Jewish people, covered with tears and blood. It is impossible to break us by persecution. Persecution serves to unite us, the children of one nation; it strengthens us, increasing our national consciousness wherever we are. *Am Israel Hai v'Kayam* – the people of Israel lives and is strong."

Force-fed, brutalised by his KGB tormentors, Begun had taken on the lineaments of a heroic exemplar of the Jewish struggle in the Soviet Union. Once again, this time from the Susuman prison in Siberia, he addressed a defiant protest dated October 3, 1978 to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. "My conviction for a malicious violation of the passport regime on the basis of Article 198 is not legal," he wrote. "I have not committed any criminal act. The conviction violates the elementary moral norms of the Constitution of the USSR in which the right to receive housing, to have the family protected by the state and the duty to bring up one's children are declared . . . The trial, conducted at a time when the special Plenary Session of the USSR Supreme Court had passed a decree on the rights of the accused, was a parody of unbiased justice . . . not one witness for the defence was called, the accused and his relatives were denied the right to choose defence counsel, the public was excluded from the court building . . . Sentence of three years exile, despite the fact that Article 198 prescribes a maximum punishment of one year deprivation of freedom, was another demonstration of violating the law and cruelty to what is universally regarded as the sacred bonds of the family. On the day of my arrest, May 17, I declared a hunger strike in protest against the scandalous violation of human rights and the Constitution of the USSR. Now, after six months imprisonment, after passing through eight transit prisons on my way to the place of exile, 12,000 kilometres from my home and family, I am continuing my hunger strike and demand that the judicial reprisal should be stopped and an end be put to the humiliations directed against my family . . ."

Regardless of petitions, letters, appeals from all over the world (for he had now become an internationally known Soviet prisoner) Yosif Begun served his full sentence. In August, 1980 he

was at last released. But not from the serpentine coils of KGB persecution. There could be no question of him being allowed to resume residence in Moscow. The normal practice is to permit ex-prisoners to settle at least a hundred kilometres outside the city. Begun's attempt to do so in the Vladimir Region was frustrated when a prospective landlord was warned against giving him accommodation on the grounds that he was a criminal, a former exile and a traitor. Begun asked an official of the MVD, the Interior Ministry: "Where can I spend the night? If you don't let me register anywhere no hotel will accept me, I could leave your office now and your people could pick me up and accuse me of violating passport regulations by being in Moscow without residential regulations." Allowed, finally, to settle in Strunino, the required one hundred kilometres from Moscow, he re-submitted an application to emigrate to Israel. There was a time when former Prisoners of Zion received permission almost automatically but a new hard line now prevailed and Begun's application was again rejected. Unable to work in his own academic profession, he found employment in the local fire brigade, then as a stoker and was studying to become a TV repairman, existing in the twilight zone inhabited by spiritual exiles from Soviet society.

Prospect – Martyrdom

On October 20, 1982 he arrived at a friend's apartment in Moscow when a police search of the premises was in progress, was duly arrested and briefly detained. Among items confiscated during the search were books on Jewish history, Zionism and Jewish culture. The following month, November 6, on a visit to Leningrad, he was re-arrested at the railway station when about to leave the city, taken to Vladimir Prison and, for all practical purposes, disappeared into silence. A certain grimness prevailed in the attitude of the authorities as investigations got under way: something ominous was brewing. But what? When after some weeks the official silence was broken it sent a shudder through the entire refusenik community in the Soviet Union and its friends abroad. Yosif Begun was to be charged under Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code covering anti-Soviet agitation. Conviction could carry a maximum sentence of twelve years, seven years strict regime imprisonment followed by five years exile. Was this to be the showdown?

Eight months have elapsed since Begun's third arrest and the details of the offence for which he is to be tried still remains shadowy. But the old Stalinist NKVD maximum, "give us the man and we'll find a crime to fit him", unfortunately still has currency in the Soviet Union. However the charge is formulated, Soviet Jews have no illusion about the real signification of the event. Jewish culture, the right to teach and study Hebrew, to perpetuate Jewish national identity – these will be on trial when the case opens in Moscow. And Yosif Begun will personify the heroic struggle for Jewish survival.



INSIGHT

Soviet Jews

Editor: Emanuel Litvinoff
Published by European Jewish Publications Ltd.,
31 Percy Street, London, W.1.

Volume 9, No. 5, September, 1983

Contents: 1. Anti-Zionist Committee
2. Who is Samuel Zivs?

The "Committee" At Work

There is a certain confusion of nomenclature. According to an *Izvestia* reporter, a sign on the wall of the office at 46, Frunzenskaya Nabirezhnaya bears the legend: "The Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Society". Colonel-General Dragunsky, its chairman, on the other hand declared at a press conference held in the Soviet Foreign Ministry on June 6 that the organisation was named the Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet *Public Opinion*. Why? The announcement some six weeks earlier forming the committee "met with warm, I would say, genuinely enthusiastic support. . . We had every justification to say that we had been given a public mandate, that this broad support was an expression of public opinion. This entitled us to call ourselves the Committee of Soviet Public Opinion speaking for the broad Soviet public."

A Familiar Voice

An edited version of the press conference published in the weekly *New Times*, No. 25, 1983, is a bleak restatement of crude Soviet propaganda against Israel and Zionism. Lenin is of course invoked as having waged a struggle against Zionism, "a dangerous variety of capitalist ideology", at the beginning of the century, and Dragunsky maintains that "the Soviet people have always regarded Zionism as a chauvinistic and racist ideology." However, the General implies, this struggle had not been sufficiently organised. "The past year has shown with particular clarity that in its development Zionism, its misanthropic ideology and practice, increasingly reproduces the ideas and methods of the defeated Hitler fascism. The events in Lebanon. . . demonstrated to the whole world that the crimes of Begin and his cutthroats differ but little from the atrocities committed by the Nazis." General Dragunsky appears to have forgotten that Soviet propagandists have been flinging the same accusation at Israel for at least sixteen years. Quoting at random from one of many articles written just after Israel had averted the threat to its survival by its victory in the Six Day War, *Izvestia* on June 15, 1967 published the lying charge that the Israeli army was "killing prisoners of war defenceless peasants, driving the inhabitants from their homes and publicly executing men, women and children. Even Western correspondents compare these crimes with what the Nazis did in the occupied countries during World War II."

The emphasis on atrocity-mongering, hitherto the province of an ill-assorted collection of outspoken Soviet antisemites whose influence has grown over the years, accords oddly with the ambitions of the Committee as outlined by Professor Samuel Zivs, second-in-command to its chairman, and widely circulated by the *Novosti Press* last May. The Committee, he said, aims "to attract in every way possible Soviet citizens – scientists and literary, artistic and journalistic

figures – to the struggle against Zionism by means of producing scientific works, highly artistic and ideologically-informed literary works, films, theatrical productions, paintings and publicistic statements. In order to achieve this aim, it will take part in proposing the candidacy of persons for the Lenin Prize, the State Prize of the USSR, the State prizes of Union Republics and the Leninist Komsomol Prize for persons who produce scientific works, literary works and artistic works which unmask the reactionary essence of international Zionism and its anti-Soviet direction.”

Praise for a Pamphleteer

This opens up new vistas for the corps of Soviet specialists who rose to prominence by recycling the myths of Tsarist antisemitism and modernising its vocabulary. Shall we see among future Lenin Prize winners such inveterate practitioners of anti-Zionist propaganda as T. K. Kichko, Tsezar Solodar, V. Skurlatov and the ubiquitous “Soviet Orientalist”, L. Korneyev? The latter is one of the first to benefit from the massive campaign launched earlier this year to prepare the way for the new Anti-Zionist Committee. In 1982 the Kiev publishing house for Ukrainian political literature brought out his “Class Essence of Zionism” in an edition of 10,000 copies intended for Party lecturers and propaganda specialists. A busy pamphleteer and newspaper article writer on the subject of Zionism, whose works have been widely reproduced in the Soviet press and radio broadcasts, this latest Korneyev brochure was ideally suited to the purposes of the new Committee. *Izvestia* praised its use of “rich, factual material” and recommended it as “of interest to wide circles of Soviet readers”. The influential journal *Socialisticheskaya Industriya* on May 12, declaring that Zionism “has justly been placed by world opinion on a par with fascism”, highly recommended “The Class Essence of Zionism” and listed several other booklets by Korneyev as “useful aid to propaganda makers.” In response to the accelerated demand of the campaign, Korneyev produced “The Psychological War of Tel Aviv”, *Sovietskaya Rossia*, May 17, and a long article, “Shabak – the Zionist Gestapo”, for the weekly *Nedelya* of May 23-29.

“The Class Essence of Zionism” is essentially the same book that Korneyev has been writing, with suitable changes of title, for the past ten or so years. It contains the usual perfunctory disclaimer of antisemitic intention still required in Soviet publications, but promptly exposes its own hypocrisy with a series of outrageously antisemitic assertions. “The idea that Jews everywhere are citizens of a Jewish nation automatically puts Jews into the role of a fifth column in any state,” Korneyev writes. Jewish bankers, Jewish monopolists and “the Jewish faction of the world oligarchy” seek world domination. Jews have only themselves to blame for antisemitism, i.e. they “served the Mongols as tax collectors” during the Mongol conquest of Russia, they provoked “disgust on the part of the native population for the peculiar psychological and behavioral traits of the Jewish bourgeoisie”. The reliability of Korneyev’s sources can be judged by the fact that he chooses to quote from an antisemitic pamphlet by a Russian lawyer Schmakov published in 1906 during the wave of pogroms instigated by the Tsarist secret police as his authority for stating that Zionist agents provoked Russian and Ukrainian pogroms by opening fire on policemen in order to increase emigration from the country. As for more contemporary events, he cites as evidence of Israel’s aggressive behaviour the attack on Entebbe airport in 1976 when “the sovereignty of an independent African country was rudely violated and dozens of Ugandan citizens were killed” without mentioning that the Entebbe raid by Israeli commandos was mounted to rescue 91 Jewish passengers held aboard a hijacked airliner with the complicity of the Ugandan dictator Idi Amin.

The time was also considered ripe for the re-issue of other familiar “anti-Zionist” texts. Tsezar Solodar’s notorious chiller, “The Dark Curtain”, a lurid expose of alleged Zionist terrorisation of Jews in the diaspora, was reprinted and prominently reviewed in the weekly, *Ogonyok*. An article, “The Path of Dishonour”, that first appeared in *Sovetskaya Belorussia* on December 29 last year was given another airing in the same newspaper on April 17 this year. The “Beware: Zionism” columns, now a regular feature of the Soviet press, have made more and more frequent appearances since the inauguration of the Anti-Zionist Committee as the ideological war against Israel, “the Jewish bourgeoisie”, and other favourite targets of modern

Soviet antisemitism reached a level of intensity reminiscent of the onslaught that marked the late 1960s. No wonder General Dragunsky told the correspondent of *Izvestia* that "the creation of the Committee has found a special response in the Arab countries, which see in this act yet another proof of the Soviet Union's support for their cause and aspirations." (*Izvestia*, June 4, 1983).

One of the more disquieting innovations of recent times is the extension of the campaign to reach Soviet youngsters with atrocity articles in the children's newspaper *Pionerskaya Pravda*, a recent example being a piece on May 13, 1983 "revealing" that captured Israeli soldiers had told their captors that they had planned to kill the inhabitants of an Arab village stealthily while everyone was asleep by murdering them with knives and bayonets. *Nauka i Religya* ("Science and Religion"), May, 1983 advised its readers that "the witness who readily swears both on the Bible and the Torah to speak 'the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth'. . . would tell a lie right away." This journal also serves an educational function, and the thought that the Soviet leadership does not balk at indoctrinating the younger generation with crude racial prejudice raises gloomy reflections on the "socialist" future.

The press conference held by the Anti-Zionist Committee on June 6 at the Soviet Foreign Ministry was a parade in which prominent members of the Committee's executive in turn gave well-drilled replies to questions served up by Soviet reporters, or evasively responded to those by Western correspondents. Genrikas Zimanas, editor-in-chief of the Lithuanian Party magazine *Komunistas* and a Lithuanian deputy on the Supreme Soviet, told *Izvestia's* reporter: "The policy of Zionism, which is responsible for the aggressive wars and the genocide of Sabra and Shatila, with its pathological hatred of everything Soviet, has become utterly revolting. The insistent and arrogant claims of the subversive Zionist radio, which provocatively alleges that well-nigh 'all' the two million Soviet Jews dream of emigrating to Israel while the remaining 269 million citizens of the USSR 'oppress' and 'persecute' their Jewish compatriots, arouse the indignation of the Soviet people." Needless to say, he brought no evidence to support the grotesque assertion that anyone blamed the 269 million Soviet citizens for persecuting Jews, and not the regime which held the entire population under repressive control.

Dane asks: "Anti-Zionism or Antisemitism?"

Victor Pushkarev, a grinder at the Moscow data-processing equipment plant by trade and also a deputy of the Supreme Soviet, was put forward to assure the *Sovetskaya Rossia* correspondent that the Anti-Zionist Committee comprised people of different nationalities. "The exposure of Zionism, its ideology of extreme nationalism and chauvinism, of the brigandage and genocide practices by the Israeli ruling circles in the Middle East, is the internationalist duty of all men and women of goodwill." Academician Kabachnik responded to a question from the representative of the Moscow Radio Peace and Progress programme who asked him to comment on "one of the main themes of the provocative assembly 'in defence of Soviet Jews' held in Jerusalem in March this year" which alleged discrimination against Soviet Jews in the field of education and science. One suspects that it was not altogether by chance that this question was allocated to Radio Peace and Progress, whose broadcasts are directed to foreign listeners, for Academician Kabachnik reeled off a list of members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences of Jewish nationality from the 1920s, a list which is seldom if ever publicised in the Russian-language press of the USSR or in the press of its constituent republics.

There was a constant reiteration of the Zionism = Nazism theme, accompanied in some instances by a tortuous attempt to face in two directions at once. For example, the Danish TV correspondent pointedly asked: "I understand that you maintain that anti-Zionism and antisemitism are two different concepts. But do you rule out the possibility that anti-Zionism could be used as a convenient cover for anti-semitism?" Professor Samuel Zivs, the Committee's vice-chairman and a familiar Jewish spokesman for the regime, tersely responded: "We have resolutely and categorically repeated at this press conference, and are prepared to repeat again, that all Soviet people, Soviet society as a whole, are strongly, emphatically • opposed to chauvinism, nationalism and such nationalistic aberrations as antisemitism and Zionism. You know quite well that Zionist propaganda tries to label as antisemitism any criticism of the ideology and political practices of Zionism."

Slander from Writers' Union

The very next question, however, posed by the correspondent of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, a prime source of dubious "anti-Zionist" propaganda, gave the lie to this familiar bromide. Just note the wording, here given in full in the version published by *New Times*. "In connection with some details made public when the case of the Nazi butcher Barbie was investigated, I would like to know whether the facts of contact between Nazi criminals and Zionists are known to you?" Details of such contacts in the Barbie investigation have so far not surfaced in the West, but Yuri Kolesnikov of the Union of Soviet Writers responded to this loaded question by repeating some of the ugliest slanders in the arsenal of Soviet antisemitic propaganda, citing as his authority his own experiences during the war when "I happened to be stationed deep in the rear of the Hitler troops and saw what was happening in the Nazi-occupied territory.

"In those incredibly difficult times," he said, "when the thoughts of all honest people of the world were concentrated on how to defeat the 'brown plague' as soon as possible and save mankind from Nazism, the leaders of international Zionism, who arrogated to themselves the right to call themselves 'defenders of the Jews', were by no means preoccupied with the protection of the Jews who were languishing and dying in the Nazi death camps. The Zionist leaders were preoccupied only with building up a numerical superiority of Jews over the Arab population of Palestine. Today we have the right to pass the most severe judgement on Zionism, for in those terrible times the leaders of international Zionism not only failed to protect the Jews but even betrayed them by colluding with Gestapo and SS chiefs.

"Proof of this," Kolesnikov continues, "is the activity in Berlin of the 'Palestinian Office' headed by Levi Eshkol, one of the leaders of international Zionism who later became Premier of Israel. Levi Eshkol and his assistants ransomed from SS chiefs rich Jews who had performed 'special services' for Zionism, dooming hundreds of thousands of ordinary Jews to death in the Nazi crematoriums. What is more, Eshkol's 'Palestinian Office' cooperated directly with the notorious SS Obersturmbannfuhrer Adolf Eichmann, head of the Reich Security Head Office. This cooperation was quite fruitful for both sides. . . it is not by chance that after the war Zionist sleuths went out of their way to find Adolf Eichmann so that, God forbid, he would not be caught by agents of another country and the secret Zionist-Nazi alliance come to the knowledge of the world public."

The Politics of Rescue

These monstrous allegations have by constant repetition in the Soviet media both at home and abroad, achieved some degree of acceptance. It therefore becomes necessary once again to set the record straight. The so-called "cooperation" between Zionists and Nazi functionaries relates to the period before the Second World War when the Nazi regime in Germany permitted Jews to emigrate after the expropriation of their business interests, property and personal possessions. The Palestine Office in Berlin existed, as it had even before the Nazi period, as a centre for organising the training and resettlement of agricultural pioneers in Jewish Palestine. Other Jewish organisations in Europe and America were also trying to organise the rescue of Jewish refugees. In so far as the Palestine Office was concerned with arranging the departure of Jews from Germany it was tolerated by the Nazi authorities. Most of those who sought its assistance were members of Zionist youth movements and committed to the idea of building a Jewish state in the historical homeland. Levi Eshkol did not "ransom rich Jews" from SS chiefs for so-called "special services". What "special services"? Most of the refugees from Germany arrived in Palestine penniless. Eshkol and his assistants did not doom "hundreds of thousands of ordinary Jews to death in Nazi crematoriums." In fact they rescued whoever they could before time ran out. The indifference of a world which refused entry visas to Jewish refugees, or rationed them to a strict quota, played an ignoble part in this tragedy. And many thousands who could have been saved if they had been allowed to enter Palestine were prevented from doing so by the tight restrictions imposed on Jewish immigration by the British Colonial Office despite the urgent appeals by the Zionist movement as the situation of Jews in Germany became increasingly nightmarish. The Zionist movement was compelled to have dealings with Nazi officials, as did other Jewish organisations. What else could they do when it was the only way they could hope to save the lives of Jewish men, women and children? Nor did desperate

attempts by the Zionist movement to rescue at least some of the doomed millions cease when the Nazis launched the dreaded "Final Solution". With the world at war, the powers had other preoccupations. Several books on the subject have been published, the most recent being the powerful, meticulously researched study "Auschwitz and the Allies: The Politics of Rescue", by historian Martin Gilbert. Cynicism alone can explain the persistent Soviet attempts to exploit this appalling human tragedy of the purposes of cheap propaganda.

Eichmann: The Truth

As for the Eichmann capture and trial, this is another ignoble Soviet smear. Was the Soviet Union with its mighty secret police apparatus and world-wide network of agents searching for this major Nazi was criminal? Or agents of any other country? If not for Israel and so-called "Zionist sleuths" like Simon Wiesenthal Adolf Eichmann might well have been alive and prospering in Latin America to this very day. Even the most credulous are unlikely to take seriously the notion that he was captured by Zionists so that "God forbid he would not be caught by agents of another country and the secret Zionist-Nazi alliance come to the knowledge of the world public." Someone at the "Anti-Zionist Committee" press conference might have pointed out to executive member Kolesnikov that if the ruthless Zionists were only concerned with suppressing Eichmann's revelations of a secret Zionist-Nazi alliance they could have silenced him on the spot instead of bringing him to Jerusalem and staging one of the most dramatic trials of the century before the press of the entire world.

To return to the more domestic concerns of Soviet Jews, answers given to two questions illuminate (if that is the right word) the present official Soviet attitude to the Hebrew language and to Jewish emigration. The correspondent of *Neues Leben*, newspaper of the East German Communist Party and a leading mouth-piece for Soviet bloc anti-Zionist propaganda, said: "The Western press often alleges that the teaching of Hebrew is banned in the Soviet Union. More, Hebrew is called the national language of the Soviet Jews. What is the real state of affairs?" The question is deliberately misleading. The charge is not that the teaching of Hebrew is banned – facilities for studying the language are available to student philologists, diplomats, orientalist and priests. This availability does not apply to Soviet Jews, and the prosecution and hounding of Hebrew teachers by the KGB show that attempts at private study of the language invite harsh consequences. The answer the question received from Editor Genrikas Zimanas explains why. "I shall not dwell on the fact that the Zionist leaders lay special emphasis on the introduction of Hebrew," he declared, and proceeded to do precisely that by explaining "Zionist leaders" motives as follows: "They would like Hebrew to be studied and adopted as the common language of their widely advertised single 'world Jewish nation'," he went on. "Hebrew is also seen by the Zionist leaders as an instrument that would help to spread Zionist ideology." In plain language, Hebrew is somehow regarded as subversive.

The second half of the question is also inaccurate. Hebrew is *not* called the language of Soviet Jews. It is the ancient and historic language of the Jewish people in general, the repository of Jewish religion, philosophy, poetry and scholarship which has remained in use throughout the ages and has been renewed by its modernisation and adoption as the native language of the State of Israel. Yiddish, officially decreed as the national language of Soviet Jews, has ceased for at least two generations to be used by the Jewish population of the USSR who are predominantly Russian-speaking, only a dwindling minority of fourteen per cent having declared Yiddish as their mother tongue in the last census. The Soviet authorities themselves, under Stalin, hastened the destruction of Yiddish by what amounted to a mass pogrom against its language and culture and the murder of its leading exponents. Nowadays, when Soviet Jews protest against the prohibition of Jewish culture they are referring to the denial of access not only to Hebrew but to the vast storehouse of Jewish scholarship in whatever language it is, and has been, expressed.

The official attitude to Jewish emigration was reflected in a reply given by Professor Samuel Ziv to the *Los Angeles Times* correspondent, who asked whether the desire of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel or any other country is regarded in the Soviet Union as a betrayal and, if so, why. Professor Ziv began by accusing Zionist propaganda of "juggling with figures" to falsify the numbers of Jews who want to emigrate from the USSR. He maintained that invitations to settle in Israel on the grounds of reuniting families were mailed to people who had not relatives

in Israel, or to non-existent Soviet citizens, or that "several invitations are sent to one and the same person". (This last point may be true, because of the practice of the Soviet authorities to intercept invitations and withhold delivery to those requesting them).

During the war, he went on, many Jewish families were separated and so reunification served as grounds for application to emigrate. "By now, however, reunification has in the main been completed and the number of those who leave is naturally diminishing." Professor Ziv said: "We are indeed aware that in 1982 and the present year the number of persons who emigrated from the Soviet Union has considerably decreased, which, I emphasise, means a decrease in the number of persons who apply for permission to leave. . . fewer people now fall for the Zionist bait, become victims of Zionist propaganda and leave our country."

The Professor then proceeded to quote from two letters "full of anxiety, grief and despair from former Soviet citizens now living abroad" that the Anti-Zionist Committee had received. He then concluded as follows: "In the question put by the *Los Angeles Times* correspondent the word betrayal is underlined. I think you have understood from my reply that when members of a family are reunited, when parents are, indeed, reunited with the children they lost during the war, there is no question of betrayal.

"But when a person is ensnared by lying Zionist propaganda, I, as a lawyer, would say it is an unpatriotic act incompatible with our moral principles and disapproved by Soviet society and by the absolute majority of the Jewish citizens of our country."

An Unpleasant Collection

More about such unpatriotic persons is contained in a 300-page book, "Prompted by an Alien Voice", published in Moscow, which consists of articles by eleven different authors and contains three sections, one "Under the Guise of Fighters for Human Rights", two "Under the patronage of Zionist Emissaries of the CIA", and three, "Saboteurs in the Field of Religion". Predictably, the anti-Zionist section is the longest of the three. It begins by describing Theodor Herzl, an alleged hater of Socialism, as "one of the founding fathers of the criminal Zionist idea" and goes on to describe a whole catalogue of criminal Zionist acts of collusion with Nazis under the heading "Gescheft Made on Lives". The Yiddish word *gescheft*, meaning trade or business, has long been scurrilously employed by Soviet antisemites to denote Jewish "crooked dealing" and was particularly featured in the campaign to close synagogues during the drive against Judaism in the late 1950s, early 1960s. A chapter entitled "The Octopus of Espionage" dealing with Israel's intelligence service lists *Yad V'Shem*, the Museum of the Holocaust, as one of the intelligence institutions. Yet another chapter, the longest, is an attack on the anti-Soviet activities of Vladimir Slepak and Ida Nudel and contains accounts of the miseries experienced by Soviet Jews who left for Israel or the United States.

It has often been noted that nothing more exposes the ugly face of Soviet society than the tone of its anti-Zionist propaganda. Here, for example, is a passage from "Prompted by an Alien Voice": "The present generation of Zionists is trying to forget how the Nazi thugs threw Jewish children into the furnaces of the crematoria of the concentration camps or used them as 'material' for experiments of sadist-doctors in SS uniforms. However, even then, during the Second World War, business existed when the Zionists collaborated directly with the Hitlerite bonzes. . . It is possible that Washington and Tel Aviv have come to a private arrangement about how to dispose of the gold crowns and rings of the Russians, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Jews, Poles and other Europeans murdered by the Hitlerites. In any case, Israel has not renounced its claims. In recent years this campaign has quieted down. Perhaps agreement about the 'restitution' of the precious metal has already been reached and that is why the gold transfer affair, having fallen into the hands of the Israeli secret service, has moved from the front pages of Israeli and pro-Zionist newspapers to the pages of office documents marked "Top Secret" in the right-hand corner?"

There is a curious old-fashioned, almost primitive, character to this propaganda. The stereotypes invoked have been seen in galleries of antisemitism down the ages – the Shylock myth, the Jewish "lust for gold", for shady deals, the greed for profit by any unscrupulous means. As *Komsomolskaya Pravda* put it on March 3, 1983, shortly before the Anti-Zionist

Committee made its well-publicised debut, in a venomous contribution by Tsezar Solodar, "The Roots of a Plot": "... On the eve and during the Second World War Zionist emissaries, with the knowledge and at the direct instigation of the leaders of the major organisations and services of international Zionism like Arlozorov, Ben Gurion and Levi Eshkol, concluded blasphemous petty trading deals with the Gestapo. Jews of two, so to say, 'sorts' were the object of the buying and selling. Tried and tested Zionist activists, moneybags and also youths suitable for colonising activities in Palestine, acquired the possibility of fleeing from the countries occupied by the Hitlerites. The second sort were the millions of poor whom the well-known ideologist and organiser of Zionism Chaim Weizmann called in an anti-human fashion 'dust, the economic and moral dust of the great world', and they found themselves either in mobile gas chambers or in death camps. Uncovering every such deal (and they were innumerable!) would bring to light not only Hitlerite murderers, but also Zionist traders in the lives of their poor 'coreligionists' and those far from Zionism ringleaders are afraid to death of such exposures. And not only because this would evoke a new wave of justified fury of those who lost their close ones in the gas chambers of Maidanek, Oswiecim and Dachau. You see, if it took part in the capture of Hitlerite criminals, Zionism would lose friends such as... those who today, like the Beginist clique, resurrect Nazi phenomena – genocide, ghetto, death-camps."

If such propaganda is an indication of the new Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee, hopes for a more humane approach to the situation Jews face in the USSR are poor for the foreseeable future.

Who is Samuel Zivs?

Promoted by the Soviet authorities as an eminent lawyer, put forward as a distinguished official spokesman on the situation of Soviet Jews, now appointed chief deputy-chairman of the Anti-Zionist Committee, who – and what – really is Professor Samuel Lazarevich Zivs? A penetrating light was turned on this ambiguous figure by no less a person than Andrei Sakharov in an article that appeared in the *New York Review of Books* of July 21, 1983 and the spectacle presented is not pretty, not pretty at all.

Sakharov was commenting on a book by Zivs, "The Anatomy of a Lie" published by Yurinicheskaya Literatura, Moscow, and in English under the title "Human Rights: Continuing the Discussion" (distributed by Imported Publications, Chicago). The great Soviet scientist and human rights advocate first encountered Zivs in 1970 when the latter approached him to solicit his support in a campaign to obtain the election of Ziv's boss, Victor Chkhikvadze, to the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Zivs sought to ingratiate himself by flattering Sakharov's book "Progress, Peaceful Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom", which at the time had aroused the ire of the Soviet establishment, but Sakharov evidently had his misgivings. "I found myself looking at Ziv's new and very nice suit, which was clearly not Soviet-made, and I wondered where he had gotten his hands on it. Chkhikvadze was not successful in the 1970 election. Before the next vote I again was requested by Zivs to support Chkhikvadze, who once more failed to get elected. But soon facts emerged that rendered this problem somewhat obsolete – Chkhikvadze had been removed from his post as director owing to some sort of machinations connected with real estate and (I think) expelled from the Party... As for Zivs, I was to encounter his name in a new capacity – as the author of articles and books attacking the 'anti-Soviets', a category that included me. In 1982 Zivs published a book which was a rehash of his previous publications. Entitled 'The Anatomy of a Lie', the book indeed demonstrates the anatomy of the lie that is used in official propaganda. Itself a particularly good example of that lie, the book is worth examining in some detail."

"A KGB Assignment"

Andrei Sakharov continues as follows: "The nature of the data used by the author – numerous quotes from Western radio stations, frequently with precise indication of their broadcast time, unpublished data from Soviet institutions, the records of trials and of the investigation of dissidents, documents confiscated during searches, and so on – is plainly of a sort that could not have been accessible to a private citizen and had been furnished to the author by the KGB. There is no question that Zivs' entire book had been written as a KGB assignment. The information Zivs had at his disposal was used in the most dishonest and biased manner, and thus

his book is a cunning tissue of malicious lies and slander joined by thin threads of half truth” designed to slander “defenders of human rights and other dissidents in the USSR . . . victims of cruel and unjust repressive measures” including Shcharansky, Orlov, Pyatkus, Guyauskas and Begun.

The case of Anatoly Shcharansky is given six pages in the book. “The formulas used by the court when sentencing Shcharansky – betrayal of the motherland – are repeated here. But when all the verbiage is scraped away, it becomes clear that what Shcharansky did was interview a few Jews who had been refused permission to leave the country on the pretext of state secrecy, although the institutions and enterprises for which they had worked were not considered secret, and then to communicate the results of his survey to an American correspondent who published them in his newspaper (some espionage that publishes its results!) . . . Nevertheless they were termed espionage and he was sentenced to 13 years confinement. In fact Shcharansky’s sentence was an attempt to intimidate the Jews – to force them to abandon the idea of emigrating . . . During the investigation (13 months) Shcharansky was threatened with execution, but the authorities did not succeed in breaking him. He displays the same fortitude now.”

Fifteen pages of “Anatomy of a Lie” are given over to a sustained attempt at the character assassination of Andrei Sakharov, whom the book accuses of “hypersensitive vanity and conceit”, “crimes against the State”, and of being “a spreader of disinformation, a slanderer, an instigator, an opponent of detente who tries to hide under the umbrella of the Final Act of the Helsinki accords.” Commenting on these and other smears, Sakharov writes: “Zivs has piled up an entire mountain of deliberate and dangerous lies which thoroughly distort my position. According to Zivs, I advocate the violent overthrow of the Soviet system, intervention and war. But I have frequently stated that, by conviction, I am an evolutionist and opposed to violence . . . Zivs presents no examples of the lies that I am supposed to have promulgated.”

Inciting Hatred of Jews

Not the least of the shameful hypocrisies perpetrated in the book by this Soviet lawyer who puts himself forward as a truly representative Soviet Jew is that he resorts to one of the propagandist devices used by antisemitic journalists in the USSR to incite popular hatred against Jews. He does it during an attack on Sakharov’s wife, Elena Bonner, and other members of his family. Sakharov writes: “Zivs deliberately misspells my wife’s last name to make it seem more Jewish,” and, to show how Zivs uses the same antisemitic technique to pander to dangerous racial prejudices, the eminent scientist quotes the following from Zivs book: “Efrem and Tatyana Yankelevich (Sakharov’s son-in-law and step-daughter), cast in the role of ‘Sakharov’s representatives abroad’, do not disdain even the basest means of fanning the flames of anti-Soviet hysteria . . . A grey-haired old man in the cloak of a Metropolitan bends down to a four-year-old boy. The caption under the picture reads: ‘Cardinal Joseph Slipy deferentially hugs little Matvei, Andrei Sakharov’s grandson.’ That the child is not Sakharov’s grandson but his present wife’s is not so important here. What is important is that the boy’s last name is Yankelevich (i.e. Jewish). And there is that Slipy, whose hands are stained with the blood of the Lvov ghetto, blessing Matvei Yankelevich. And his parents – Elena Bonner’s daughter Tatyana and her husband, Efrem, offer him up for the ‘Cardinal’s blessing, anything to create a cheap sensation.”

Space inhibits a full version of Sakharov’s exposure of Zivs being given here. The KGB harassment of Sakharov, the assaults committed against him and his wife, the theft of his scientific papers, diaries, memoirs and other irreplaceable documents, are described by Samuel Zivs as “fabricated fantasies”, “carefully thought out legends calculated to compromise the agencies of state authority.” If any further proof was required that the “Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Society” is a Frankenstein monster of the Soviet regime it lies in the fact that the author of this shabby publication, “The Anatomy of a Lie”, a KGB hatchet job if ever there was one, performs the role of one of the “Committee’s” chief leaders.

RECENT LEGAL DEVELOPMENTS REGARDING JEWISH DIVORCE

by Andrea Klausner, Legal Associate
The American Jewish Committee
Domestic Affairs Department
Discrimination Division
October 1983

BACKGROUND - THE PROBLEM DEFINED

The issue of Jewish divorce law has recently become the subject of controversy in state legislatures and in the courts, as well as in the Jewish community. For, while a civil court order of annulment or divorce generally terminates a marriage and leaves a couple free to remarry, traditional Jewish religious law ("halacha") does not recognize the validity of secular divorce. If a couple was married in accordance with Jewish law, the couple must obtain a Jewish divorce ("get") in order to be considered divorced and free to be remarried by an Orthodox or Conservative rabbi.

Although the religious obligation is imposed on both the husband and wife, it is the wife who suffers more severe consequences under traditional Jewish law from the failure to obtain a get. Called an "agunah," or "chained woman," the Jewish woman unable to get a get from her husband is still considered to be married to her husband, even though, in most cases, she has obtained a civil divorce. If she remarries, any subsequent children are deemed to be illegitimate and are labelled "mamzerim." Such children are barred from marrying other Jews. Deut. 23:3. The status of mamzerim and the restrictions placed on them are maintained in perpetuity. No such stigma or restrictions attach to the subsequent children of the agunah's first husband if he remarries.

In most cases, obtaining a Jewish divorce poses no problems. Following a civil divorce proceeding, a written bill of divorcement is executed by the husband and delivered to the wife. The delivery and execution of the get is ordinarily supervised by the local beth din, a rabbinic tribunal familiar with the highly technical requirements of the procedure. However, the problem arises when the husband refuses to voluntarily cooperate in the Jewish divorce. For, although the religious divorce is premised upon the mutual and willing consent of both spouses, only the husband has the authority under Jewish law to issue the written get to the wife to effectuate the religious divorce. (This stems from the philosophy of traditional Jewish law holding that the husband, as the legal "owner" of the house, was the only person with authority to drive anyone out. L.M. Epstein, The Jewish Marriage: A Study in the Status of the Woman in Jewish Law (1927)). The result has been, in a number of cases, the withholding of a get by the husband for a variety of bad faith reasons, including laziness, vindictiveness, or extortion of self-serving alimony, child support or child custody settlements.

Furthermore, while the beth din can apply moral or religious pressure to the recalcitrant spouse, it is without legal authority to enforce its rulings.

Thus, if a husband refuses to execute and deliver a get, and is willing to suffer such consequences as community pressure, denial of "kibbudim" (synagogue honors) or even excommunication, both the beth din and the wife are powerless to effectuate the divorce, and the woman remains an "agunah" under Jewish law for life.

The modern Jewish community has long recognized the inequitable position in which a Jewish woman is placed when her husband refuses to grant her a get. Several attempts have been made by the Jewish community to remedy this unfortunate situation. However, none has been substantially successful. For example, in 1954, the Conference on Jewish Law, comprised of representatives of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and the Rabbinical Assembly of America (both of which are organs of Conservative Judaism), proposed an amendment to the text of the traditional marriage contract, or "ketubah," in an effort to encourage a recalcitrant husband to submit to the authority of the beth din and to grant a get to his wife. As a result, the following clause, or a variation of it, has been included in ketubot prepared for Conservative rabbis:

"We, the bride and bridegroom hereby agree to recognize the Beth Din of the Rabbinical Assembly and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America or its duly appointed representatives, as having authority to counsel us in the light of Jewish tradition which requires husband and wife to give each other complete love and devotion, and to summon either party at the request of the other, in order to enable the party so requesting to live in accordance with the standards of the Jewish law of marriage throughout his or her lifetime. We authorize the Beth Din to impose such terms of compensation as it may see fit for failure to respond to its summons or to carry out its decision." (emphasis added).

However, the addition of the new language in the ketubah was opposed by Orthodox rabbinical authorities as being too radical a departure from traditional law. Furthermore, the addition of this new provision did not solve the problem of abandoned women or women whose husbands simply refused to appear before the beth din and grant a get.

Three years ago, an organization was formed in Brooklyn to educate the Jewish community about this problem and to assist Jewish men and women in obtaining a get when one spouse refuses to cooperate. The organization, known as Getting Equitable Treatment ("G.E.T."), maintains a casework committee of volunteer social workers, psychologists, lawyers and rabbis, and works to persuade both parties in a divorce to appear before a beth din and voluntarily participate in the get process. G.E.T. handles cases from all branches of Judaism, but refers couples to an Orthodox beth din because its ruling is recognized by all denominations of Judaism. While G.E.T. has had some success in resolving divorce disputes, its success similarly has depended upon the willing-

ness of the recalcitrant spouse to be counseled and ultimately to cooperate in the get process.

Recently, the State of New York injected itself into the issue through two approaches discussed below. While substantial agreement exists that a more effective remedy is needed and that the State's concern is laudable, much disagreement exists as to whether it is constitutional or even appropriate for the State to get involved in what appears to be a religious problem.

AVITZUR v. AVITZUR

On February 15, 1983, the New York Court of Appeals, in a 4 to 3 decision, ruled that nothing in law or public policy prevents the civil judicial recognition and enforcement of the secular terms of a ketubah. Avitzur v. Avitzur, 52 N.Y.2d 108, 459 N.Y.S.2d 572 (1983).

In that case, the husband and wife had been married in 1966 in a ceremony conducted in accordance with Jewish tradition. Prior to the marriage ceremony, the parties signed a ketubah which contained the abovementioned provision whereby the couple agreed to recognize the beth din's authority to counsel them in matters concerning their Jewish marriage. In 1978, the husband filed for and was granted a civil divorce on the ground of cruel and inhuman treatment. However, he subsequently refused to appear before the beth din at his wife's request, thus preventing her from obtaining a religious divorce.

Plaintiff's wife brought an action in state court, alleging that the ketubah constitutes a contractual obligation which defendant husband breached by refusing to appear before the beth din. She sought a declaration to that effect and an order compelling defendant to perform the contractual requirement that he appear before the beth din for the purpose of granting his wife a get. To support her claim, Mrs. Avitzur relied on the language of the ketubah which stated that the parties declare their "desire . . . to live in accordance with the Jewish law of marriage" and agreed to "recognize the Beth Din . . . as having authority to counsel us in the light of Jewish tradition . . . and to summon either at the request of the other, in order to enable the party so requesting to live in accordance with the standards of the Jewish law of marriage."

At the trial level, the court ruled that granting an order compelling Mr. Avitzur to submit to the jurisdiction of the beth din would not impermissibly entangle the State in religion, prohibited by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The trial court concluded, however, that issues concerning the translation, meaning and effect of the terms of the ketubah raised factual questions requiring a full trial. The Appellate Division, an intermediate appellate court, disagreed with the lower court's ruling, holding that the ketubah constitutes a liturgical agreement entered into as part of a religious ceremony and, as such, is unenforceable by the State. Furthermore, held the Appellate Division, having granted a civil divorce to the parties, the State has no further interest in their marital status.

The case was appealed to the New York Court of Appeals, the highest court of the State. The National Jewish Commission on Law and Public Affairs (COLPA) and the Jewish Theological Seminary filed amicus briefs in support of Mrs. Avitzur's claims. The COLPA brief was joined by the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada; Agudath Israel of America; National Council of Young Israel; Rabbinical Alliance of America; Rabbinical Council of America; the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, and G.E.T.

In the majority opinion written by Judge Sol Wachtler, the court reversed the ruling of the Appellate Division, finding that "the provisions of the ketubah relied upon by plaintiff constitute nothing more than an agreement to refer the matter of a religious divorce to a nonjudicial forum." Thus, concluded the court, the contractual obligation which Mrs. Avitzur sought to enforce is analogous to an antenuptial agreement to arbitrate a dispute in accordance with the law and tradition chosen by the parties, which is a valid and enforceable agreement. Nothing in law or public policy of the State warranted treating the ketubah with less dignity than any other civil contract to submit a dispute to a nonjudicial forum.

In reaching this decision, the court stressed the limited nature of the relief sought by Mrs. Avitzur which was, simply, to compel her husband to perform a secular obligation to which he had bound himself.

"It should be noted that plaintiff is not attempting to compel defendant to obtain a Get or to enforce a religious practice arising solely out of principles of religious law. She merely seeks to enforce an agreement made by defendant to appear before and accept the decision of a designated tribunal."

Thus, continued the court, "no doctrinal issue need be passed on, no implementation of a religious duty is contemplated, and no interference with religious authority will result." Conversely, "nothing the Beth Din can do would in any way affect the civil divorce."

The majority rejected the argument that enforcement of the terms of the ketubah by a civil court would violate the constitutional prohibition against excessive entanglement between church and state. The fact that the obligations undertaken by the parties to the ketubah are grounded in religious belief does not preclude the judicial enforcement of its secular terms, so long as the issue can be resolved "solely upon the application of neutral principles of contract law, without reference to any religious principle."

In dissent, Associate Judge Hugh R. Jones disagreed with the majority's conclusion that any discretely secular obligations could be extracted from the ketubah, which is "indisputably in its essence a document prepared and executed under Jewish law and tradition." Thus, argued the dissent, granting the relief sought by plaintiff in this case, "even to the limited extent contemplated by the majority, would necessarily violate the constitutional prohibition against entanglement of our secular courts in matters of religious and ecclesiastical content."

On October 3, 1983, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the ruling of the New York Court of Appeals. However, the issue of civil court enforcement of religious marriage contracts is far from settled. There is little assurance that the Avitzur decision will be followed by courts in other states. The New York ruling was a closely divided ruling which offers limited guidance to other courts which may face this issue in similar cases. Furthermore, even if other courts might be inclined to agree with the ruling of the New York court, time-consuming and costly litigation is an undesirable or even prohibitive route for many aggrieved women. Finally, even assuming that the New York court was correct in finding no constitutional impediment to judicial enforcement of the ketubah, Jewish authorities should question the desirability or wisdom of subjecting Jewish law to 50 different and often contradictory legal systems and judicial interpretations.

"GET" LEGISLATION

New York. On August 9, 1983, Governor Mario Cuomo signed into New York law a bill which, although it does not mention religious divorce on its face, nevertheless was designed to compel Jewish husbands who have filed for civil divorce to grant their wives a religious divorce as a condition to the granting of the civil divorce. Proponents of the bill, which is entitled "Removal of barriers to remarriage," argue that the statute is merely intended to further the State's interest in effective civil divorce laws. If the State grants a civil divorce to a couple, the State intends that the couple thereafter be free to remarry. If after a civil divorce, a spouse remains unable to remarry, the State's purpose in granting the civil divorce is frustrated.

The New York statute authorizes a civil court to withhold a final judgment of annulment or divorce until the party who has commenced the civil proceeding for annulment or divorce files a statement attesting that "he or she has, prior to the entry of such final judgment, taken all steps in his or her power to remove all barriers to the defendant's remarriage following the annulment or divorce."

Several aspects of the bill should be emphasized. First, the bill applies only to couples whose marriage was solemnized by a clergyman or minister. Thus, if a Jewish couple is married by a judge and later seeks a divorce, this law would not apply to them. Second, the obligation to file a statement is imposed only on the plaintiff -- the party who commences the civil proceeding for annulment or divorce. If it is the wife who files for civil divorce and her husband refuses to grant her a get, the statute will be of no assistance to her because the husband is under no obligation to file a statement. Third, despite its neutral language, the bill is specifically tailored to Conservative and Orthodox Jews. This is because "barrier to remarriage" is defined as "any religious or conscientious restraint or inhibition imposed on a party to a marriage, under the principles of the denomination of the clergyman or minister who has solemnized the marriage, by reason of the other party's commission or withholding or any voluntary act." (emphasis added). This provision would arguably exclude couples married by a Reform rabbi, because Reform Jews generally do not recognize the necessity of a get. Finally, the bill, by

specially inserted language, specifically exempts Catholics from the law's requirements. This is found in the language providing that "all steps solely within the plaintiff's power shall not be construed to include application to a marriage tribunal or other similar organization or agency of a religious denomination which has authority to annul or dissolve a marriage under the rules of such denomination."

This statute has provoked sharp disagreement both within and without the Jewish community. Rabbi Moshe Sherer, president of Agudath Israel of America, an Orthodox group which lobbied for the passage of the bill, called it a "landmark bill" which would "discourage coercion and blackmail in divorce procedures" and bring "equity into a situation in which people have suffered for so many years." Reform Jews, however, assert that the bill authorizes an unwarranted and unconstitutional intrusion into religious matters by the government. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations characterized the bill as a "blatant violation of the principle of separation of church and state" because the bill "is a clear attempt to use the authority of the State to enforce a religious requirement." Rabbi Bernard Zlotowitz, director of the New York Federation of Reform Synagogues, which also opposed the bill, has pointed out that a Reform Jew married by an Orthodox or Conservative rabbi might be coerced to perform a religious act which violates his individual religious beliefs. The American Jewish Congress has also expressed strong opposition to the statute because it conditions the granting of a civil divorce on the "willingness to perform a religious law." The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has not yet reached a position on the statute.

Outside the Jewish community, the statute was strongly opposed by the New York Civil Liberties Union, which stated in a letter to Governor Cuomo:

"While we sympathize with the desire to solve the dilemma plaguing some segments of the Jewish community, we believe that the machinery of the state cannot properly provide a remedy to a problem existing exclusively within, and as a result of, religious law."

Additionally, Nat Hentoff wrote a series of scathing articles in the Village Voice criticizing the statute for what he deemed to be its clear unconstitutionality and Governor Cuomo for evading his duty to declare the law unconstitutional.

Other states. A get bill has been introduced in the Connecticut legislature which provides that if a barrier to remarriage for either the husband or wife will exist after a civil divorce is granted, the court may order the couple to submit the controversy to a conciliator. If mediation does not solve the problem, the court is empowered to "make provision in its final judgment of dissolution of the marriage for the removal of said barrier." The Connecticut bill has also elicited discord in the Jewish community. The Rabbinical Council of Connecticut, an Orthodox group, has pledged its support for the proposed bill. Reform leaders and other groups are organizing opposition to the bill. No legislative action on the bill is expected until the new session begins this January.

Additionally, Agudath Israel has stated that it will begin lobbying for similar bills in other states with significant Jewish populations, such as California, Illinois, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

Analysis of the get legislation. The outcome of the Avitzur case is far from determinative of the legality or even the wisdom of the get legislation. In fact, the get legislation is more vulnerable to attack because it goes much farther than the Avitzur remedy. Contrary to the Avitzur remedy, the legislation withholds a civil divorce until the religious barrier is removed. In the Avitzur case, the civil divorce was in no way affected by the religious dispute, as Judge Wachtler noted with approval in his majority opinion. Furthermore, the legislation would actually compel the plaintiff spouse to grant the get, rather than merely submit to a religious tribunal to conciliate the dispute. The limited nature of the relief sought by the plaintiff in Avitzur was repeatedly stressed by Judge Wachtler, who noted that the plaintiff was not attempting to compel defendant to grant a get, but merely to live up to his agreement to appear before and accept the decision of a designated tribunal.

Thus, it may be argued, the unconstitutional entanglement between government and religious practice created by the legislation is much clearer. By injecting itself so closely in a problem created by traditional Jewish law and offering its civil legal machinery to force a resolution, the State has become nothing less than a full partner with Judaism. Yet, the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment proscribed not only government hostility toward religion, but government advancement of any and all religions, as well, based upon the belief that "a union of government and religion tends to destroy government and to degrade religion." Engel v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421, 431 (1962). An analogy reasonably might be made between the religious prerequisite to civil divorce in the case at hand and the religious prerequisite to government service which was struck down in Torcaso v. Watkins, 367 U.S. 488 (1961). In that case, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously that it violated the First Amendment for the State to require an applicant to swear belief in the existence of God in order to become a notary public.

Furthermore, the get legislation arguably violates both the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment by discriminating among religions in its applicability. Catholics, who also are prohibited from remarriage in the church after a civil divorce and who must initiate application to the church for an annulment, are specifically exempted from the statutory requirements even though their religion similarly creates "barriers to remarriage." Only Jews are confronted with a civil law requirement that they participate in a religious ceremony before they can obtain a civil divorce. The differentiation between Catholics and Jews, who both face religious limitations on remarriage, is arguably not related to the State's alleged interest in ensuring that all its civilly divorced citizens are free to remarry.

Finally, the law may have serious Free Exercise implications. Undoubtedly, most recalcitrant husbands targeted by this law refuse to grant a get for reasons of bad faith. However, it is not inconceivable, as Rabbi Zlotowitz noted, that some spouses in a failed marriage may refuse to comply with religious

divorce procedures for reasons of religious conviction or practice. For the State to direct a person to perform a religious rite against his conscience would violate the First Amendment. See Torcaso v. Watkins, supra.

Apart from its arguable constitutional defects, the get legislation will probably not be effective in resolving the problem. First, the law will have no effect on civil divorce suits which are filed by the wife, in which the husband files no counterclaim, since the husband has no obligation in that case to remove the barrier to remarriage. Second, the law attempts to remove only those barriers to remarriage imposed under the principles of the denomination of the clergyman who married the couple. This would provide no assistance to women whose beliefs dictate the necessity of a get, but who, for whatever reason, were not married by a Conservative or Orthodox rabbi.

On the other hand, supporters of get legislation argue that there is no infringement upon any constitutionally-protected freedoms. The secular government has a legitimate interest in protecting its citizens from coercion, blackmail or extortion and in effectuating state divorce laws. Furthermore, the law applies only to those couples who have voluntarily subjected themselves to traditional religious marriage ceremonies and who thus ought not to complain about applying those same religious principles to the dissolution of that marriage. The law does not compel any individual to embrace a religious belief or practice which he or she had not already voluntarily accepted.

Additionally, proponents argue, the statute does not entangle the State in the interpretation of Jewish law or in supervision of a party's compliance with Jewish practices. It merely requires, as an established principle of equity, that the party inform the court that it commences the civil action with "clean hands" by filing a statement to that effect.

Finally, supporters argue that, since all segments of the Jewish community agree on the basic injustice of the existence of the agunah, it would be self-defeating and destructive of Jewish unity to adopt an opposing position on an issue of such great concern to the Orthodox and Conservative communities.

The Domestic Affairs Commission of the American Jewish Committee took this issue up at their September 26th meeting in New York. A majority of those present voted to take a position opposing the legislation.

Conclusion. Regardless of whether one ultimately supports or rejects particular legislation on constitutional grounds, perhaps the most serious flaw of passing any such legislation is that it will excuse Jewish authorities from developing a means within the confines of Jewish law and practice to end the plight of these Jewish women. A religious inequity demands a religious, rather than a civil, remedy. It is the responsibility of the Jewish community to see that the religious needs of all its members are squarely addressed and met.

One such comprehensive, but not widely known, plan for dealing with the agunah was adopted a few years ago by the Rabbinical Assembly and described by Rabbi Robert Gordis in the 6/24/83 issue of Jewish Week. The plan, which provides for retroactive annulment, is based upon a principle frequently referred

to in the Talmud (Yebamet 19 a, 110 a; Ketubbot 3a; Gittin 33a, 73a; Baba Batra 48b) declaring that whoever enters into Jewish marriage does so by the authority of the rabbis. Thus, since Jewish marriage is an institution established in Jewish law, it is under the jurisdiction of the rabbis, who have the authority to annul a marriage when justified and avoid the necessity of a divorce. This procedure, referred to as hafka'at kiddushin, would not only solve the problem of the recalcitrant spouse, but would also remedy the situation of other agunot -- e.g., wives whose husbands are absent due to voluntary abandonment, military action, or other disaster. It would also resolve the situation of a husband who becomes mentally and legally incompetent to issue a get.

As Rabbi Gordis has noted, the important virtue of annulment is that it places the authority to resolve a Jewish problem where it belongs -- "in recognized rabbinical agencies."



83-630-39

October 13, 1983

DRAFT

Members of the National Executive Council express their profound dismay at the cruel sentence imposed on Iosif Begun several weeks ago. The suffering of Mr. Begun is a symbol of the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union who struggle to maintain their identity in the face of the Soviet Government's ruthless attempt to erase Jewish culture. And his imprisonment is a symbol of the closing of the Iron Curtain depriving Jews of the right to emigrate.

The trial and harsh punishment of Iosif Begun constitutes an attempt to intimidate other Jews, and represents an ominous progression in the anti-Semitic campaign currently being waged in the USSR under the guise of anti-Zionism.

We call upon the churches, universities and other major institutions in our country to use their strengths and avail themselves of every opportunity to call attention to this tragedy which is taking place in the Soviet Union. We commend our Government for its strong advocacy of the cause of Soviet Jews and urge them at all levels to continue to do so. And we call upon our brothers and sisters in the USSR to be strong and persevere and assure them of our firm commitment to continue the struggle for their freedom.

10/19/83